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Abdurishid Yakup

# The Turfan Dialect of Uyghur

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# PREFACE

This volume presents a synchronic description of the phonology, morphology and lexicon of the Turfan dialect of modern Uyghur, which is mainly spoken in the Turfan region of the present Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China, and is based for the most part on linguistic data collected during fieldwork from 1990 to 2000. The main research was carried out between 2001 and 2003 while I was a postdoctoral research fellow of the Alexander von Humboldt foundation in the Department of Oriental Studies, University of Mainz, Germany. The project, as originally planned, focused on the phonology and lexicon, but evolved into its present shape, which includes three descriptive chapters, a rather large corpus of texts and a dialect vocabulary, thus providing readers an overall picture of this local variety of Uyghur. Many crucial methodological matters and important points concerning the structure of the present book were discussed at an early stage of the research with Professor Lars Johanson, with whom I have been fortunate to share in his deep knowledge of Turkic linguistics, friendship and hospitality during the last several years. Without his ideas, encouragement, guidance and help, this work would never have been completed and published in its present shape. I owe him my very special thanks.

Strongly supported free research opportunity provided by the Alexander von Humboldt foundation made the completion of this research possible, and its grant for printing ensured the publication of this volume. I owe a great debt of gratitude to the Alexander von Humboldt foundation. The open and friendly atmosphere in the Department of Oriental Studies at the University of Mainz, into which one may easily integrate, is ideal for a researcher interested in Turkic linguistics. I have particularly valued the instruction, discussions and friendly help of professors Hendrik E. Boeschoten and Bernt Brendemoen, and I benefited from the knowledge and hospitality of all my colleagues at this institute in different ways.

Professor Mark Kirchner read the phonological chapter and offered many valuable remarks. My friend Michael Friederich took on the heavy task of checking the translation of texts with the originals and presented very critical and detailed suggestions. Professors Hendrik E. Boeschoten and Mutsumi Sugahara went through

the vocabulary and Sevgi Agcagul checked the morphology and bibliography. Christopher Triplett was patient enough to read the whole manuscript and improve my English, and Alexander Rödel generously helped me with the many difficult technical problems of copy editing. Their remarks, critiques and suggestions enabled me to improve the text and saved the volume from considerable errors, although none of them is responsible for the problems that may remain.

From the period of preparation for the fieldwork in 1999 and 2000 until the completion of this volume I have received strong support from Professors Tooru Hayasi and Masahiro Shōgaito, to whom I am very grateful as always. I also owe a debt of gratitude to my father-in-law Mömin Qadir, who is a typically kind Turpanliq (Turfaner) and has consistently supported my fieldwork over a very long period of time. Unexpectedly, he passed away in November 2002, two years after his very active participation in the last fieldwork of 2000, and he very regrettably was not able to see the volume as he had wished.

In Turfan, I received various types of assistance. Many local organisations and individuals helped me and supported my fieldwork in different ways. For their collaboration, patience and hospitality I owe my gratitude to Rozi Äpändi in Lükchün, Mahmut Sidiq in Tuyuq and the late Eli Qari of Yanghe. I also would like to publicly thank my friends Bahargül Hamut and Ablekim Muhammat for their responsiveness to my requests.

Last but not at least, I should like to thank my wife Dilbär and our three children Mirshat, Dilrishtä and Aytängri for their understanding and patience during the process of completing this work.

Abdurishid Yakup
Mainz / Marburg 2005

# 1 INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 The aim of this research

During a very long period, from the early 2nd century B.C. until the collapse of the Mongolian Empire in the 14th century, Turfan (Old Uyghur: Qočo) functioned as an important commercial and cultural medium between east and west. Following the discovery of a large number of religious, civil, literary, medical and political texts in very different scripts and languages – in particular, Chinese, Middle Parthian, Mongolian, Sanskrit, Syriac, Sogdian, Tangut, Tibetan and Uyghur – in this region since the end of the 19th century, Turfan began to draw wide scholarly attention. Through the investigations of old documents unearthed in Turfan as well as adjacent regions, large numbers of scholars of various disciplines, e.g. philology, religion science, art history and linguistics – chiefly the Indo-European comparative linguists, specialists in religious science devoted to study of Central Asian Buddhism, Manichaeism and Nestorianism as well as Chinese, Mongolian and Turkic philologists — established a universal field of research: "Turfan studies" (Turfanforschung). Aside from philological and linguistic interest, the main purpose of this scientific field has been the exploration and explanation of cultural and historical properties of ancient nationalities living in this region over a long period of time, mostly focusing on their intercultural relations. However, the present work does not deal with the cultural and historical properties of the ancient Turfan oasis but aims to offer a synchronic description of a local Uyghur variety spoken in the present Turfan region, though this research directly or indirectly acknowledges the contributions of "Turfan studies" as an inseparable part.

In this volume, particular emphasis will be paid to the description of actual and uniform phonological, morphological and lexical features distinguishing this local dialect from the standard form and other regional varieties of Modern Uyghur, especially from the Uyghur varieties spoken in neighbouring regions – in particular, Qomul and Lopnor — as well as from the southern dialects distributed to the vast region from Kucha to the borders of Khotan, including the entire domain of the Khotan District. The common phonological and morphological features showing the internal relation of this dialect to Standard Uyghur (SU) and other regional Uyghur varieties are also the subject of my description.

The Turfan dialect is spoken by 378,428 Uyghur settlements within the domain of the Turfan District of XUAR,[1] and sporadically in several villages of Gucheng and Kucha.[2] It comprises the Turfan-Qomul dialect of Uyghur together with another local Uyghur variety spoken in the adjacent Qomul region, sharing basic phonological, morphological and lexical features with it. Moreover, the Turfan dialect functions as the first or second language of some Chinese and Hui settlements of the same region. Its main factors are also observable in the speech of a considerable number of Urumchi settlers from Turfan, though their pronunciation shows the influence of Standard Uyghur to a certain extant. However, my description focuses on the speech of the local Uyghur speakers living within the territory of Turfan District proper.

As we shall see from the text materials and the descriptions, different regions – from time to time even adjacent villages within the Turfan region – display certain unique phonological and lexical features, and occasionally exhibiting rather sharp semantic departures in the usage of certain morphological forms. Realization of word-final /r/ in different regions (see 2.3.8), regional differences in addressing some kinship (see 4.2.2), phonetic and functional divergences between certain demonstrative pronouns (see 3.1.2), might be counted as the most striking elements showing such regional variations. I try to illustrate such important regional features in my description, screening their distribution and very often comparing them with available dialect materials. Conversely, the description of regional differences is restricted to those phonological and lexical features that are uniform to certain regions and could divide the Turfan dialect into certain regional subunits. Those elements that are less systematic and mostly specific to one or two small speech communities, however, will simply be mentioned.

In addition to the main aim, this work attempts to meet a second, but a very important goal – to provide a comprehensive and reliable linguistic sample of all possible regional varieties of the Turfan dialect, presenting them in transcription together with a direct and comprehensible translation as well as with linguistic and extra-linguistic explanations. This data presents a corpus of oral history and folk literature of the Turfan region, reflecting ethnological and geographical peculiarities of the local settlements. Notably, my descriptions of the Turfan dialect rather strictly rely on this data, partly consulting other materials, namely short sentences and phrases and occasionally single words (actually extracted from connected speech) which I recorded. Clearly, the edited data in this book is not a complete presentation of my field records, some texts and short passages have been excluded from the corpus mainly due to their incomplete nature and problematic and illogical content.

In Uyghur dialectology — especially in most publications in China — there is a strong tendency to conclude dialect features through analysis of isolated words; text

1 Census of 1998, from the official home page of the Statistical Bureau of XUAR: http: // www.xj.stats.gov.cn/tjnj/1999nj/b3/b3-5.html.

2 Some scholars suggest classifying Lapchuq and Qaradövä regions in the Qomul District in the Turfan dialect / Turfan accent due to the settlements of these two villages being immigrants from Turfan in the last three centuries. Cf. Niyaz 2000: 23. Unfortunately, thus far we do not posses any data from these regions.



materials are often ignored or only appended as a sample of oral literature. Thus it is not surprising to see that no text materials have been published from the Turfan dialect since the second half of the 20th century other than fragmentary passages recorded during the Second Linguistic Survey (Tenishev 1984: 7-17).[3] I tried to overcome such an attitude in this work. Perhaps that is why I specially mentioned both the description and data presentation as the main aim of the present research though it is quite basic and natural in modern dialectology.

## 1.2 The framework

A considerable number of theories have been developed since the introduction of the phoneme concept by the Prague school, e.g. generative phonology, prosodic phonology and lexical phonology etc. In the description of the Turfan dialect phonology, I principally prefer a structural framework of which the basic concepts and main operating system have been essentially explained by Trubetzkoy (1939), and later in abundant linguistic publications, but rather conveniently by Fischer-Jørgensen (1975, chapter 6), Lass (1985, chapters 2-4) and Spencer (1996). The reason is quite simple: First of all, it has been proved from its application to various languages that this approach is especially effective in phonological analysis of living languages as synchronic systems. Secondly, it is relatively familiar to Turkic linguists, and at least there are two successful examples of using a similar approach to the analysis of Turkic varieties: Mark Kirchner's phonology of a Kazakh variety spoken by a small Kazakh community in Istanbul (1992) and Bernt Brendemoen's most recent monograph on the Trabzon dialect of Turkish, despite the fact that the synchronic descriptions of the latter is only the basis for diachronic analysis of the said dialect phonology (2002:13-15, 41-44). The case of the Turfan dialect somewhat resembles the situation of the Trabzon dialect of Turkish. According to my observations, it comprises at least three regional varieties: (i) the southern accent characterized by the palatalization of final /r/, (ii) the southeastern accent characterized by the deletion of final /r/, and (iii) and the 'rhotic' accent which rather systematically preserves the final /r/, pronouncing it as flap. However, the regional linguistic divergence within the Turfan dialect speaking area seems to be much smaller than those between the Trabzon *dialect groups* as we have seen from Brendemoen's analysis. Therefore, not the mapping of divergent phonemic inventories and realizations of individual phonemes, but the description of uniform phonological properties forms the main body of my phonological analysis as I stated in the preceding section.

Out of the theoretical approaches pin-pointed by Hockett, Item and Arrangement (IA) is basically suitable for agglutinating languages, especially for Turkic (see Hockett 1954; Mathews 1974, chapters I, V, XII; Bubenik 1999, chapter 2), and the Item and Process (IP) approach may also be effective in the analysis of some morphological

3 However, his Turfan dialect data was collected in 1956 as Tenishev stated.

processes in the Turkic languages. The framework that served as the base for my morphological descriptions is the descriptive model and terminological system used by several Turkic linguists in the descriptive part of *Turkic languages* (see Johanson & Csató (eds.) 1998), which actually reflect most actual research results of Turkic structural linguistics.

Unlike the phonology and morphology, my analysis of the Turfan dialect lexicon is somewhat less "linguistic"; it neither deals with the internal structure of lexemes nor lexical, paradigmatic and semantic relations between words that one basically takes into consideration in general lexicology and lexical semantics. It rather focuses on significant lexical properties of the Turfan dialect, e.g. the words reflecting viticulture of the Turfan region, kin terms and unique lexical copies separating the Turfan dialect from other dialect regions as a lexical bundle, which more importantly reflect the main elements of local culture and cultural contact that take place in the Turfan region. Put differently, it was my original consideration to give prominence to 'locality' rather than systematicity.

"Structural linguistics requires that the forms of the constituent systems be understood first and foremost in terms of those systems, since the formal units of two non-identical systems are, strictly speaking, incommensurable." (Weinreich 1954: 392; Chambers & Trudgill 1998: 34-35). This is what I have tried to do in my phonological and morphological descriptions. Frequent comparison of Turfan dialect facts with SU and the Kashghar dialect should not be considered contradictory to this basic rule, since it is only to provide a reference and demonstrate the striking features of the Turfan dialect in more accurate way. The bringing of the Kashghar dialect into this comparison is not only because it is an important Uyghur variety spoken by a large number of the Uyghur population in the southern part of XUAR, but mainly is just taking advantage of being a native speaker of this dialect.

One obvious difficulty faced in phonological and morphological descriptions is the treatment of diachronic materials. Some synchronic facts are obviously the result of a long period of diachronic developments. A very good example of this is the strengthening of /v/ in word-initial and intervocalic positions in the Turfan dialect. As we shall see from the analysis in the next chapter, it results from a complex phonological process developed over three centuries at least and can hardly be convincingly illustrated without reference to its historical background. In such cases, e.g. in description of some phonological processes and in explanation of functional features of some morphological forms, I occasionally bring historical facts into my discussions. However, I tried to keep my descriptions synchronic, limiting diachronic analysis only to very necessary cases.

As one may see, I always tried to make descriptions simple and clear, avoiding overly detailed, complex analysis. An obvious reason for this is that the phonological system and morphological categories of Standar Uyghur have been poorly investigated, and any overly detailed descriptions of a specific Uyghur dialect may cause unexpected difficulties for readers.



The model for my edition of text materials is the excellent presentation of dialect texts from the southern regions of Xinjiang by the late Ambassador Gunnar Jarring. I present all the dialect texts in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) as Jarring did; arranging philological and linguistic notes under the transcribed texts, and the extra-linguistic notes under their translations. Unlike the dialect texts published by some scholars in China, my transcribed texts are not standardized in consultation with the spoken and written norms of Standard Uyghur.

## 1.3 Fieldwork and data

### 1.3.1 Investigated sites

The data forming the basis of my description was collected during several research trips between 1990 and 2000 to various parts of the Turfan region. The first fieldwork took place in August 1990 at four villages of Lükchün, namely Amansha, Dikhansu, Yengisha and Lükchün town proper. After that, I had several opportunities to regularly visit some parts of Pichan and Turfan, mostly Turpanligharisi, Tingza and Bazar Ichi in Pichan, and Bezäklik, Buyluq and Yar in Turfan. Collection of phonological and lexical materials was my main concern during the early trips with the exception of the first fieldwork in 1990, during which a considerable number of texts were recorded both in written and tape-recorded forms along with phonological and lexical materials. A ten day visit to our relatives in Turpanligharisi and Tingza in August 1994 enabled me to record many regional, archaic and folksy words and expressions together with a considerable amount of short sentences. I spent about two weeks again in Turpanligharisi, Tingza and Bazar Ichi in May 1995. This time my central concern was morphology, and nearly 500 short sentences and phrases were recorded. In July 1995, I had a very good opportunity to work at Miränyoli in Pichan, and recorded some valuable text materials. In August of the same year, I made my first research trip to Toxsun, working extensively on a word list in Toxsun town proper and adjacent villages. I made two more research trips to Toxsun in 1996 and 1997 respectively, mainly working in Ilanliq and Oymankariz villages of Bostan Rural District. Aside from single words, large numbers of short sentences and a considerable amount of text materials were also recorded during these fieldtrips.[4]

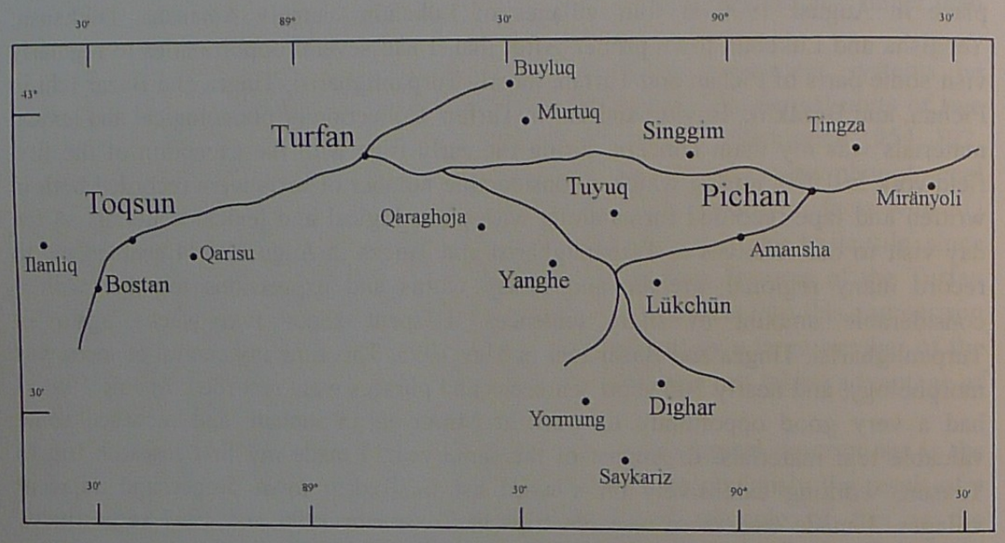
Somewhat interrupted but never forgotten, my Turfan fieldwork was restarted in September 1999 with a research trip from Japan to Turfan.[5] The aim of this fieldwork was to search for traces of Old Uyghur elements in the Turfan dialect. Unfortunately, this time we were only able to note and record limited, fragmentary materials in Buyluq

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4 The fieldworks between 1994 and 1996 are partly supported by the *Qutadghu Bilig* project financed by the Social Sciences Found of XUAR, and the last two trips to Toxsun by an initial research grant for Ph.D. holders of Xinjiang University.

5 It was organized by Professor Masahiro Shōgaito, Kyoto University, and carried out with the participation of Professor Sugahara Mutsumi, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, and myself. This and my other trip in 2000 were supported by the research project *Investigations on the peripheral Turkic languages in Eurasia* led by Professor Tooru Hayasi, Tokyo University.

in spite of the fact that we visited Bezäklik and some small villages around Turfan city. However, the results of another research trip from August to September 2000 were very surprising. This time I travelled alone and successfully completed my "Erntesegen-fieldwork" (see Yakup 2002) with Murtuq and Saykariz data although not being able to collect Sirkip and Yar materials was somewhat disappointing. The amount of data recorded (mainly texts and phrases) during this fieldwork is considerable, mainly taking advantage of living with informants' families and the friendly co-operation of excellent informants. Importantly, this trip enabled me to obtain Saykariz and Murtuq materials, giving me the desired opportunity to prove my Lükchün, Tuyuq, Yanghe and Pichan data, and during which time many new materials were also recorded from Tuyuq and Yanghe. Map 1-1 shows the location of the regions in Turfan District where my main fieldwork was actually carried out.




Map 1-1 Investigated sites in Turfan

1.3.2 Data

During the first stage of my fieldwork, I went through a word list comprising approximately 1300-1500 items. Short sentences and texts were recorded during every field trip. The rather frequent visits of some informants to our family provided additional opportunities to confirm and supplement recorded materials. All data obtained from such visitors was always reconfirmed in the Turfan region proper.

The corpus included in this book covers personal narratives, including regional legends (Texts 10, 20-23, 28-35, 56, 62), talks on informants' own lives and experiences (Texts 11-12, 51, 63, 69-70, 73), narrations on ethnological topics (Texts 1-9, 13, 54, 65-66, 71, 74, 76-78, 80), local history (50, 58, 59) and etymological explanations (15, 53) as well as folk literature (24-27), which designates important aspects of lexicon and



morphology. Folk tales included in this book are basically lengthy (Text 17-18, 41- 47, 67-68) and fully demonstrate most crucial features of the Turfan dialect though they contain some unfamiliar lexemes common to some speakers. Certain folk songs are also included in spite of their somewhat archaic character.

Table 1-1 Informants

| Name | Sex | Age | Occupation | Place | Time | Texts |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ismayil Hadi | male | 73 | retired cadre | LukY | 1990-8 | 1-11 |
| Mätniyaz | male | 58 | farmer | LukY | 1990-8 | 12-15 |
| Eli Jinayät | male | 45 | farmer | LukAm | 1990-9 | 16 |
| Ismayil Akhun | male | 83 | farmer | LükD | 1990-8 | 17-18 |
| Eziz Haji | male | 70 | farmer | Tuyuq | 2000-9 | 19 |
| Eziz Akhun | male | 110 | farmer | Tuyuq | 2000-9 | 20-27 |
| Eli Qari | male | 63 | worker | Yanghe | 1996-7 | 28-35 |
| Reyim Akhun | male | 98 | farmer | Yanghe | 1997-7 | 36-40 |
| Mängzorikhan | female | 58 | housewife | Yanghe | 2000-9 | 41 |
| Dagut Siyit | male | 56 | farmer | Yormung | 2000-9 | 42-43,48 (13-14) |
| Aminäkhan | female | 59 | farmer | Yormung | 2000-9 | 44 |
| Asikhan | female | 71 | farmer | Yormung | 2000-9 | 45-46, 48 (1-12) |
| Mälikikhan | female | 61 | farmer | Yormung | 2000-9 | 47 |
| Bäkri Ismayil | male | 59 | teacher | Dighar | 2000-9 | 49 |
| Gärkhan | female | 76 | farmer | MirY | 1996-7 | 50 |
| Mänglik Ivaz | male | 73 | farmer | MirY | 1996-7 | 51 |
| Talip Niyaz | male | 70 | cadre | MirY | 1996-7 | 52, 54 |
| Kivir Mäyzin | male | 112 | farmer | MirY | 1996-7 | 53 |
| Ämät Akhun | male | 65 | teacher | Murtuq | 2000-9 | 55-58 |
| Sattar | male | 53 | worker | Qaraghoja | 1997-7 | 59-62 |
| Qasim Eziz | male | 68 | artist | Turfan | 1997-8 | 63-66 |
| Eli Akhun | male | 76 | farmer | ToxIlanliq | 1997-8 | 67-68 |
| Ziyakhan | female | 80 | farmer | ToxOyman | 1997-8 | 69-72, 75 |
| Hämrakhan | female | 68 | cadre | ToxIlanliq | 1997-8 | 73-74, 78 |
| Yaqup Musa | male | 73 | worker | ToxBazar | 1997-8 | 76 |
| Khälchikhan | female | 67 | housewife | ToxBazar | 1997-8 | 77, 79-80 |

Most informants are males though the number of female interviews is also considerable. However, the informants are mostly not NORMs (for NORMS see Chambers & Trudgill 1998: 29) since my aim was not to collect the 'most genuine' facts of the Turfan dialect but to show a better overall picture of this Uyghur variety. Notably, it is almost impossible to find real NORMs in the Turfan region, since the region shares long borders with big cities, i.e. Urumchi, Changji, Qomul and Korla and possesses a relatively convenient transport network. Even the internal communications between

villages in Turfan is frequent. As the data clearly demonstrates, the speech of so-called NORMs is not always free from the influence of other Uyghur varieties (see Texts 50-54), and the speech of educated, mobile speakers also displays most of the crucial features of the Turfan dialect inspite of their extensive social contacts (see Texts 63-66).

## 1.4 A Short survey of the Uyghur dialects

### 1.4.1 Classification

G. Jarring identifies two dialects in Xinjiang. The southern dialects (spoken in the southern and southwestern parts of Xinjiang, namely, Kashghar, Yengisar, Yarkand and Khotan) and the northern dialects, including the Kucha-Turfan dialect and the Taranchi dialect (1933: 3-6). There are other classifications by S. E. Malov (1934: 307-322), O. Pritsak (1959: 528) and N. A. Baskakov (1960: 182-183). However, the widely accepted is the "three-dialect classification" by A. R. Tenishev (1963: 136-138),[6] in which Uyghur was divided into three dialects: (i) the North-southern dialects or Central dialect (includes Turfan, Kucha, Aqsu, Kashghar and Yarkand five subdialects), (ii) the Southern dialect or Khotan Dialect (covering the regions from Guma in the south to Charqaliq in the east), and (iii) the Eastern dialect or the Lopnor dialect (borders with Charqaliq in the south and Chongköl in the north). This classification is mainly based upon the following parameters:

(1) Phoneme *i* (and its variants);
(2) Progressive vowel harmony in the type of *barəp* and *joldoš*;
(3) Regressive vowel harmony in the type of *berip* and *tomur*;
(4) Consonant assimilation in the type of *qəz-zar* and *töj jaš*;
(5) Form of 1st person future tense (as seen in *barimän*, *barətmän* and *barədəmän*);
(6) Form of 3d person future tense as seen in *baridu*, *kelidu* or *baritu* and *kelitu*.

A very recent classification suggested by M. Osmanov basically follows this classification, although the parameters he consulted, especially the division of sub-groups within the Central dialect differs from it quite substantially in detail. He rejects nearly all the parameters used by Jarring, Baskakov and Tenishev, but also divides Uyghur into three dialects: (i) the Central dialect, (ii) the Khotan dialect and (iii) the Lopnor dialect based upon the following two morphological features (1990: 51-55):

(1) Present-future, namely {Converb in *a* + *dur-*} + personal endings as found in *bar-a-dur-män* 'I go';
(2) Non-perfect participle, namely {Converb in *a* + *dur-* } + *-GAn* as exemplified in *bar-a-dur-γan* 'that have to be gone'.

6 Mainly see Kajdarov 1969 (pp. 208-212), Ghapparova 1980, Gao 1985 and Li 1986.



According to Osmanov's explanation, the auxiliary verb *dur-* (< *turur-*) of the parameter (1) has disappeared in the Central dialect (*turur* > *dur* > *ø*), forming a new participle form *–diγan* combining with *–GAn* in the case of parameter (2). The Khotan dialect preserves this *dur-* in the form of *t(ʔ)* (< *dur* < *turur*) in both cases while the Lopnor dialect displays *di* (< *dur* < *turur*) in the case of parameter (1) and *du(r)* (< *dur* < *turur*) in the case of parameter (2). This might be illustrated with the inflection of the verbs *bar-* 'go' and *käl-* 'come' as seen in Table 1-2.

Table 1-2 Present and non-perfect participle in the Uyghur dialects

| | (i) | (ii) |
|---|---|---|
| The Central dialect | *bar-i-mä(n) kel-i-mä(n)* | *bar-i-diγan kel-i-diγan* |
| The Khotan dialect | *bar-ï-t-mä(n) käl-i-t-mä(n)* | *bar-ï-t-qan~baj-ï-t-qan kel-i-t-qan* |
| The Lopnor dialect | *bar-a-di-män kel-ä-di-män* | *bar-a-du-γan kel-ä-du-γan* |

The Central dialect is spoken by more than 90% of the Uyghur population in a wide region from Qomul in the east to the border areas of Yarkand in the south, while the Khotan dialect is distributed to the 9 counties from Charqaliq to Guma in the Khotan District and the Lopnor dialect mainly to Lopnor County proper and extending to some parts of Miran. Osmanov identifies six further subgroups within the Central dialect: (i) Turfan, (ii) Qomul (Hami), (iii) Kashghar-Atush, (iv) Tarim (includes three subgroups: Tarim, Moghal and Kucha), (v) Ili and (vi) Urumchi, temporarily dividing the Khotan dialect into three subgroups: The Guma subgroup, the Elchi-Qariqash-Lop subgroup and the Cheriyä-Keriyä-Niya-Chärchän subgroup. Kälpin displays the features of the Khotan dialect with respect to both parameters, meanwhile showing some other special features, i.e. tense vowels, non-assimilation of *l* preceded by nasals, etc., that are not typical in the Khotan dialect, and therefore remain as a special accent (alahidä ševä) of Uyghur (Osmanov 1990: 191-211).

It is difficult to decide dialect borders based upon the parameters suggested by Osmanov, at least the parameters have no clear qualitative value. Certain local Uyghur accents, namely Moghal, Qarghaliq, Yarkand and Yopurgha as well as some regions grouped to the Tarim subdialect also exhibit features of the Khotan dialect, e.g. *barïtqan* 'have to be gone', *ičïtqan* 'have to be drank', etc, while Qomul displays the features of the Lopnor dialect with regard to the parameter (1) in Osmanov's criteria.

Notably, most of the materials that served as the basis for Osmanov's classification are records from around the 1960s although he consults some new data obtained from new fieldwork in some regions. However, the change in all local varieties since the 1960s is quite considerable, in some regions even crucial. If we just take the case of the Lopnor dialect, a most unique and conservative local dialect, we will see a very different situation now than was previously described. The verb forms such as *baradiman* 'I go' and *baraduγan* 'have to be gone' only remain in the speech of older generations; progressive assimilation which used to be typical to this region has also decreased considerably; many "non-Lopnor features", especially the raising and

reduction of low vowels have become dominant under the strong influence of Standard Uyghur and neighbouring Uyghur dialects. Furthermore, we do not posses any systematic data concerning the local Uyghur varieties spoken in Bayingholin, Bortala, Chöchäk and Changji despite the considerable Uyghur population settled in these vast regions, our knowledge of the local Uyghur varieties spoken in the mountain regions of Khotan and Qarghaliq is very limited. Certainly, a more reliable and up-to-date classification of Uyghur dialects is urgently needed. Obviously, the collection of new and systematic data from every possible Uyghur variety, especially from isolated and untouched Uyghur varieties, and a detailed description of the possible local Uyghur varieties based upon these materials is the starting point for such a classification.

### 1.4.2 Linguistic features

#### 1.4.2.1 The Central dialect

It is not so easy to outline linguistic features uniform to all sub-dialects[7] grouped with the Central dialect. However, the raising of low vowels in closed monosyllabic words followed by high vowel-initiating suffixes, e.g. *bešim* 'my head' ← *baš* 'head', *jeri* 'his/her land' ← *jär* 'land', the reduction of low vowels in unaccented syllables, especially in second and further syllables, e.g. *balələr* 'children' ← *bala* 'child', *išxanədin* 'from a/the office' ← *išxana* 'office', the devoicing of *γ*, *g* in word-final positions, e.g. *seriq* 'yellow', *kičik* 'small', in contrast to *seriγ* and *kičig* of the Khotan dialect and the Kälpin special accent; and the palatalization of alveo-dentals, e.g. *čüš* 'noon' ← *tüš*, *čiš* 'tooth' ← *tiš*, etc., might be counted as common phonological features within most sub-dialects of the Central dialect. On the other hand, the sub-dialects of the Central dialect also exhibit many nearly identical morphological suffixes, and posses a basically similar lexical stock. At the same time, the sub-dialects in the Central dialect show different picture with regard to the following points.

(1) Devoicing of high vowels in unstressed syllables;
(2) Preservation of close-mid *e* in closed syllables;
(3) Devoicing of lenis obstruents in syllable-final position;
(4) Status of initial *j-* before high vowels;
(5) Application of labial vowel harmony to low vowel suffixes;
(6) Strengthening of /v/ in word initial and intervocalic position subjected to sonorozation;
(7) Use of auxiliary verbs *ät-/et-* and *qïl-*.

7 Actually, 'dialect groups' or 'dialects' might be a more proper term for the local varieties grouped to the Central dialect, since the difference between a considerable number of regions is not simply phonetic or lexical as often claimed, but also phonological and grammatical. More exactly, 'dialect' "refers to varieties which are grammatically (and perhaps lexically) as well as phonologically different from other varieties." (Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 5). See also Hahn 1998: 395-396.



With the exception of the Turfan-Qomul sub-dialect, all sub-dialects in the Central dialect exhibit devoiced high vowels before voiceless consonants, e.g. Urumchi, Ili *it* 'dog', Kashghar-Atush *išt*, Tarim (including Moghol) mostly *it* but also *išt*. With reference to point (2), only the Turfan-Qomul and Moghol sub-dialects rather systematically display a closed-mid *e* in a closed syllable, e.g. *jettä* 'seven', while in the other sub-dialects this *e* is mostly replaced by an open-mid *ä*, e.g. *jättä* 'seven'. In the Kashghar-Atush sub-dialect, lenis obstruents are left voiceless in a syllable-final position when the vowel-initiating suffixes are added to them, e.g. *pičaq* 'nife' → *pičiqi* 'his/her knife', whereas in other sub-dialects such lenis obstruents become devoiced in the same environment, e.g. *pičaq* 'nife' → *pičəγï* 'his/her knife'.

The subdialects of the Central dialect display a rather complex figure with regard to the hypothetic initial **j*. It realizes as *ž* in the Kashghar-Atush sub-dialect, e.g. *žilan* 'snake', and occasionally alternates with *h* as seen in *hüz* 'face'. In the Ili sub-dialect such a **j* is rather consistent, e.g. *jilan* 'snake', occasionally being replaced by *ž* like in the Kashghar-Atush sub-dialect, e.g. *žil* 'year'. The Turfan-Qomul dialect lost this **j* in the words *ilan* 'snake', *üz* 'face' while the Urumchi sub-dialect systematically displays it in corresponding lexemes, e.g. *jilan*, *jüz* as well as in *jil* 'year'. The presentation of **j* in the Tarim sub-dialect differs from place to place. The Aqsu, Qaratal and Qumbash regions preserve it in the lexemes *jüz* 'face', *jöl* 'wet', but Mäkit only displays it in the lexeme *jöl* 'wet', while alternating it with *h* in the lexemes *hüz* 'face', *hütäl* 'couph'; in Aqsaqmaral in the Tarim sub-dialect area this **j* is retained in some lexemes, e.g. *jüz* 'face' but disappears in other lexemes, e.g. *üz* 'hundred', sometimes being alternated with *h*, e.g. *höl* 'wet'.

The Kashghar-Atush sub-dialect principally does not apply labial harmony to low vowel suffixes, e.g. *qol* 'hand' → *qolam* ~ *qulam* 'my hand', *köj-* 'to burn' → *küjäk* 'burn', but other subdialects do, e.g. *qol*→ *qolum* 'my hand', *köj-* 'to burn' → *köjük* 'burn'. In the Turfan-Qomul, Tarim and Ili sub-dialects the Anlaut *w* is strengthened to [g] as seen in *uwaq* 'piece' → *ugaq*, but in the other sub-dialects is not. The eastern (Turfan-Qomul and Lopnor) and northern dialects (Ili and Urumchi) mostly use the auxiliary verb *qïl-* in compound formations while the southern dialects (Tarim, Kashghar-Atush and Moghol) basically prefer *ät-/et-* rather than *qïl-* in the same cases.

Table 1-3 Distribution of some linguistic features in the Central dialect

| Subdialects in the Central dialect | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Urumchi | + | - | + | j | + | - | *qïl-* |
| Ili | + | - | + | j/ž | + | ± | *qïl-/ät-* |
| Turfan-Qomul | - | + | - | o | + | + | *qïl-* |
| Tarim | + | + | - | h/j/o | ± | ± | *et-* |
| Kashghar-Artush | + | - | - | ž/h | - | - | *ät-* |
| Moghol | + | - | - | h/j/o | + | + | *et-* |

Certainly, divergent elements in the sub-dialects of the Central dialect are not restricted to the illustrated phonological and lexical points. The Urumchi sub-dialect displays a large number of Chinese-copied lexemes while the Turfan-Qomul sub-dialect preserves a considerable amount of Old Uyghur words; the local varieties spoken in Ili are more or less influenced by Kazakh in their phonology and lexicon; in the Kashghar-Atush sub-dialect a word-initial *k* undergoes palatalization as seen in *či-* 'to enter' (compared to *ki(r)-* in most other dialects). Furthermore, the 1st person plural present is formed with *–Iduq* as seen in *aš itivatïduq* 'we are cooking' in the Atush region, and Kashghar displays an unique form *–šIlA* for 2nd person plural present in order to express the meaning 'you are kindly requested to /you need to …', e.g. *toj küni bururraq kilišila* 'on the wedding day you are kindly requested to come earlier', while other dialects prefer rather complex forms such as "Verb + *–GAn bolsila*", "Verb + *-šIlrI lazim*, etc. in similar cases. On the other hand, the number of divergent morphological forms in the Turfan-Qomul dialect is also considerable (see below, section 1.5 and chapter 3).

1.4.2.2 The Khotan dialect

Not counting the classificatory features, the following are the most striking phonological and morphological features of the Khotan dialect:

a. Voiced consonants in word-final positions are mostly left undevoiced, e.g. *uruŋ* 'seed' (Urumchi and Turfan *uruq*), *ällig* 'fifty' (Urumchi and Turfan *ällik*), *issiŋ* 'hot' (Urumchi and Turfan *issïq*), *taʔliŋ* 'sweet' (Urumchi *tatlïq*, Turfan *tatlïq* ~ *taʔlïq* ~ *taːliq*);

b. An intervocalic /r/ is often deleted, e.g. *tiːg* 'living' (Urumchi *tirik*), *biːŋ* 'you give' (Urumchi *beriŋ* ~ *biriŋ*), *üːk* 'apricot' (Urumchi *ürük*);

c. The suffixes *–däj* and *–däg* exist side by side, e.g. *attäj* ~ *attäg* 'like a/the horse' (Urumchi *attäk*), *qojdäj* ~ *qojdäg* 'like a sheep' (Urumchi *qojdäk*);

d. Displays participles formed with *–(I)GIIG*, sporadically using it as a finite form, e.g. *bu kitapta jezïp qojaŋlïŋ* 'This is written in the book', *män kičisi bij uχlijammaŋlïŋmän* 'I have not being able to sleep nights'.

e. Frequently uses some unique finite forms formed with *–GUlUq*, e.g. *andaŋ išni qilmuŋuluq* 'That kind of things should not be done', and *–GAq*, e.g. *ojan tamašaya bäk baːmiŋaqtim, helimu baːmiŋaq* 'I used to not going to plays, and still don't go.'[8]

1.4.2.3 The Lopnor dialect

In addition to classificatory features (see 1.4.1), the following can only be found in the Lopnor dialect, especially in contrast to other dialects of Uyghur:

a. Existence of a rather strong progressive labial assimilation spread until the fourth, sometimes even fifth syllable, e.g. *ördög* 'duck' (Urumchi *ördäk*), *ötkörmö* 'sifter' (Urumchi *ötkärmä*), *ötkörmölör* 'sifters' (Urumchi *ötkärmilär*), *ötkörmölörgö* 'to the sifters' (Urumchi *ötkärmilärgä*);

b. Existence of a rather strong progressive assimilation of alveolar fricatives, nasals, and liquids, and occasionally some plosives, e.g. *assa* 'slow' (Urumchi *asta*), *qazzaq* 'small storehouse' (Urumchi *qaznaq*), *üzäŋŋi* 'stir-up' (Urumchi *üzäŋgi*), *köllü* 'the lake' (ACC of *köl* 'lake', Urumchi *kölni*) and *süttü* 'the milk' (ACC of *süt*, Urumchi *sütni*).

c. The raising and reduction of low vowels in unaccented syllables, which are basically typical in the Central dialect is missing in the traditional Lopnor dialect, e.g. *čač* 'hair' → *čačïm* (Urumchi *čečïm*), *bar-* 'to go' → *barïp* 'going' (Urumchi *berïp*), *bala* 'child' → *balasi* 'his/her/their children' (Urumchi *baləsi*).

d. Sizable morph phonological variants of considerable number of suffixes found in the Lopnor dialect are mainly subject to the first two phonological features (a and b).[9]

1.4.2.4 The Kälpin special accent

The classificatory features of the Kälpin special accent are identical with those of the Khotan dialect (see 1.4.1). Moreover, word-final voiced consonants are also not devoiced in the Kälpin special accent as in the Khotan dialect, e.g. *seriŋ* 'yellow', *ittig* 'fast', *söllägˑ* 'tasty'. However, the Kälpin special accent differs both from the Khotan dialect and the other dialects of Uyghur with the following two phonological features:

a. A glottal element functions as a fortis signal as in Sayan Turkic (Tuvan, Tofa) and Yellow Uyghur, e.g. *taʔp-* 'to find', *saʔt-* 'to sell'.[10] As in Sayan Turkic and Yellow Uyghur, the consonants with a fortis element form a phonemic contrast to non-fortis consonants in certain lexemes as seen from Table 1-4.

Table 1-4 Phonemic glottal element in the Kälpin special accent

| Kälpin | Tuvan | YUyghur | SU | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| at | at | at | at | name |
| aʔt | aʔt | aʔt | at | horse |
| ot | ot | ot | ot | fire |
| oʔt | oʔt | oʔt | ot | grass |
| ät- | et- | et- | ät- | to do |
| äʔt | eʔt | eʔt ~ äʔt | ät | meat |

b. Unlike in the other dialects of Uyghur, liquids are neither assimilated nor dropped followed by nasals, e.g. *kälmä* 'do not come' (Urumchi, Kashghar *kämmä*, Turfan-Qomul *käːmä*), *almaq* 'taking' (Urumchi, Kashghar *ammaq*, Turfan-Qomul *aːmaq*).[11]

8 For an illustration of further features of this dialect see Tenishev 1963: 145-147, Kajdarov 1969: 198-199, and Osmanov 1990: 157-174.

9 For further analysis of this dialect mainly see Tenishev 1963: 147-150, Gao 1985, Osmanov 1990: 174-189 and Osmanov 1999.

10 For analysis of this glottal element (consonant strengthening) in Turkic languages see Johanson 1984-1986; for analysis of Kälpin materials see Osmanov 1990: 204-208 and Chen 1995.

11 For further features of the Kälpin special accent see Hamut 1985, Osmanov 1990: 190-215; Yüsüp 1990.

## 1.5 Turfan and Qomul: Common and divergent elements

In the previous section, I tried to place the Uyghur varieties spoken in Turfan and Qomul into one dialect group of the Central dialect, very often calling them "the Turfan-Qomul dialect". Certain significant classificatory features dividing this dialect group from the sub-dialects of the Central dialect have been briefly discussed in the last section. It is not easy to answer some crucial questions on this "Turfan-Qomul dialect" hypothesis at present, since we are unable to establish a reliable criterion with which to reclassify the Uyghur dialects before the main features of all the possible regional varieties of Uyghur become clear, for which at least a systematic description of the Uyghur variety spoken in the Qomul region is missing. However, we are able to answer some basic questions: On the one hand, what kind of further phonological and morphological features are shared by these two Uyghur varieties that we have intended to classify into the same dialect group? And on the other hand, what kind of regional differences do they display in their phonology and morphology?

### 1.5.1 Common features

We may list numerous linguistic features shared by these two Uyghur varieties. Available data shows that the phonological and morphological features mentioned below seem to be the most common and striking both in the Turfan and Qomul regions. Perhaps, we may use these features as parameters in discussing the internal relationship of the Turfan dialect to other neighboring dialects, including the Qomul variety. Notably, most of the items listed below are to be discussed in detail in the next chapters of Turfan data.[12]

(1) In both regions, /r/ is realized as a retroflex tap in word-final, syllable-final and "/r/ + voiceless plosive" clusters as seen in /bir/ 'one' → [bĭř] and /qursaq/ → [quřsaq] 'stomach';

(2) Both varieties do not display /ž/ in the phoneme inventory;

(3) In both regions vowels may become nasalized due to the deletion of nasals in "vowel + nasal" clusters as seen in [nā] 'bread' (< [nan]), [mã̄] 'I' (< *män*);

(4) In both regions voiceless stops go glottalization in certain phonological environments;

(5) In both regions, uvular /ɣ/ are deleted before and after strong sonorants as seen in [qaro] 'blind' ← /qarɣu/ and [ja·līχ] 'towel' ← /jaɣlīq/;

(6) Both regions display a {nX} genitive due to deletion of suffix-final nasal;

(7) Dative of *mä(n)* and *sä(n)* are *maŋɣa* and *saŋɣa* in both regions, respectively;

(8) Both regions display polite forms of the 2nd person personal pronouns *sizlä* and *özlä*, and extend corresponding polite forms to verbal inflection;

(9) Aorist is mostly {Ur} in both regions, occasionally displaying {Ar};

12 Dialect materials of the Qomul region are mainly taken from Abdulla 1985 and Qumul 1997.



(10) Verb and postverb in "Converb + Postverb" constructions very often occur in phonetically fused forms as seen in *aval-* (< *alip al-*) and *säqoj-* (< *sälip qoj-* < *salip qoj-*);

(11) *digã̄* / *digän* functions as an evidential particle in both regions as seen in *bu pulni ma:lkam bä:gän digã̄* 'This money certainly was given by my older brother';

(12) In most cases, the verb derivative suffix {da} stands for {la} of SU and other Uyghur dialects, e.g. *sĭřda-* 'to paint' vs. SU and other dialects *sĭrla-*.

(13) Use of certain common conjectures and particles, e.g. *aŋwala* 'therefore', *änkiziz̈ä* 'then' as well as the strengthening particle *–la* etc. that do not exist in SU and other dialect regions.

(14) Both regions exhibit many Old Uyghur lexemes, especially compared to other dialects and accents of Uyghur.

(15) Both two varieties display basically identical copied-lexemes of Chinese and Mongolian origin.

Obviously, such a comparison violates several important facts. At the very least, it does not reflect those differences that exist in the incidence of phonological processes between two varieties, ignoring semantic and functional differences of the morphological forms discussed above. For instance, both Turfan and Qomul varieties display nasalized vowels as stated in (2). However, such nasalization is basically applied to low vowels originating from "Low vowel + Nasal" clusters in the Turfan dialect, while the Qomul variety extends it to close-mid vowels in dissyllabic or polysyllabic lexemes, e.g. [qelẽ] 'thick' (< *qelïn*), [ikkidẽ] 'by two' (< *ikkidïn*), [altõ] 'gold' (< *alton*), [čögö=] 'teapot' (< *čögün*). This might be more properly described with the diasystem below.

$$\text{TQ // VN} \rightarrow \tilde{\text{V}} \approx \frac{\text{T [+low] vowels}}{\text{Q all normal vowels}}$$

Again, in the case of the 2nd person personal pronoun *özlä* (polite form), it functions in contrast to the plural polite form *özlälä* in the Qomul variety and in contrast to its plural form *öziŋizlä* in the Turfan region. In Qomul *özlä* is frequently used to express politeness or respect, even in addressing small children, however it is less common in the Turfan region compared to the Qomul variety, and is only used to politely address highly respected people and not in addressing children, except for jokes. Clearly, we may find many divergent elements in the incidence of the so-called common features if we carefully investigate two varieties as independent systems.

### 1.5.2 Divergent elements

The short analysis of two items listed as common elements in 1.5.1 shows that the Turfan and Qomul varieties display divergent elements both in phonology and morphology. Apparently, this divergence is not limited to those found in the elements

analyzed above. Le Coq was the first scholar to pay attention to the departures existing between those two regional varieties.[13] He lists two items below in order to show the difference between the local dialects (Vulgärdialekts) spoken in Turfan and Qomul (1911: 2).

| Turfan | Qomul |
|---|---|
| Present | |
| 1. S. *qïlïmän* | *qïlïdïmā* |
| 1. Pl. *qïlïmïs* | *qïlïdïbïs* |
| Optative | |
| 1. Pl. *qïlïnī* | *bis qïlai-ning* |
| 1. Pl. *kätïnī* | *bis kätäi-ning* |

The difference exhibited in the present and optative formations in this table still exists between the Qomul and Turfan varieties. Below I add four further items that might be considered as significant linguistic features differentiating the Turfan and Qomul varieties from one another.

(1) In the Turfan region, voiceless plosives, fricatives, nasals and the palatal approximant /j/ geminate in an intervocalic position in CVCV stems as seen in [dŭppa] 'hat', [buqqa] 'bull', [müššüx] 'cat', etc, whereas the Qomul variety does not display such gemination;

(2) In the Turfan region, velars and uvulars become palatalized in certain lexemes, e.g. /dugilap/ → [dujilap] 'gathering', /qoɣlap/ → [qojlap] 'following', but in the Qomul variety do not;

(3) The progressive verb form originating from "[Converb + Postverb *jat*-] + Converb suffix {A} + [Auxiliary verb *tur*- + personal endings]" has developed into a structure of "[Verb stem + {(X)vat}] + personal endings" in the Turfan region as seen in *berivatimän* 'I am going', *körüvatimiz* 'We are seeing', whereas in the Qomul variety it developed into "[Verb stem + {(X)jtti}] + Personal endings", e.g. *barijttimä* 'I am going', *körüjttimiz* 'We are seeing';

(4) Both varieties display some divergent demonstrative pronouns as observed from Table 1-5.

Table 1-5 Demonstrative pronouns in the Turfan and Qomul varieties

| Turfan | Qomul | SU | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| ajnaq | unaq | undaq | like that |
| dašnaq | ešnaq | šundaq | like that |
| bu | bŭt | bu | this |
| da | ŭt | u | that |
| nädä | nättä | nädä | where |

13 Mannerheim also offers an interesting comparison of these two varieties, see Mannerheim 1940: 392.



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Both common and divergent elements are phonological and morphological, including certain lexical items. The crucial weakness of these lists is that they neither specify to which regions these features are actually distributed. This is mainly due to the fact that the data from the Qomul variety is from one or two villages, though the listed features of the Turfan dialect proved to be basically uniform to the whole region. Further questions arise if common elements are only found in regions like Qaradövä and Lapchuq where most of the population immigrated from Turfan during the last several centuries. Moreover, contact areas of both varieties are not limited to the two villages. Pichan was under the administration of Qomul District for many years, and several regions, especially Chiqtim and Yättiquduq are under the strong influence of the Qomul variety. Therefore, both common and divergent elements listed above are only general; different conclusions may be drawn if more comprehensive materials become available from different regions of Qomul.

## 1.6 Research on the Turfan dialect

### 1.6.1 Klaproth's word list

In 1814, German scholar Julius Klaproth published a word list from the Turfan dialect in his *Reise in den Kaukasus und nach Georgien unternommen in den Jahren 1807 und 1808*, which is the earliest known scholarly data on the Turfan dialect. According to his report, the data was recorded in 1806 from an inhabitant of Turfan during his visit to Siberia. He writes: "Auf meinen Reisen in Sibirien war ich im Jahre 1806 so glücklich einen Einwohner aus Turfan, dessen Muttersprache das Uigurische ist, zu *Ust Kamenogorsk* (einer Russischen Festung am Irtysch) zu finden, aus dessen Munde ich etwa neunzig Uigurische Wörter aufzechnete." (Klaproth 1814: 5). His word list comprises a total of 91 items, covering very basic semantic fields, i.e. weather, time, mountain and valley, metals and minerals, kinship, body parts and animals. He arranges the Turfan dialect words (he calls them Uighur) after the German gloss, providing Tartar forms for each item.[14] He presents the Turfan dialect words in a German alphabet-based transcription, offering their Tartar equivalents in Arabic script.

Klaproth's data shows that low vowels did not become raised as seen in the lexemes *jašil* 'blue' (*jaschil* 498), *tün jarim* 'midnight' (*tjun = jarim* 498), initial *t* had been preserved in the lexemes *tüš* (*tjusch* 498) 'noon' and *tinjiz* 'sea' (*tingiz* 499), whereas in the present Turfan dialect the low vowel *a* raises to *e* in the lexemes cited above, and the consonant *t* in *tüš* is palatalized as seen in *čüš*, being changed to *d* in the case of the second lexeme, e.g. *denjiz*. As far as the lexicon is concerned, both native and copied forms of certain lexemes co-exist. For instance, for 'foot' he registers two lexical units, *put* and *ajaq*, and the first one clearly is of Persian origin. Unfortunately, his data is limited to a small number of words and expressions.

14 Here "Tartar" seems to stand for a common literary language used in most parts of Central Asia at that time.

### 1.6.2 Kathanov's texts edited by Menges

Collection of rather systematic materials from the Turfan dialect began with the pioneering fieldwork of the Russian scholar N.Th. Kathanov around 1891-1892.[15] Kathanov's texts recorded in Xinjiang reportedly reached 2384 pages, out of which only 934 pages were translated (Menges 1976: 4). His Turfan dialect texts are mainly from Lükchün and Turfan, including limited data from Pichan. His original records are said to be given in the Russian academic transcription. However, what is widely known to the academic world is the excellent edition of his materials by K. Menges in *Volkskundliche Texte aus Ost-Türkistan*, in which Menges presents all materials in Latin transcription together with German translations, philological notes and a word index. Later, Menges published an analytic word list for all published texts.[16]

Most texts collected by Kathanov in Turfan represent the pure spoken language used at the time, though the dictations of certain religious and folkloric texts do not show a crucial difference from the written forms. As the Kathanov's materials show, both the raising and reduction of low vowels *a* and *ä* had already appeared at that time, e.g. *jeri* 'place-3POSS' (Menges 1943: XXXVI 51) and *bałesi* 'child-3POSS' (1943: XXXVI 5), though the reduction had not yet been extended to many verb forms as seen in *satadu* (Menges 1943: XXXVI 79), and *bolsama* (Menges 1943: XLVI 61). The strengthening of /v/ to [g] is observable in more lexical items than the present Turfan dialect, e.g. *garaq* 'page' (Menges 1976: XXXI 3), *gādž* 'wealth' (Menges 1943: XXXVIII 10) and the intervocalic *b* does not undergo fricativization like in the present Turfan dialect (see 2.3.3), e.g. *qobuqči* 'door-keeper official' (Menges 1943: XXXVI 8). The present participle is not marked with {dan} like in the present Turfan dialect, but occurs in the form {tWrGAn} as seen in *qiłaturyan* (Menges 1943: XXXVI 5), and aorist displays different forms for singular and plural, e.g. *turur* (Menges 1943: XXXVI 51), *tururlar* (Menges 1943: XXXVI 8); a large number of Arabic/Persian and Chinese-copied lexemes frequently occur, and so on. Without doubt, in addition to their high linguistic value, Kathanov's texts also serve as a precious source for investigations on the local history, ethnic relations and folklore of the Turfan region.

### 1.6.3 Le Coq's publications

Albert von Le Coq, a leader and active participant of the 2nd - 4th German expeditions, not only made important contributions to the collection of archeological materials and ancient written documents from different parts of present Xinjiang, but he also recorded samples of the spoken language used in Turfan, Qomul and Kucha during his expeditions (mainly see Le Coq 1911, 1925). He often made use of these materials in his philological publications, discussing many cultural, historical and geographical terms in his other works concerning the Turfan expeditions (mainly see Le Coq 1916, Le Coq 1922). As far as the Turfan dialect is concerned, his two publications *Sprichwörter und Lieder aus der Gegend von Turfan* (henceforth *Sprichwörter*) and *Das*

15 See Kathanov 1893. For short introduction see Menges 1976: 4.

16 SPAW XXXII (1933): 1171-1293 (reprinted in Menges 1976), Menges 1943 and Menges 1954.



*Lī Kitābī* (henceforth *Lī Kitābī*) present rich linguistic materials from the spoken language by the local Uyghurs of Turfan.

His *Sprichwörter* comprises four parts: (i) introduction (pp. 1-5), (ii) proverbs (pp. 6-47), (iii) love songs (pp. 48-68), also including a Rämäzān song (pp. 63-66) and (iv) a praise of his expedition written by Ōbul Mähdī (Abū'l Mähdī/ Ōbul Mäχdī, p. 79), a local intelligent of Turfan. At the end of this book, he presents a list of dialect words recorded at Qara-Chōdscha (pp. 81-100). *Lī Kitābī* is the transcription and German translation of an etiquette book dictated by Ōbul Mäχdī. Unlike the works of Kathanov, Le Coq's materials recorded in Turfan are mostly 'reading-passage style' texts, and the transcriptions of dictations always appear with the Arabic-script originals side by side, representing formal speech. Most importantly, his materials not only reflect important aspects of the local Uyghur dialects, but also allow us to understand existing differences between the written and spoken languages.

One very obvious linguistic feature of the Turfan dialect observed in the Le Coq's texts is the raising of low vowels. Notably, such a phenomenon was not reflected in the written language, though it seems to be rather widespread in the spoken language. For instance, in the *Sprichwörter* we found Q'ŠYD' was read *qešida* 'at his side', Q'RYM'S as *qerimas* 'does not become old', and M'LYM as *melim* 'my livestock'. Further distinctions between the spoken and written languages are also observable. For instance, *č* is realized as the postvelar fricative [š] followed by voiceless plosives, e.g. *qašqan* 'having escaped'; intervocalic *b* is palatalized as observed in *töwän* 'under, low'; the final *z* is devoiced as seen in *bös* (No. 21, 61) and graphically *f* was mostly pronounced as *p* as seen in *epändim* 'Mr.' (written as 'FNDYM, 68, 13:1) and *pul* 'money' (written as FL, 68, 13:10) and so on.[17]

Notably, in his publications, Le Coq not only provides dialect materials, he often discusses important features of the Turfan dialect, comparing it with the dialect of neighbouring Qomul, and also occasionally with the Kashghar dialect (Le Coq 1911: 2-5). In the edition of proverbs, he often presents the counterparts for the proverbs from *Pañcatanra*, citing similar proverbs from Radloff's *Proben* and other available sources. In his word list, he often compares the registered items with the written forms, and very often with the local Uyghur varieties spoken in Kucha, Qomul and other regions also. Therefore, his works on the Turfan dialect, especially his *Sprichwörter* could also be considered as pioneering dialectological work on the Turfan dialect.

### 1.6.4 Malov and Tenishev's fieldwork

Two eminent Russian Turcologists, S. E. Malov and A. R. Tenishev also worked on the Turfan dialect. Malov's fieldwork is said to have been carried out between 1909-1911 and 1913-1914, though his report on this fieldwork was published in 1934. Most materials published by Malov have no clear time and place indications, however, his remarks tell us that his Turfan dialect materials are mainly from Turfan and Astana

17 The first word is written Q'ČQ'N (S. 54, 16), the second word as TWB'N (S. 52, 30), and the second as BWZ (No. 21, 61).

(Malov 1934: 311-331). Besides this report, Malov published some riddles (66-76), tongue twisters (76-77), proverbs (77-79) and folk songs (80-88) from the Turfan dialect in his *Ujgurkie narečija Sin'tszjana*, in which he offers every text in Russian translation along with short philological notes. Unique words and phrases occurring in these texts are incorporated into a vocabulary arranged at the end of the said monograph. Malov's texts, together with the records by Kathanov and Le Coq, compose a corpus of Turfan dialect materials, and enable us to rather systematically understand the linguistic status of this local dialect between the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Tenishev's Turfan dialect materials are mainly available from his corpus of Uyghur dialect texts (1984: 7-17) and his dialect dictionary (1990). The basis of both works is material collected during the Second Linguistic Survey carried out in 1956. Unfortunately, the same as with Malov's Turfan texts, Tenishev's Turfan dialect corpus is fairly small, consisting of a limited number of short texts and folk songs. However, as the only publicly available data of the Turfan dialect from the 1950s, Tenishev's texts are precious and certainly serve as an important source in understanding the status of this dialect after the establishment of the Uyghur literary language.

### 1.6.5 Further publications by western scholars

Some other western scholars have also worked on the Turfan dialect. C. G. Mannerheim recorded and published some words and expressions from the Turfan dialect (Mannerheim 1940: 392); W. Bang and J. Marquart presented their analysis of some important phonological and morphological features of the Turfan dialect mainly based on Le Coq's materials (Bang & Marquart 1914:12), G. Jarring's monograph on Uyghur phonology includes important notes on the classificatory features of this dialect, offering a comprehensive list of heretofore-published works (Jarring 1933: X-XI), Tenishev concludes some classificatory features of the dialect (Tenishev 1963: 138-139), and A. T. Kajdarov outlines the scholarship and main features of the Turfan dialect mainly based on the Malov and Tenishev's materials (Kajdarov 1969: 72-80).

### 1.6.6 Investigations in China

China's study of the Turfan dialect begins in 1955 during the First Linguistic Survey on the Minority Languages. Reportedly, intensive fieldworks have been carried out in Astana, Buyluq, Turfan city and Yar (Li 1999: 186). Special emphasis was also paid to the Turfan dialect during the Second Linguistic Survey in 1956. Regrettably, only very general information and extremely short outlines are known of both surveys (Li 1956, 1999: 183-194; Tenishev 1963). Due to the well-known reason, all dialectological investigations completely stopped until the end of 1970s. However, valuable attempts at a linguistic description of the Turfan dialect have been made both by Chinese and native Uyghur scholars in recent years. The number of publications is considerable and most are on the basic aspects of the phonetics and morphology of the Turfan dialect in contrast to SU, and some also deal with specific accents within the Turfan dialect. Amongst them, M. Osmanov's general outline (Osmanov 1990: 61-75), Muhäbbät



Qasim's description of the Murtuq accent (Muhäbbät & Haliq 1984, Qasim 1985) and Räväydulla Hämdulla's investigation of the Turfan dialect lexicon (Räväydulla 1984, Räväydulla 1987) are of special interest.

Osmanov's outline is based upon published materials since 1955, and also consults his own records from Astana and Dighar in 1988. He lists the absence of *j* preceded by high vowels as seen in *ilan* 'snake' (SU *yılan*), the change of *w* to *g* as seen in *tugap* 'pray' (SU *tawap*), the palatalization of *t* to *č* (compare SU *tiš* and Turfan *čiš*), the voicing of *p*, *k*, *q* in intervocalic position and rather consistent combination of *g* and *k* with front vowels as seen in *gül* 'flower' (SU *gul*), *köjnä* 'old' (SU kona) etc. as the main phonetic features of the Turfan dialect. He counts the use of the *–ni* genitive found in *bizni ata animiz* 'our parents' (SU *biziŋ ata animiz*), the formation of an aorist with *–ur* and voluntative with *–jni/-lni* as the main morphological features differentiating the Turfan dialect from SU and other dialects of Uyghur. At the end he lists some dialect lexemes used in Turfan.

Qasim's description of the Murtuq accent mainly focuses on the phonetic and morphological features of this local variety. She registers a considerable amount of phonetic facts reflecting differences between the Murtuq accent and SU, e.g. retroflex pronunciation of a trill *r*, preservation of close *e* in the words *de-* 'to say, tell' and *je-* 'eat', assimilation processes as seen in *jassun* 'let her/his sleep' (SU *jatsun*), *ojjättä* 'seventeen' (SU *on jättä*) and *nanɣa* 'for bread' (SU *nanɣa*), fusion of main verb with auxiliary verbs etc., though most of them are uniform to the whole Turfan region, some of them, especially the assimilation of *t* to *s* followed by *s* etc., are common to almost all dialects of Uyghur. Notably, most materials listed in Qasim's paper are fresh and original, and permit the understanding of main aspects of the Murtuq accent.

Hämdulla's list of Turfan dialect words (Räväydulla 1987) is the result of long years of effort. As a native speaker of the Turfan dialect, he records many dialect words and expressions from his own town of Khandu as well as from the speech of other people from various parts of Turfan whom he encountered. He lists more than 300 entries of dialect words that he considered to be unique to the Turfan region. Regrettably, he offers them only in Arabic-based Uyghur script and does not specify the places where the words are taken from.

Besides the general and descriptive works mentioned above, Nusrat Ärshidin's interesting paper on the Turfan dialect (Ärshidin 1997) must also be mentioned. In this paper, the author argues for the first time the possibility of an internal classification of the Turfan dialect, and discusses some phonetic and lexical differences existing within the Turfan dialect speaking regions. Unfortunately, he relies only on fragmentary materials recorded from some students from Lükchün, Toxsun and Turfan.

Despite the rather large number, the works of Chinese and native Uyghur scholars suffer from many shortcomings. First of all, in Uyghur dialectology in China dialects have never been treated as an independent system, often considering them as the local realizations of Standard Uyghur. In some publications dialect features are even regarded as 'shortcomings' (*jetišsizlik*), and the aim of most researches was the popularization of

Standard Uyghur among the speakers of different dialects (Niyaz 2000: 23). Therefore, many important linguistic features unique to specific dialects, including the Turfan dialect, are excluded from the scope of the Chinese dialect studies. And then, most researchers conclude dialect features based on isolated words, mostly neglecting the importance of short sentences and text materials taken from natural speech. As a result, considerable materials treated as the basis of dialect analysis, are actually the representations of the researchers own dialect (mostly SU) by informants, and hardly reflect the real situation of investigated dialects. Furthermore, unsystematic methods and analysis, over-standardized but less accurate transcriptions, ignorance of preceding research results and extremely frequent printing mistakes largely reduce the value of the published data, though for the latter the researchers are not completely responsible.

## 1.7 Transcription, abbreviations and symbols

### 1.7.1 Transcription

#### 1.7.1.1 Transcription of dialect data

All materials from the Uyghur dialects, including the Turfan dialect data, are principally transcribed in the 1993 version of IPA (updated 1996),[18] principally in a broad phonetic transcription, however the following revisions have been made:

| | |
|---|---|
| ï = [ɯ] | ä = [æ] |
| ö = [ø] | ü = [y] |
| ǰ = [j] | č = [ç] |
| ž = [ʒ] | š = [ʃ] |
| ř = [ɾ] | ġ = [ɣ] |

#### 1.7.1.2 Transcription of specific languages and dialects

The following transcription systems were used for specific old and modern languages:

(1) SU data is given in phonemic transcription, strictly following normalized spellings established in the *Hazirqi zaman Ujyur ädäbij tilinŋ imla vä tälappuz luγiti* (UTITL, revised 1997).
(2) All cited data from the published works on the Uyghur dialects basically occur in original transcription but with necessary notational adjustments.
(3) Old Turkic words are presented in the transcription system introduced in UW.
(4) Arabic words are basically given in the transcription system used in Wehr 1977, and Persian words in the transcription system used in Steingass 1957.
(5) Mongolian words basically appear in the transcription system introduced in Lessing 1960.

18 A full version of this IPA is available at the home page of the International Phonetic Association (http://www2.arts.gla.ac.uk/IPA/ipa.html) and in printed form in Ladefoged 2001 (inside front and back covers).



(6) Sogdian words appear in the transcription given in Gharib 1995.
(7) Chaghatay words are basically in the transcription introduced in Eckmann 1966 in consultation with Bodroligeti 2001.
(8) Chinese words (including personal and place names) are basically in the Pinyin transcription system, while in necessary cases also in IPA.

#### 1.7.1.3 Transcription of personal and place names

In the English text, the Uyghur personal and place names have been transliterated with a transcription system which is readable and "English-Alphabet" based, in which I preferred *sh* instead of *š*, *ch* instead of *č*, *gh* instead of *γ* and *kh* instead of *x*. However, I transcribe vowels consistently following the written norms of SU.

### 1.7.2 Abbreviations

#### 1.7.2.1 Linguistic terms

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1pl | 1st person plural | INTER | interjection |
| 1sg | 1st person singular | INTR | intransitive |
| 2pl | 2nd person plural | IT | intraterminal |
| 2sg | 2nd person singular | ITPple | intraterminal paticiple |
| 3pl | 3rd person plural | LOC | locative |
| 3sg | 3rd person singular | N | nominal (in morphology) |
| ABL | ablative | NEG | negation |
| ABIL | ability marker | ONOM | onomatopoeic |
| AcN | action noun | OPT | optative |
| ACC | accusative | PASS | passive |
| ADJ | adjective | PER | personal suffix |
| ADV | adverb | Pl | plural |
| Aor/AOR | aorist | POL | polite form |
| AUX | auxiliary | POLPOSS | polite possessive |
| CAUS | causative | POSS | possessive |
| CLASS | classifier | PostP | postposition |
| COLL | collective | PostV | postverb |
| COM | comitative | Pple | participle |
| COMP | comparative | PRES | present |
| COND | conditional | PST | past |
| CONJ | conjecture | PT | postterminal |
| CONV | converb | PTPple | postterminal participle |
| COOP | vying and cooperation | Q | interregative |
| COP | copula | QPART | interregative particle |
| DIM | diminutive | RECIP | reciprocal |
| DIR | directive | REFL | reflective |
| EQUA | equative | RESP | respectful form |
| EvPst | evidential past | sg | singular |
| GEN | genitive | SPST | simple past |
| IMPER | imperative | SP | standard pronunciation |

| | |
|---|---|
| tr | transitive |
| HabPst | habitual past |
| VOL | voluntative |

1.7.2.2 Languages

| | |
|---|---|
| Ar. | Arabic |
| Az. | Azarbaijan |
| Chag. | Chagatay |
| Chin. | Chinese |
| Kaz. | Kazakh |
| Khal. | Khalaj |
| Kir. | Kirghiz |
| Manch. | Manchurian |
| Mong. | Mongolian |
| MChin. | Middle Chinese |
| OT | Old Turkic |
| Per. | Persian |
| Rus. | Russian |
| SU | Standard Uyghur |
| Sal. | Salar |
| Ta. | Tatar |
| Toch. | Tocharian |
| Tuv. | Tuvan |
| Uzb. | Uzbek |
| YUyghur | Yellow Uyghur |

1.7.2.3 Place names

| | |
|---|---|
| As | Astana |
| Buy | Buyluq |
| Di | Dighar |
| Lük | Lükchün |
| LükAm | Lükchün Amansha |
| LükD | Lükchün Dikhansu |
| LükY | Lükchün Yengisha |
| MirY | Miränyoli |
| Mur | Murtuq |
| Pich | Pichan |
| QaraGh | Qaraghoja |
| SayK | Saykariz |
| Tox | Toxsun |
| ToxBazar | Toxsun Baziri |
| ToxIlanliq | Toxsun Ilanliq |
| ToxOyman | Toxsun Oyman Kariz |
| Tur | Turfan city |
| Yang | Yanghe |
| Yor | Yormung |

1.7.3 Symbols

| | |
|---|---|
| ? | without pause |
| / | short pause |
| // | long pause |
| # | word boundary |
| R | sonorant |
| $ | syllable boundary |
| {} | morpheme |
| C | [+ consonantal] or [- syllabic] |
| N | nasal |
| V | vowel, [-consonantal] |
| + | morpheme boundary |
| vd | voiced |
| vl | voiceless |
| ' | primary stress |
| '' | secondary stress |
| : | length mark |
| << | copied from |

1.7.4 Title abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| AOH | *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* |
| BTT | *Berliner Turfan-Texte* |
| CAJ | *Central Asiatic Journal* |
| ED | See Clauson 1972 |
| HT | Xuanzang Biography |
| OTWF | Erdal 1991 |
| PhTF | *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* |
| QZW | See Shōgaito & Yakup 2001 |
| SPAW | *Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* |
| TMEN | See Doerfer 1963-1975 |
| UW | See Röhrborn 1977 ff. |
| UAJb | *Uralaltaische Jahrbücher* |
| UAJb N.F. | *Uralaltaische Jahrbücher, Neue Folge* |
| VDSUA | *Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica* |
| WTQW | See *Wu-ti Qing Wen-jian* |

# 2 PHONOLOGY

The phonemic system of the Turfan dialect exhibits a rather different picture than those found in SU and the other dialects of Uyghur. Divergent phonological elements exist not only in the phoneme inventory and the realization of certain phonemes, but also in the phonotactics, phonological processes and the sandhi rules. In the phoneme inventory, [f] and [ž] are not segmental in the Turfan dialect, and /r/ is realized as an alveolar tap in intervocalic, syllable-final positions, excluding some regions of Toxsun and the Turfan city proper. The incidence of same or similar phonemes also differ from those of SU and other dialects of Uyghur in particular lexical items, i.e. both vowels in /čuka/ 'chopsticks' are back in SU, but they are realized as front in the Turfan dialect, e.g. /čükä/. Also, many possible consonant clusters found in SU are not permitted in the Turfan dialect, unique features of the Turfan dialect are more apparent in the patterns of sound harmony as well as in various processes observed in connected speech. All of these distinctive phonological factors of the Turfan dialect are the subject of this chapter. Our description begins with an analysis of the phonemic system of the Turfan dialect, which offers a list of the phoneme inventories together with a brief description and explanation of the main phonological rules. The analysis continues with the stating of permissible strings, i.e. consonant clusters in mono- and polysyllabic lexemes, distributional restrictions – both on vowel and consonant phonemes –and finally, our discussions will concentrate on the sound harmony and the basic phonological processes of the Turfan dialect. In conclusion, certain important features of the sentence phonology of the Turfan dialect will be briefly mentioned.

## 2.1 The phonemic inventory

### 2.1.1 Vowel phonemes

Principally, as in SU as well as in most dialects of Uyghur, the following eight short segmental vowel phonemes can be determined in the Turfan dialect: */a, ä, e, i, o, ö, u, ü/*. Table 2-1 displays the vowel phonemes of the Turfan dialect together with typical examples (mostly) of their occurrence in stressed monosyllabic words.

The contrast between *i* and *ï*, which is claimed to be observed in Old Turkic and some modern Turkic languages does not exist in the Turfan dialect.[19] In certain lexemes the front *i* may appear after the uvulars *q* and γ in the Turfan dialect, e.g. *qinana* 'mother-in-law', *qilin* 'thick-skinned, shameless', *ɣidirä* 'earthenware bowl'. However, the back *ï* still mostly occurs before or after uvulars, pharyngeals, and glottals (for details see 2.1.3.1). */e/* may occur in some closed syllabic words as in Old Turkic, e.g. *beš* 'five', *jette* 'seven'. Note that, *e* is lowered to [ä] in SU and in most dialects of Uyghur, e.g. *bäš*, *jättä* and so on. In the Turfan dialect *e* contrasts with *i* in a word-initial position, e.g. *et-* 'to do' vs. *it* 'dog'. In the Lükchün and Say Kariz regions where *r* and *j* alternate, such a contrast is even observable in *kej-* 'to wear' vs. *kij-* 'to enter'. According to our data *e* does contrast with *ä* in the first syllable of polysyllabic lexemes.

Table 2-1 The vowel phonemes of the Turfan dialect (segmental)

| Phonemes | Closed syllables | Open syllables |
|---|---|---|
| /a/ | *aq* 'white', *qat* 'communication' | *ča* 'tea', *ada* 'mental pain' |
| /ä/ | *än* 'then', *bäk* 'firm' | *jä-* 'to eat', *kürä* 'yard' |
| /e/ | *beš* 'five', *sej-* 'to gesture' | *te-* 'to plant', *jette* 'seven' |
| /i/ | *it* 'dog', *nij* 'far' | *di-* 'to speak', *sivi* 'daybreak' |
| /o/ | *ot* 'grass', *toɣ* 'dust' | *qo* 'sheep', *osol* 'bad' |
| /ö/ | *öt-* 'to pass', *bök* 'cap' | *pütö* 'solid', *ögüj* 'step-child' |
| /u/ | *uq-* 'to know', *suz* 'slow' | *u* '(s)he', *su* 'water' |
| /ü/ | *üz* 'face', *kün* 'day' | *tümän* 'ten thousand', *büːrü* 'wolf' |

The examples given in table 2-1 contain sufficient minimal pairs to prove the phonemic contrast between */a/* and */ä/*, */o/* and */ö/*, and */u/* and */ü/*. The contrast between these vowels is clearly observable in word-initial, word-final positions as well as in other positions, e.g. *at* 'horse' vs. *ät* 'meat', *tar* 'narrow' vs. *tär* 'sweat', *da* 'that' vs. *dä-* 'to say', *ot* 'grass' vs. *öt-* 'to pass', *bol-* 'to become' vs. *böl-* 'to divide', *to* 'wedding' vs. *tō* 'four'[20], *uč* 'edge' vs. *üč* 'three', *sur* 'yellow' vs. *sür-* 'to drive'. However, in some lexemes *a* vs. *ä*, and *u* vs. *ü* are not information-bearing in the Turfan dialect, e.g. *čapča* ~ *čäpčä* 'spike-toothed metal harrow, wooden or iron lay-fork', *ajla* ~ *äjlä* 'older sister', *dunja* ~ *dünja* 'world', *ǰuj* ~ *ǰüj* 'idea', *dušman* 'enemy' ~ *düšmän*, etc.

These eight segmental vowel phonemes in the Turfan dialect are mainly characterized by the oppositions high vs. low, front vs. back and unrounded vs. rounded; see below the Table 2-2.

19 See Erdal 2004: 52-59. However, according to some scholars Old Turkic *i* vs. *ï* is uncertain, see Pritsak 1961, Röhrborn 1996b and Johanson 1998a: 89-90.

20 *to* vs. *tō* only exists in most southern regions of Turfan where *j* is frequently deleted and *r* and *j* alternate. Notably, *o* and *ö* in both lexemes may also be prolonged, i.e. *to:* and *tö:*.



Table 2-2 Features of the short vowel phonemes in the Turfan dialect

| | i | e | u | ü | a | ä | o | ö |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| high | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - |
| back | - | - | + | - | + | - | + | - |
| round | - | - | + | + | - | - | + | + |
| low | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | - |

Long vowels are relevant in some lexemes, however, they are basically secondary, mainly resulting from the deletion of the following consonants or consonant clusters, e.g. *aː* 'moon' (compare to OT *ay*, SU *aj*), *aːrï-* 'to pain' (compare to OT *aɣrï*, SU *aɣrï*), *baːmaq* 'thumb' (compare to OT and SU *barmaq*), *toː* 'wedding' (compare to OT and SU *toj*), *qoː* 'sheep' (compare to OT *qoy*, SU *qoj*), *öː* 'house' (compare to OT *ev*, SU *öj*), *töː* 'four' (compare to OT *tört*, SU *töt*). Basically, such long vowels are specific to the Dighar, Say Kariz and adjacent regions where j-deletion is frequent.

Long vowels are also observable in very limited copied lexemes, e.g. *gadaː* 'poor' << Per. *gadā*, *aːlim* << Ar. *ʿālim* 'scholar'.

In the Turfan dialect the vowel length has phonemic value only in limited lexemes, e.g. *maːta* 'steamed dumpling' vs. *mata* 'coarse, homespun cloth',[21] *al-* 'to take' vs. *aːl* 'front, front side', *et-* 'to do' vs. *eːt-* 'to tell'. The contrast in the last lexeme is only observable in the Murtuq and Yanghe regions.

Primary vowel length is preserved in certain lexemes, e.g. *büːrï* 'wolf' (Turkm. *böːrï*), *soːř-* 'to ask' (Turkm. *soːra-*), *boːš* 'empty' (DLT *boːš*). However, in most cases primary vowel lengths are reduced to short vowels in the Turfan dialect, e.g. *taɣ* 'mountain' (Turkm. *daːɣ*, Khal. *taːᵃɣ*), *tavan* 'heel' (Turkm. *daːban*), *bol-* 'to become' (DLT *boːl-*, Yak. *buol-*), *süt* 'milk' (Turkm. *sʲüt*, Yak. *üːt*), etc.[22]

The etymology of long vowels in some lexemes of the Turfan dialect is not clear, e.g. *maːlka* 'older brother', *alaːka* 'older brother', *oːpa* 'tunnel', *qoːčuš* 'handful', *čïːqan* 'abscess', etc.

### 2.1.2 Consonant phonemes

The Turfan dialect displays the following 22 consonant phonemes: /b, p, d, t, g, k, ɣ, q, χ, v, ǰ, č, z, s, š, h, m, n, ŋ, l, r, j/, comprising three pairs of voiced and voiceless stops (/b, p, d, t, g, k/) plus /q/, two affricatives (/č, ǰ/), seven fricatives (/s, z, χ, ɣ, š, v, h/), three nasals (/m, n, ŋ/), two liquids (/l, r/), and one approximant, namely /j/.

Unlike SU and the Kashghar dialect, the consonant system of the Turfan dialect does not display /f/ and /ž/. The consonant [f] occurs in very limited lexemes – mostly in copied lexemes. Thus far, we have found [f] in a word-initial position only once: in the word *faŋčän* 'rent'. Furthermore, it occurs in certain lexemes as a realization of /p/ (see 2.1.3.2). Notably, [ž] is also not common in ideophones as we have found in most Uyghur dialects. In our data we found [ž] only in the ideophone [waž-waž] 'sizzling

21 The first word took the present shape having experienced the development *manta* → *māta*.

22 The examples for the vowel length in other Turkic languages are taken from Tekin 1995.

sound' (18: 333, 24: 7). More interestingly, the [ž] used in originals of some copied lexical items is often replaced by /j/ in the Turfan dialect, e.g., *äjdiha* 'dragon' << Per. *aždahā* (compare to SU *äždiha*, Kashghar *äždiha*). The following table shows the basic distribution of the consonant phonemes of the Turfan dialect.

Table 2-3 Consonant phonemes of the Turfan dialect

| Phonemes | Word-initial | Intervocalic | Word-final |
|---|---|---|---|
| /b/ | *böz* 'cotton-stuff' | *ja:ba* 'mute' | |
| /p/ | *piš-* 'come to maturity' | *apa* 'mother | *täp* 'fever' |
| /d/ | *da* 'that' | *idä* 'childbirth' | |
| /t/ | *tal* 'tree' | *patan* 'neck' | *čat-* 'join' |
| /g/ | *gäl* 'throat' | *agal* 'before' | *bäg* 'official' |
| /k/ | *kül* 'ash' | *tikän* 'wooden hanger' | *kök* 'vegetable' |
| /ɣ/ | *ɣař* 'cave' | *aɣa* 'brother' | *jaɣ* 'oil' |
| /q/ | *qat* 'communication' | *čaqan* 'fast' | *šoq* 'happy' |
| /χ/ | *χaχ* 'people' | *taχař* 'donkey foal' | *soχ* 'cold' |
| /ǰ/ | *ǰïq* 'sated' | *ǰüǰäm* 'mulberry' | |
| /č/ | *čaq-* 'crash' | *qača* 'bowl' | *ač-* 'open' |
| /v/ | *vij-* 'give'[23] | *tüvä* 'roof' | |
| /z/ | *zaŋ* 'dirty' | *teza* 'extremely' | *biz* 'we' |
| /s/ | *saj* 'now' | *jesi* 'flat' | *bas-* 'press' |
| /š/ | *šïř* 'dense' | *dašu* 'that' | *aš* 'food' |
| /h/ | *het* 'festival' | *ahu* 'small goat' | *dah* 'that' |
| /m/ | *maš* 'beans' | *saman* 'straw' | *tam* 'taste' |
| /n/ | *nä* 'reed-pipe' | *qanaq* 'how' | *san* 'number' |
| /ŋ/ | | *siŋïř* 'tendon' | *paŋ* 'deaf' |
| /l/ | *lim* 'pillor' | *alaŋ* 'baren' | *al-* 'take' |
| /r/ | *ras* 'true' | *qara* 'black' | *tař* 'narrow' |
| /j/ | *jal* 'a horse's mane' | *äjal* 'lady' | *dej* 'gradually' |

The voiced pairs of plosives, including /v/ and /ǰ/ do not occur in word-final positions in the Turfan dialect,[24] only /ŋ/ is not permitted in word-initial position, while the remaining consonant phonemes of the Turfan dialect occur in word-initial, intervocalic and word-final positions.

2.1.3 Phonetic realizations and allophonic rules

Table 2-1 and Table 2-3 provide basic information on rather general and basic distributional features of the vowel and consonant phonemes in the Turfan dialect. In this section, we try to describe and discuss further facts on the phonetic realizations and allophonic rules both of the vowel and consonant phonemes in more detail.

23 Only exists in the Dighar, Say Kariz regions, while other regions mostly display *bä(ř)-*.

24 The only exception is /g/, however, it mostly goes to fricativization at word-final position in the Turfan dialect, e.g. *bäg* → [bäɣ].



2.1.3.1 Vowels

2.1.3.1.1 /a/

In the Turfan dialect /a/ represents an open back unrounded vowel despite a being generally described as an open front unrounded vowel. Its pronunciation is rather close to [ɑ] found in the cardinal vowel (CV) scale, though in the Turfan dialect it is not back and open as is [ɑ]; as shown in the CV scale. In the Turfan dialect a back *a* mainly occurs in the following three environments:[25]

(i) Before or after velars: [ɑkɑ] 'older brother, Mr.' (65: 100), [kɑrïz] 'karez' (19: 36), [ɑgɑl] 'before' (18: 263), [ǰɑŋgɑl] 'jungle' (18: 251).

(ii) Before or after uvulars: [ǰɑjɑq] 'on foot' (70: 65), [qɑšqïř] 'a sort of grape' (6: 1), [bɑɣ] 'garden' (1: 1), [χɑrɑ:z] 'oil press'.

(iii) Before or after glottals: [bɑhɑ] 'price' (57: 47), [hɑrɑvədɑ] 'at the chariot' (17: 196).

In the case of (i), *a* is obviously advanced and should actually be represented as [ɑ+] more accurately.

/a/ is realized as a front, open, unrounded [a] before or after the voiced bilabial [b], alveolars, fricatives, tap, postalveolars and approximants, e.g.,

[balɑŋza] 'boy, child' (17: 140), [čapsa] 'suitable' (67: 33), [ǰabduq] 'object' (2: 2), [asïqal] 'white beard, alderman' (28: 42), [teza] 'very' (29: 197).

/a/ is realized as central open vowel ( = [ɐ] in the CV scale) preceded by the voiceless bilabial [p] and alveolars, e.g., [pɐlčaχ] 'mud' (22: 109), [mɐtɐ] 'cotton cloth' (59: 17), [dɐdɐ] 'grandfather' (59: 158), [tɐχař] donkey foal', [ɐtɐ] 'father' (18: 181).[26]

/a/ is often prolonged (represented by [a:]) in open syllables preceded or followed by the voiced labial-velar approximant [w], e.g., [ɑ:wun] 'many', [ɑ:wuj] 'honour', [akɑ:wuř] 'arrogant', occasionally also preceded by the labio-dental approximant [v], e.g., [sa:va] '*sava*-grape'.

2.1.3.1.2 /ä/

In the Turfan dialect /ä/ is an open front unrounded vowel, and obviously similar to CV [æ]. It is prolonged in an open syllabic position in the first syllable of polysyllabic lexemes, e.g. [ä:zikin] 'then', [bä:čäj] 'Chinese cabbage'. The long vowel [ä:] found in [gä:] 'word' results from a rather complex phonological process as discussed in 2.3.7.

2.1.3.1.3 /e/

/e/ is a close-mid front unrounded vowel in the Turfan dialect; it is mostly realized as a raised variant of the low vowel /a/ in polysyllabic words in the word-initial position, e.g. [erïɣ] ~ [erïχ] 'clean, pure' (compare to OT *arïɣ*), [eɣïz] 'mouth' (compare to OT *aɣïz*), *serimsaq* 'garlic' (compare to OT *sarïmsaq*).

25 Different realizations of /a/ are not reflected in our transcription of the text materials, representing it with the same letter (a) in all circumstances.

26 This realization of /a/ is also not reflected in our transcription.

As we will see in Table 2-4, *e* in the following numerals goes back to the Old Turkic closed *e*, while in SU and in the other dialects of Uyghur such an *e* is mostly lowered, e.g.,

Table 2-4 Turfan dialect preservation of the close *e*

| Turfan | OT | SU | Kashghar | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| de- | de- | dä-[27] | dä- | speak |
| beš | beš | bäš | bäš | five |
| alte | alte | altä | altä | six |
| jette | jette | jättä | jettä | seven |
| sekiz | sekız | säkkiz | säkkiz | eight |

However, the Old Turkic closed *e* is also lowered to [ä] in a considerable number of lexemes in the Turfan dialect, e.g. *bäl* 'waist' (compare to OT *bel*), *jäl* 'wind' (compare to OT *yel*), *jä-* 'to eat' (compare to OT *ye-*), etc.

2.1.3.1.4 /i/

Isolated pronunciation of this phoneme in the Turfan dialect is almost identical with lax closed front unrounded vowel [ɪ] found in the CV scale.

Generally, /i/ is realized as a back close unrounded vowel [ï] before or after the uvulars, e.g., [čïq-] 'to go' (12: 25), [qïz] 'girl' (18: 294), [teqïm] 'buttocks' (29: 113), [eγïr] 'heavy' (11: 8), [ajγïr] 'stallion' (17: 340). However, in the Turfan dialect /i/ may also be realized as close front unrounded [i] in many words preceded or followed by the uvulars, e.g. [qijit] 'gathering after the circumcision rite', [qilin] 'shameless' (4: 14), [qitim] 'time' (28: 3), [γidirä] 'earthenware bowl', [eγinɨlä] 'friends' (11: 1), [χičir] 'mole' (28: 57).

/i/ is realized as a close front unrounded [i] in the following environments:

(i) Before and after the alveolar and the velar plosives: [ittik] 'fast' (18: 106), [ämdi] 'now, well' (17: 268), [igičä] 'old sister', [ikki] 'two' (18: 126),

(ii) Before nasals, velars and laterals: [inidä] 'to be careful' (18: 622), [iŋiz] 'stubble' (57: 4), [igin] 'clothes' (18: 279), [kilin] 'daughter-in-law' (79: 1),

(iii) Before or after the approximant [j]: [ijin] 'a piece of grape' (19: 165)', [qijiš-] 'to be oppose each-other' (23: 28), [tijnä-] 'to be hurry' (17: 197), [bijiz] 'this side' (55: 57), [pijälä] 'bowl' (18: 311).

Unlike in SU and in the other Uyghur dialects — in particular in the Kashghar dialect — /ɨ/ is not aspirated before the voiceless stops and the alveolar fricatives in the Turfan dialect as demonstrated in Table 2-5.[28]

27 SU spelling *dedi* is very new, does not reflect the actual pronunciation of this word form, the actual pronunciation of *dedi* in SU is [didi].

28 In the case of the Kashghar dialect a further phonological process, namely a consonantization takes place.



Table 2-5 Unaspirated /ɨ/ in the Turfan dialect

| Turfan | SU | Kashghar | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| it | ɨt | ʲšt | dog |
| pit | pɨt | pʲšt | louse, bug |
| kitap | kɨtap | kʲštap | book |
| iš | ɨš | ɨš | work |

2.1.3.1.5 /o/

Normally this vowel is pronounced as a close-mid back rounded [o] in the CV scale, e.g. [ot] 'grass', [oza] 'last time', [qol] 'hand', [top] 'ball', [joŕïl-] 'to tire', etc.

/o/ is shortened in open syllables in certain lexemes, e.g. [qŏqaz-] 'to frighten', [qŏqančaχ] 'fearful', [dŏga] 'heap'.

2.1.3.1.6 /ö/

The most common pronunciation of this phoneme is as a close-mid front rounded vowel as [ø] found in the CV scale. /ö/ slightly raises before velar plosives and alveolar fricative [s], e.g. [ügüz] 'roof' (8: 23), [üksük] 'lacking', [ŭstŭr-] 'to grow' (6: 19). In this case, the opposition between *ö* and *ü* is suspended.

/ö/ is prolonged in some lexemes in open first syllables, e.g. [bö:räk] 'kidney' (4: 2), [gö:š] 'meat' (13: 14), [tö:rüx] 'round' (7: 19).

The Old Turkci *ö* is preserved in the word [ögän] 'to learn' (compare OT *ögrän-*) in the Turfan dialect whereas in SU and other Uyghur dialects it is raised to [ü], e.g. [ügän].[29]

2.1.3.1.7 /u/

In the Turfan dialect normal pronunciation of /u/ is comparatively more open than [u], and almost close to a lax close back rounded vowel [ʊ] found in CV scale. Put differently, more accurate presentation of the words [uluγ] 'great' (21: 28), [su] 'water' (13: 6) and [tuqum] 'saddle' (21: 135) seems to be [ʊlʊγ], [sʊ] and [tʊqʊm].

2.1.3.1.8 /ü/

Normal pronunciation of /ü/ is close to a lax close front rounded [ʏ] in the CV scale. Put differently, more accurate presentation of the words [ürän] 'seed' (43: 16), [ütük] 'pass' (55: 38) and [üzüm] 'grape' (6: 1) seems to be [ʏrän], [ʏtʏk] and [ʏzʏm].

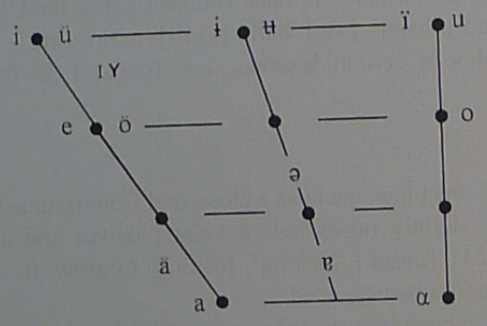
/ü/ is realized as a close front rounded [ü] before velar plosives and approximants [j], e.g. [čükä] 'chopsticks, classifier for long objects' (28: 104), [dükän] 'shop' (34: 18), [küjösi] 'husband' (17: 133).

29 In the new orthography of Uyghur this word is spelled as *ögän-*, requiring pronounciation as written. Cf. OPD 802b. However, common pronunciation of this word is [ügän] as consistently reflected in previous orthographies.

In certain lexemes /ü/ is slightly devoiced followed by a voiceless alveolar plosive [t], fricative [s] and velar [x], e.g., [tu̯t] 'four' (29: 198), [ku̯stüp] 'to show' (34: 43), [u̯su̯p] 'Yusup' (personal name), [ümüču̯x 'spider' (19: 120)

Phonetic realizations of the Turfan dialect vowel phonemes can be shown as in Figure 2-1

Figure 2-1 Vowels in the Turfan dialect




2.1.3.2 Consonants

2.1.3.2.1 The plosives

2.1.3.2.1.1 The bilabials: /b/ (= [b]) and /p/ (= [p])

The voiced bilabial /b/ only occurs in word-initial and intervocalic positions; but not in a word-final position (see Table 2-3), while its voiceless pair /p/ occurs in all three positions.

/p/ most frequently occurs in the word-initial position in copied lexemes, e.g. [pänšiř] 'written document' (<< Per. *manšūr*) (17: 89), [paŋza] 'fat guy' (<< Chin. *paŋzi*), including limited lexemes in which the word-initial /p/ is a development of Old Turkic *b*, e.g. *poχ* 'dung' < OT *boq*, *püt-* 'to write' < OT *biti-*.

/p/ is realized as [f] in a word-initial position in the Chinese-copied *faŋčän* 'rent' (only in 18: 547), but most popularly being pronounced as *paŋčän* (<< Chin. *faŋčän*).

In very limited lexemes /p/ is realized as [f] in the syllable-final position followed by consonants [l] and [č], e.g. *yulufla-* 'to lock' (but *yulup* 'lock' << Ar. *qufl*), *täfči-* 'to leak out' (most frequently *täpči-*).

/p/ is realized as a glottal plosive [ʔ] in word-final positions or when it is followed by voiceless plosives and the lateral approximant [l], for details see 2.3.7.

2.1.3.2.1.2 The dental-alveolars: /d/ (= [d]) and /t/ (= [t])

The voiceless dental-alveolar /t/ may occur in all positions of a word, whereas its voiced pair /d/ occurs only in the word-initial and intervocalic positions; but never at the word-final position.



/t/ is realized as a glottal plosive [ʔ] before voiceless plosives in the syllable-final position; in very limited lexemes also in the word-final position, see 2.3.7.

Opposition between /d/ and /t/ is suspended in certain lexemes in intervocalic position as seen in (1).

(1) [padiša] ~ [patiša] (17: 1) ~ [padša] 'king' (20: 49)
[ädikin] 'then' ~ [ätikin] (17: 345)

The Old Turkic initial *t* became palatal *č* in SU rather systematically, e.g. OT *tiš* → SU *čiš* 'tooth', OT *tüš* → *čüš* 'noon', OT *tüš* → *čüš* 'dream'. However, in the texts recorded in Lükchün and Tuyuq we found *t* in certain lexemes occasionally left unchanged, e.g. *tüšidä* 'in his dream' (19: 2), *tüšüp* 'coming down' (19: 5), *tüš* 'noon' (18: 341). In certain lexemes, both palatalized and unpalatalized forms exist side by side, e.g. *tiši* 'female' (18: 452) ~ *čiši* (18: 451).

2.1.3.2.1.3 The velars: /g/ (= [g]) and /k/ (= [k])

In normal speech, /g/ is often realized as a voiced velar fricative [ɣ] in word-final ((2a)) and intervocalic positions (2b). The phonemic representations given below occur in careful speech, while the phonetic realizations mostly occur in normal or informal speech.

(2a) /g/ → [ɣ]/_ {#/V-V}
/bäg/ 'official' → [bäɣ] (39: 5)
/täg-/ 'to reach' → [täɣ-] (18: 272)

b) /ǰägän/ 'joiner' → [ǰäɣän] (13: 13)
/siːgäk/ 'bed-wetting' → [siːgäx] (13: 14)
/jügän/ 'halter' → [jüɣän] (2: 4)

In SU as well as in the Kashghar dialect /g/ does not occur in a word-final position in dissyllabic lexemes, mostly devoicing to [k], e.g. [kičik] 'small' (compare OT *kičig*), [ällik] 'fifty' (compare OT *ällig*). However, in the Turfan dialect *g* may occur in a word-final position in certain dissyllabic lexemes like in Old Turkic, e.g. [ällig] 'fifty' (29: 83), [tüzüg] 'good' (18: 137), [biläg] 'other' (18: 69), [itig] 'fast',[30] also devoicing as in SU and in the Kashghar dialect (see below).

/k/ is realized as a voiceless velar fricative [x] in word-final positions as seen in (3a) as well as in the syllable-final position in the first syllable followed by the lateral approximant [l] as seen in (3b), and most frequently also followed by the voiceless plosive [t], palatal fricative [č] and alveolar fricative [s] as seen in (3c).

30 The Khotan and Lopnor dialects and the Kälpin special accent rather systematically display word-final *g* in dissyllabic lexemes as well as in suffixes. Cf. Osmanov 1990: 163-164, 178, 195-196; Osmanov 1999: 22-23.

(3a) /k/ → [x]/_#/{l, t, č, s}
/kičik/ 'small' → [kičix] (49: 23)
/ürük/ 'apricot'→ [ürüx] (13: 55)
/jürak/ 'heart' → [jüräx] (44: 9)
/išäk/ 'donkey' → [išäx] (21: 18)

b) /köklä-/ 'to jump high' → [köxlä-] (23: 47)

c) /mektäptä/ 'at the school' → [mexteptä] (11: 5)
/kakča/ 'thin bread' → [kaxča] (13: 10)
/lükčäk/ → [lüxčäk] (18: 29)
/lükčün/ 'Lükchün' (place name) → [lüxčün] (1: 1)
/säksän/ 'eighty' → [säxsän] (3: 1)

2.1.3.2.1.4 The uvular /q/ (= [q])
The uvular plosive /q/ mostly distributes to the word-initial position, e.g. [qara] 'black' (18: 108), [qaro] 'blind' (18: 122), [qitim] 'time' (classifier, 28: 3), while it is realized as uvular fricative [χ] at word-final or coda position in most instances, e.g.,

(5) /χäq/ 'people' → [χäχ] (13: 49)
/joq/ 'no, without' → [joχ] (4: 13)
/sanduχ/ 'chest' → [sanduχ] (21: 130)
/qïrq/ 'fourty' → [qïrχ] (21: 154)
/quřsaq/ 'stomach' → [quřsaχ] (2: 5)

The same fricativization process is observable when /q/ is followed by voiceless plosives as seen in (6a), by the alveolar fricative [s] as seen in (6b), and most frequently is also followed by the alveolar approximant [l] (6c).

(6a) /nuqta/ 'bridle' → [nüχta] (2: 2)
/toqsan/ 'ninety' → [toχsan] (3: 1)

b) /qaqsı/ 'a chariot object'→ [qaχsı] (2: 20)

c) /juqla-/ 'to visit' → [juχla-] (3: 5)
/saqlan-/ 'to be preserved' → [saχlən-] (8: 9)
/taqla-/ 'to jump' → [taχla-] (17: 314)
/toqla/ 'to make full, sate' → [toχla-] (31: 30)

/q/ is realized as a glottal plosive [ʔ] followed by the alveolar approximant [l] in morpheme boundaries; for details see 2.3.7.



2.1.3.2.2 The fricatives
2.1.3.2.2.1 The alveo-dental fricatives: /s/ (= [s]) and /z/ (= [z])
/s/ may occur in word-initial, intervocalic and word-final positions, e.g. [süt] 'milk' (18: 183), [asan] 'easy' (17: 38), [päs] 'low' (3: 14), whereas /z/ mostly occurs in intervocalic and word-final positions, e.g. [taza] 'very' (17: 275), [jäz] 'foot-print' (19: 123), [maz] 'borred' (29: 63). Its occurrence in the word-final position is restricted to copied lexemes, e.g. [zärdar] 'rich' (<< Per. *zardar*), [zaŋ] 'dirty' << Chin. *zang*.

In certain lexemes /z/ is realized as a voiceless alveolar [s] in a word-final position (8a), in limited lexemes also in syllabic-final position followed by the voiced consonants (8b). Put differently, the opposition voiced vs. voiceless for *s* and *z* is neutralized in final position.

(8a) /igiz/ 'high' → [igis] (72: 9)
/tuz/ 'salt' → [tus] (40: 10)
/biz/ 'we' → [bis] (69: 40)
/ottuz/ 'thirty' [ottus] (29: 144)

b) /ɣäznä/ 'treasure' → [ɣäsnı] (18: 46)

Such voice assimilation is frequent in morpheme boundaries, e.g. /közlä/ 'eyes' → [köslä] (18: 365), /joχsuzluχ/ 'powerty' → [joχsusluχ] (70: 9). Most frequently, /z/ is realized as [s] followed by the *s* as seen in /tuzsiz/ 'tasteless' → [tussiz], though it is not unique to the Turfan dialect and frequently occurs also in SU and in most Uyghur dialects.

2.1.3.2.2.2 The postalveolar /š/ ([š])
In word-initial position /š/ mostly occurs in copied lexemes, e.g. [šinli] 'baggage' (<< Chin. *xingli*, 19: 8), [šaptula] 'peach' (<< Per. *šaftālū*, 21: 19), [šiŋ] 'a drain measure' (<< Chin. *sheng*).

In the Murtuq region, the word-initial /š/ and/or syllable-initial /š/ is avoided both in native and copied lexemes by inserting a vowel before it or replacing it with [j], e.g. *ušla* 'they' (55: 33, compare to SU *šula*), *iška* 'hunt' (55: 31, compare to SU *šıkar* (<< Per. *šikā*) and *mujnaχ* 'like this' (58: 45, compare to SU *mušundaq*).

Moreover, amongst the words recorded from Turfan we found /š/ occurs as a free variant of /s/ in word-initial positions as seen in (9).

(9) [suɣuřtma] ~ [šuɣuřtma] 'drawer'
[sipa] ~ [šipa] 'polite'

2.1.3.2.2.3 The palatals: [č] (= [č]) and /ǰ/ (= [ǰ])
The voiceless palatal fricative /č/ is realized as a postvelar fricative [š] in the word-final position (10a), frequently followed by the voiceless plosives in syllable-final positions as exemplified in (10b).

(10a) /setirač/ 'barber' → [setiraš] (41: 6) or [satraš] (41: 43)
/qilič/ 'sword' → [qilïš] (17: 105)
/on üč/ 'thirteen' → [o nüš] (17: 221)

b) /öčkä/ 'goat' → [öškä] (36: 3)
/ičkiri/ 'inside' → [iškiri] (3: 22)
/qičqarť-/ 'to have called' → [qišqarť-] (13: 8)

A similar realization of /č/ also exists in SU and in the northern dialects of Uyghur, but not as commonly as in the southern dialects, especially as in the Kashghar dialect compared to the Turfan dialect, cf. Table 2-6.

Table 2-6 Realization of /č/

| Turfan | SU | Kashghar | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| öškä | öškä | ečkä | goat |
| ašquč | ašquč | ačqa ~ a:čqa | key |
| teš | tınč | teč ~ tiž | safe |
| üš ~ üč | üč | üš ~ üč | three |

Evidently, such realizations of /č/ at least existed at the end of the 19th century. Kathanov, Le Coq, and Malov's texts rather frequently display this velarization process, e.g. *uš kün* 'three days' (Menges 1976, XXII 113), *jiyašqa* 'to the wood' (Menges 1976, XXXII 44), *öškägä* 'to the goat' (Le Coq 1911: 8,18, 26,142),[31] *üš* 'three' (Le Coq 1911: 38,240), *jiyaš* 'wooden' (Malov 1961: 68,14).[32]

In ordinary numerals /č/ is realized also as a voiced palatal fricative [ǰ] preceded by a dental-alveolar nasal [n]. Obviously, this is a kind of voice assimilation.

(11) /birinči/ 'first' → [birinǰi] (22: 160)
/ikinänčisi/ 'secondly' → [ıkinänǰisı] (21: 15)
/qïrïq jättinči/ 'fourty seventh/ → [qïrïχ jättinǰi] (58: 27)

However, in the following ordinary numerals listed in Table 2-7, the suffix consonant /č/ remains voiceless at word-boundaries, while in SU and the Kashghar dialect /č/ is realized as [ǰ] in the same lexemes.

31 Note that *öškä* was written as 'WŠK' in the Arabic script, representing its actual pronunciation. The same phonological process is also observable in the Radloff's texts from the so-called Taranchi as well as in the Jarring's texts from the southern part of the present XUAR.

32 Amongst the Turkic languages, Salar and Yellow Uyghur also display the same phonological process. Cf. Poppe 1953: 448, Lin 1985: 16, Tenishev 1976: 45. However, Poppe concludes that: "In Salar the consonant **č* at the end of syllables and words results in *š* which is a development unknown to the other East Turki dialects" (Poppe 1953: 477). Interestingly, Dwyer counts this phonological process as one of the "non-Uyghur elements" in Salar, though inadequately citing the written forms of several words in which *č* is mostly required to be pronounced as *š* in OPD. Cf. Dwyer 1998: 67-68.



Table 2-7 Realization of the suffix consonant [č] in the Turfan dialect

| Turfan[33] | SU | Kashghar | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| ikkinčaj | ikkinǰi aj | iškkinǰaj | February |
| üčünčaj | üčünǰi aj | üčünǰaj | March |
| altinčaj | altinči aj | altinǰaj | June |

/ǰ/ may occur in a word-initial position in the Turfan dialect, e.g. [ǰüǰäm] 'mulberry' (1: 10), [ǰüǰölä] 'black pear' (1: 1),[34] [ǰüǰäk] 'chicken', but most often in copied lexemes, e.g., [ǰäntuŋ] 'boot' (<< Chin. *zhan-tong*, 5: 15), [ǰova-] 'to take the trouble' (<< Mong. *cubu-*, 18: 374), etc. However, /ǰ/ does not occur in word-final positions in the Turfan dialect as was mentioned in 2.1.

Copied lexemes with a final [ǰ] in the original is accommodated by insertion of a vowel after [ǰ] or simply avoided, replacing it with other consonants, e.g. *baǰi* (58: 14) ~ *baǰa* 'tax' (<<*bāc*), *älänǰä* 'remedy' (<< Ar. *'ālaj* /Per. *'ilāc*), *kaš* 'obstinate' (<< Per. *kac*), etc.

In very limited lexemes, /ǰ/ is realized as [š] in a syllable-final position followed by the lateral approximant *l*, e.g., */χäǰlä-/* 'to spend' → [χäšlä-] (18: 46). But here an intermediate [χäčlä] seems to have existed before this process took place.

2.1.3.2.2.4 The uvulars: /χ/ (= [χ]) and [γ] (= [γ])

Both /χ/ and /γ/ do not occur in word-initial positions in native lexemes. Consequently, the occurrence of these two phonemes in word-initial a position is restricted only to copied lexemes, e.g. *χäŋgär* 'cucumber' (<< Chin. *huang-gua*), *χaχ* 'people' (<< Per. *xalq*), *χičïr* (<< Mong. *xacir*), *γunčä* 'bud' (<< Per. *γunča*), *γulup* 'lock' (<< Ar. *qufl*), etc. In very limited lexemes [χ] and [γ] may alternate rather free, e.g. *χat* ~ *γät* 'letter' (<< Ar. *xaṭ*).

In a word-final position [χ] mostly occurs as a fricativized variant of /q/ (see 2.3.2.1). Put differently, a /q/, /χ/ opposition is neutralized or suspended in a word-final position. In certain cases the opposition between /q/, /χ/ and /γ/ is also suspended in a word-final position, e.g. [aq] (6: 1) ~ [aχ] (1: 11) 'white', [uluγ] (26: 9) ~ [uluq] (17: 89) ~ [uluχ] (20: 16) 'great', [qïrïq] (11: 31) ~ [qïrïχ] ~ [qïrïγ] (18: 76) ~ [qïrγ] 'fourty' (67: 57), etc.

The Old Turkic word-final *γ* in dissyllabic words is rather systematically replaced with *q* in the Turfan dialect as a result of a devoicing process just like in SU and in the Kashghar dialect, e.g. [quruq] 'empty' (OT *quruγ*, [uruq] 'seed' (< OT *uruγ*), etc. However, in certain lexemes, the Old Turkic *γ* is still preserved in word-final positions in the Turfan dialect, occasionally displaying both devoiced and undevoiced forms, e.g. [seriγ] (1: 3) ~ [seriq] (19: 37) 'yellow' (OT *sarïγ*), [uluγ] (26: 9, 21: 134) 'great' (OT *uluγ*), [ulaγ] (17: 236) 'riding animals' (OT *ulaγ*). Note that /γ/ in those lexemes

33 All examples cited below are from text 55 (55: 11, 55: 26).

34 The etymology of *ǰüǰölä* is not clear.

becomes devoiced in the Kashghar dialect as well as in SU, being pronounced as [seriq], [uluq] and [ulaq] respectively.[35]

2.1.3.2.3 The nasals

2.1.3.2.3.1 /m/ (= [m])

The occurrence of /m/ in a word-initial position in native lexemes is restricted to a very limited number of pronouns, nouns and verbs, e.g. *majda* 'like this' (17: 6), *muŋüz* 'horn' (41: 3), *maŋ-* 'to walk' (3: 22) as we found in Old Turkic and in modern Turkic languages. However, /m/ rather frequently occurs in a word-initial position in copied lexemes, e.g. *mäjlä* 'village' (<< Ar. *mahalla*, 56: 50), *muǰaŋ* 'carpenter' (<< Chin. *mu-jiang*, 29: 83), *mäzim* 'lady' (<< Ar. *maẓlum*, 18: 286), *milis* 'gathering, party' (Ar./Per. *maclis*, 19: 146), etc.

The initial /m/ is occasionally realized as [n] in the Yanghe region in the word /mo/ '*mu*, a unit of area' → [no]. We found [no] twice in 29: 80 and 29: 82, but [mo] in the rest of the same text. Notably, such realization of /m/ is not uniform in the Turfan dialect.

2.1.3.2.3.2 /n/ (= [n])

Aside from very limited native words, namely some interrogative pronouns such as [nigä] 'where' (8: 10), [nim] 'what' (41: 11), /n/ mostly occurs in word-initial positions in copied lexemes, e.g. [naɣra] 'kettle-drum' (<< Ar./Per. *naqāre*, 63: 97), [nä] 'flute' (<< Per. *nāy*, 41: 35), [nuχta] 'bridle' (<< Mon. *nogtu*, 2: 2).

/n/ is very often deleted in a word-final position. In this case, the vowel preceded by a deleted [n] goes nasalization in most cases as exemplified in (12), for more detailed analysis see 2.3.6.

(12) /män/ 'I' → [mã̃] (19: 58, 18: 314)
/sän/ 'you' → [sã̃] (18: 118)
/qušuq nan/ 'mixed flour bread' → [qušuχ nã̃] (55: 4:8)
/jaman/ 'bad, very' → [jamã̃] (58: 10, 12)

2.1.3.2.3.3 /ŋ/ (=[ŋ])

As in SU and other Uyghur dialects , /ŋ/ does not occur in word-initial position in the Turfan dialect, only being distributed to intervocalic, word-final or syllable-ending positions, e.g. [oŋaj] 'easy' (18: 19), [döŋ] 'hill' (17: 49), [düŋgüj] 'back' (67: 120), [tuŋgän] 'Dungan' (22: 28), see also Table 2-3.

2.1.3.2.4 The tap

In the Turfan dialect, the typical realization of /r/ obviously is not an alveolar trill [r] in all positions as observed in SU and in most Uyghur dialects, but the alveolar tap in

35 The last two words required to be pronunced as [uluɣ] and [ulaɣ] in the new OPD, instead of their normal pronunciations, are [uluq] and [ulaq], respectively.



word-final or syllable-final positions (13a), especially in /r/ + voiceless plosive clusters (13b), being realized as an alveolar trill [r] only in intervocalic positions, e.g. [qara] 'black' (19: 12), [arava] 'chariot' (2: 1), [setiraš] 'barber ' (68: 59), etc.

(13a) /bir/ 'one' → [bi̯ř] (17: 1)
/här-/ 'every' → [häř] (3: 6)
/qursaq/ 'stomach' → [quřsaq] (4: 2)
/qutur/ 'thin' → [quturř] (17: 306)

b) /jurt/ 'home country' → [juřt] (18: 19)
/tart-/ 'to pull out' → [tařt] (18: 403)
/jirtquč/ 'predatory animal' → [jiřtquč] (55: 25)
/turq-/ 'appearance' → [tuřq] (23: 32)

In thes texts recorded in Qara Ghoja (Nr. 59-62) we found /r/ is realized as an alveolar tap in final positions, including the intervocalic position,[36] e.g. [řazi] 'satisfy', [o:tuřup], 'sitting', [bařakat] 'blessing', [qařa] 'look at', [ařlıq] 'courtyard', etc.

In limited onomotoephic words, alveolar tap [ř] might be prolonged in word-final a position, e.g. [hiřř] 'shame on you!'

The word-final or syllable-final alveolar tap [ř] may be deleted in some lexemes, e.g. *ba:maχ* 'finger' (22: 160, SU *barmaq*), but not as often as in the standard pronunciation and the Kashghar dialect, (see the comparison below in Table 2-8).

Table 2-8 Undeleted /r/ in the Turfan dialect

| Turfan | SP | Kashghar | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| jär | jä: | jä: | place, field |
| beɣiř | beɣir | beɣi | liver |
| eɣiř | eɣir | eɣi | heavy |
| bultuř | bultu(r) | bultu | last year |

However, in the speech of some older speakers we found the intervocalic /ɾ/ is occasionally also pronunced as an alveolar tap.

Note that /r/ does not occur in a word-initial position in native lexemes. The latter has been gradually replaced with a trill [r] in the speech of the young and educated, especially in urban areas.

The written sources, along with the Kathanov, Le Coq and Malov's texts, do not provide precise information on the early situation of the tap [ř] in the Turfan dialect. Only Tenishev mentions it as one of the important features of the Turfan dialect (*govor*), describing it as *tserebralnyj* (1964: 139) though he does not specify the phonological environment where it occurs. He represents it with *r* in his mentioned paper (1964), but with *r* in his edition of the dialect texts (1984).

36 Interestingly, similar realization of r is also observable in the Tenishev's texts in Qaraghoja, especially in the texts Nr. 5, Nr. 10.

2.1.3.2.5 The approximants

2.1.3.2.5.1 The lateral approximant /l/

The lateral approximant /l/ does not occur in word-initial positions in native lexemes, mostly distributing to intervocalic and word-final (or syllable-final) positions.

In the intervocalic position: [alaŋ] 'barren' (48: 2), [buluŋ] 'corner' (70: 57), [malaka] 'older brother' (18: 624), [qalïqa] (21: 157) 'protector'.

In word-final and/or syllable-final positions the /l/ mostly velarizes: [šał] 'rice' (14: 11), [tał] 'tree' (6: 14), [jał] 'mane' (2: 11), [pałčaχ] 'mud' (22:109), [bałni] 'the child (ACC)' ( 17: 350), [ɣałvïř] 'sieve' (18: 74), etc.

/l/ is most often deleted when followed by plosives, voiced velars and uvulars as seen below (14), occasionally also followed by nasals. In this case, the vowel preceded by /l/ is often prolonged, for details see 2.3.4.6.

(14) [o:tuř] (21: 52)← *oltuř* 'to sit'
[ja:ɣan] (18: 88) ~ [ja:ɣaŋ] (19: 18) ← *jalɣan* 'false'
[ja:ɣuz] (59: 30) ← *jalɣuz* 'alone'
[ča:ma] (59: 33) ← *čalma* 'do not play'

Le Coq, Malov and Tenishev's texts do not provide precise information concerning the velar [ɬ]. However, in the Kathanov's texts edited by Menges we found the velar [ɬ] in various positions:

(a) Word-initial and/or syllable-initial position in back syllabic words: *Łopliq* 'inhabitant of Lopnor' (Menges 1943, LXII 4), *čirła-* 'to invite' (Menges 1943, XL 6);

(b) Word-final and/syllable-final position in back syllabic words: *tuł* 'widowed' (Menges 1976, III 32), *qoł* 'hand' (Menges 1976, VIII 6), *qiził* 'red' (Menges 1943, XXXVI 66), *qiłɣan* 'have done' (Menges 1943, XLVII 12);

(c) Before the plosive *q*: *xałq* 'people' (Menges 1976, XXXVI 67);

(d) Intervocalic position in back syllabic words: *džałap* 'prostitute' (Menges 1943, XLVII 1, 8, etc.), *toła* 'many' (Menges 1943, XXXVI 52);

In contrast to the velar [ɬ], the lateral [l] distributes to front syllabic words, e.g. *Lükčün* 'Lükchün' (Menges 1943, XXXVI 81), *eŋil* 'dress' (Menges 1976, V 22), *birlän* 'together' (Menges 1976, VII 14), *ällik* (Menges 1943, XXXVI 74), *bölüm* 'part' (Menges 1943, XXXVI 81).

However, it is hard to understand why the frontness of the syllable may play a crucial role in the distribution of velars [ɬ] and the unvelarized [l]. Interestingly, the /l/ in Kazakh, spoken by the immigrant Kazakhs in Istanbul, displays very similar distributional features (Kirchner 1992: 142-144). Nevertheless, our materials do not display such systematic contrast in the distribution of the lateral and velar realizations of /l/.

2.1.3.2.5.2 The labio-dental approximant /v/

In word-initial positions the labio-dental approximant /v/ occurs only in copied lexemes, e.g. [vädä] 'promise' (67: 2), [väsijet] 'last word' (59: 81), most often being realized as a



fricativized variant of /b/ followed by vowels and sonorants as well as [+voiced] consonants in word boundaries, cf. 2.3.3. Note that the initial /v/ is subject to strengthening in the Turfan dialect, see 2.3.2.

The labio-dental /v/ most often occurs in intervocalic and onset position of the second syllable preceded or followed by front unrounded vowels, e.g. [χävär] 'information' (19: 101), [ävilän] 'first' (21: 15), [ɣałvïř] 'sieve' (18: 74). The same realization of /v/ is also observable when it occurs after long vowels, e.g. [sa:va] 'a sort of grape' (6: 1), [ka:va] 'pumpkin' (29: 176), [tä:vä] 'belong to' (29: 52), etc.

In most cases /v/ is realized as a bilabial approximant [w] preceded or followed by back rounded vowels, e.g. [ow] 'hunt' (50: 2), [akawuř] 'arrogant' (19: 8), [zuwan] 'voice' (19: 57), [towa] 'oh my God!' (79: 6), etc. However, such a [w] is most often strengthens [g] in the Turfan dialect, see 2.3.2, especially in copied lexemes.

2.1.3.2.5.3 The velar approximant /j/

The velar approximant /j/ may occur in every position of a word, see Table 2.3. In some lexemes of the Turfan dialect it is altered with a glottal fricative /h/ in word-initial positions, e.g. [jene] (59: 161) ~ [hene] 'again' (55: 34), [jini kä] (59: 151)~ [hini kä] 'to come back' (17: 251), [jimiř] ~ [himiř] 'to rub', etc.

2.1.3.2.6 The glottal /h/

The glottal voiceless fricative /h/ occurs in word-initial positions both in native and copied lexemes, e.g. [hajda-] 'to drive' (19: 44), [höküz] 'bullock', [hämmä] 'all' (<< Per. *hama*, 18: 402), [hažïř] 'present, at hand' (<< Per. *hāzer*, 19: 1), etc., and as the free-variant of /j/ in certain other lexemes, cf. 2.3.2.5. However, the /h/ found in the lexemes [höł] 'wet' (18: 279, compare Khalaj *hōl*), [hid] 'smell' (44: 26) presumably goes back to the Proto-Turkic initial **h*.[37]

Table 2-9 Turfan dialect consonants

| | Bilabial | Labio-dental | Alveolar | Post-alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Uvular | Glottal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Plosive | p b | | t d | | | k g | q | [ʔ] |
| Nasal | m | | | | | | | |
| Trill | | | r | | | | | |
| Tap | | | [ř] | | | | | |
| Fricative | | [f] | s z | š [ž] | č ǰ | | χ ɣ | h |
| Approximant | | | | | j | | | |
| Lateral Aprroximant | | | l | | [l] | | | |

37 The examples of Khalaj is taken from Doerfer 1971 and Doerfer & Tezcan 1980.

### 2.1.4 Phonotactics

#### 2.1.4.1 Restrictions on the vowels

All vowel phonemes in the Turfan dialect may occur in a word-initial position, though the vowel /e/ in this position is mostly unstable. Generally, the vowels /o/ and /ö/ do not occur in the second and further syllables of a word in SU. However, we found that /o/ and /ö/ rather frequently occur in the second syllable in the Turfan dialect, even extending their occurrence to further syllables in certain lexemes, e.g. [ašo] 'that' (13: 47), [üčögä] 'intestine' (4: 2), [tokoloŋ] 'hairless lady', [tünögön] 'yesterday' (18: 330), see the Table 2-10 below.

Table 2-10 Status of o/ö in second and further syllables in the Turfan dialect

| Turfan | SU | Kashghar | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| mozo ~ mozoj | mozaj | muzaj | calf |
| saγro | qaryu | qa:rıγı | blind |
| kŭjöγol | kŭjoγul | kŭjŭγal | son-in-law |
| kıjös- | kırgüz- | kigüz- | to dress |
| mölö | mölä | mü:lä | pack-saddle for donkeys |
| tötöjlä | tötäjlän | tö:täjlä | four of us |
| tünögön | tünügün | tünügun | yesterday |

The vowels /o/ and /ö/ do not occur as suffix vowels in SU, however, in the Turfan dialect /o/ may occur in certain suffixes as well as some clitics. Normally, the suffixes comprising /o/ exist as a variant of the suffixes and/or clitics taking the vowel /u/, e.g. the 3 person imperative suffix *–son ~ sun*, evidential marker *–Xpto ~ –Xptu*, past participle *–doq ~ duq*, interrogative clitic *–mo ~ mu*, etc. Note that these suffixes are normalized in the forms of *–sun*, *- Xptu* and *–duq* in SU, respectively.

We found the vowels /o/ and /ö/ in several suffixes in the Jarring's texts, e.g. *gulloq* 'rose-garden', *turoŋ* 'you stay', *kö:döŋ* 'you saw' (see Jarring 1934: 74-76). We also found /o/ in several suffixes as well as some clitics in the Le Coq, Malov and Tenishev's materials, e.g. *öltürido:* 'they kill' (Le Coq 1921-1925: 340), *ämäs-mo* 'isnt it' (Le Coq 1921-1925: 550), *jator* 'sleeps' (Malov 1954: 68,15), *čıqıdo* 'comes out' (Malov 1954: 69,20), *qeč-ipto* 'evidently escaped/left' (Malov 1954: 77,4), *boldoq* 'we became …' (Malov 1954: 78,6), *baredo:* 'they go' (Tenishev 1984: 1), *akeldoq* 'we brought' (Tenishev 1984: 7), *dejdoq* 'we said' (Tenishev 1984: 8). All of these facts clearly show that the occurrence of /o/ and /ö/ in suffixes could not be simply considered a result of problematic transcription as some scholars have claimed (Osmanov 1990: 222-223), but seem to reflect distributional peculiarities of those vowels in the Turfan dialect as well as in the other dialects of Uyghur.

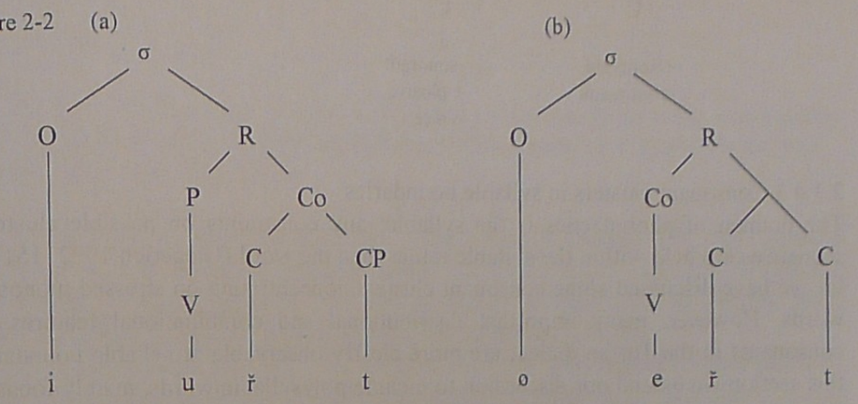
#### 2.1.4.2 Consonant clusters in monosyllabic words

No consonant clusters are permitted in onset positions in the Turfan dialect. Word-initial consonant clusters are broken up by insertion of a vowel in the copied lexemes, e.g.



*istakan* (<< Russian: *stakan*), *gurup* (73: 6, << Russian: *grup*) etc. The most frequent consonant cluster in the coda (Co) is *–řt*, mostly appearing in monosyllabic words (C = consonant, O = onset, P = peak, R = rhyme, V = vowel). Figure 2-2 illustrates the status of this frequent cluster *–řt* in the coda within the words *jurt* 'country' (a) and *eřt-* 'clean' (b). Note that the first consonant in the coda in both words is an alveolar tap.

Figure 2-2

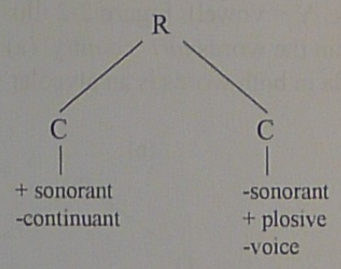



However, this cluster may also be broken up in morpheme boundaries, especially when suffixes initiating with a vowel are added to the stem, e.g., [juř tum] 'my country' ← *jurt*, [eř tip] 'cleaning' ← *eřt* (here the dot marks syllable boundaries).

Three other consonant clusters *–řm*, *řq* and *–jk* also occur in the coda of the words *bıřm* 'one thing' (18: 17), *eřq* 'all' (17: 168) and *tejk-* 'to get angry'. However, the most frequent forms of these words are *bıřmä* (78: 25), *eriq* (35: 15) and *tejik-* (18: 65) or *te:k* (14: 9). Obviously, all three consonant clusters result from a deletion process.

Most frequently, consonant clusters in coda are destroyed by deletion of the last consonant as observed in *dos* 'friend' (<< Per. *dost*) and *gaχ* 'time' (<< Per. *waqt*) or insertion of high vowels, e.g. *türük* 'Turkish' (goes back to *türk*). However, deleted consonants reoccur in morpheme boundaries, e.g. *dostum* 'my friend', *gaχtim* 'my time'. In this case, the reoccurring consonants stay on the onset of the next syllable. Inserted vowels may also be deleted when the suffixes initiating with a vowel are added to the stem, e.g. *türkčä*. Unlike the deleted consonants, both consonants stay in the coda of the first syllable in the latter case. Needless to say that the first consonant in the coda clusters can only be the strong sonorants such as [ř] and [j], mostly followed by voiceless plosives (most frequently by the [t] and [k], occasionally also by the [q]). However, as the first consonant in the coda, /j/ occurs only in most southern regions of Turfan where /j/ often corresponds to /r/ of other regions. Clearly, the so-called "j + voiceless plosive" clusters are actually the regional variant of "r + voiceless consonant" clusters.

Figure 2-3 Consonant clusters in codas in the Turfan dialect




2.1.4.3 Consonant clusters in syllable boundaries

The domain of phonotactics is the syllable: any constraints on possible clusters and sequences are held within the syllable rather than the word (Giegerich 1992: 151). Thus far we have discussed some consonant clusters concentrating on stressed monosyllabic words. However, many important distributional and combinational features of the consonants in the Turfan dialect are more clearly observable at syllable boundaries. In this section we extend our discussion to include polysyllabic words, mainly focusing on possible consonant clusters in syllable boundaries of dissyllabic lexemes, although, strictly speaking, such discussions are "extra-phonotactic".

Generally, if two consonants occur in a syllable boundary, the first consonant belongs to the coda of the preceding syllable, and the second to the onset of the next syllable. Here, we exclude long consonants from the discussion since most voiceless plosives and fricatives might be prolonged in an intervocalic position in the Turfan dialect (for details see 2.3.5) and the problem would be complicated if the other related theoratical problems were also taken into consideration.

Our data demonstrates that almost all consonant phonemes, excluding /h/, may occur in the coda of the first syllable, and most consonants, excluding [f], [h], [j] and [ŋ], may occur at the onset of the next syllable. However, there are rather strict selections to the consonants in the onset of the next syllable. In other words, only particular consonants are allowed to occur in the onset of the second syllable after particular consonants in the coda of the preceding syllable.

2.1.4.3.1 Sonorant-obstuent clusters

Most frequent consonant clusters in syllable boundaries in the Turfan dialect are sonorant-obstruent clusters. Basically, only voiceless plosives and fricatives may occur after sonorants, and "sonorant + voiced plosive/fricative" clusters are only possible in limited lexemes or they result from regressive assimilation. Below (15a) illustrates possible sonorant-obstruent clusters in syllable boundaries in native lexemes[38], with (15b) providing an example for each consonant cluster.

38 Compounds and copied lexemes of clear etymology are excluded from the scope of this discussion.



(15a) Frequent sonorant-obstruent clusters

| | p | b | v | t | d | k | g | q | γ | č | ǰ | s | š |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ř | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| l | + | - | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | - | - |
| m | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | + |
| n | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| n | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | + |
| j | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | - |

(+) denotes the existence of any consonant cluster, and (–) the non-existence. The consonants in the first column are the first consonants of the cluster and the consonants in the top row are the second consonants, continued in (16).

b) r + obstruent: [kiřpik] 'eyelash' (19: 163), [tařtuq] 'present' (28: 50), [jařdäm] 'help' (30: 20), [tiřkiš] 'name of a chariot object' (2: 18), [bürgä] 'flea' (68: 4), [pïřqïla] 'to travel' (22: 21), [qarγu] 'blind' (44: 54), [purčaq] 'soybean' (66: 6), [ürǰän] 'black pear' (1: 3), [quřsaχ] 'stomach' (2: 9), [qořša-] 'to surround' (17: 309).

l + obstruent: [jalpaχ] 'local' (6: 9), [γalvïř] 'sief' (18: 74), [kültük] 'night pan' (13: 32), [aldï] 'front side' (41: 20), [tülkɨ] 'fox' (68: 8), [bälgä] 'sign' (18: 640), [qalqa] 'protector' (21: 57), [jalγuz] 'alone' (18: 5), [ölči-] 'to measure' (23: 7),

m + obstruent: [jumbulaq] 'round' (36: 3), [limtaχ] 'furniture to put quilt' (7: 4), [jamdaq] 'big broom' (48: 13), [jamγuř] 'rain' (19: 107), [qamča] 'whip' (22:36), [jimšaq] 'soft' (51: 11);

n + obstruent: [untu-] 'to forget' (17: 171), [andaχ] 'like that' (22:57), [ninčɨ] 'order, number' (15: 9),[39]

ŋ + obstruent: [jaŋtuř] 'Yangtur (place name)' (59: 49), [maŋduř-] 'to have moved' (42: 15), [tïŋgɨř] 'one who performs circumcisions' (13: 20), [aŋqař] 'to realize', [qïŋγaj-] 'to incline' (69: 68), [tïŋša-] 'to listen to' (18: 543);

j + obstruent: [bajtal] 'she-horse' (17: 340), [hajda] 'to drive' (19: 44), [ajγïr] 'stallion' (11: 16), [qojčï] 'sheperd' (19: 36), [gejsi] 'local word, dialect word' (15: 9).

2.1.4.3.2 Clusters initiating with obstruents

As shall we see from (16) below, /b, h, ǰ/ do not occur in the coda of the preceding syllable in native lexemes when sonorants and other obstruents are in the onset of the following syllable; the voiced obstruents /d, g, γ, z/ only occur in the coda of the preceding syllable in very limited lexemes, and the consonants in the onset of the following syllable mostly are sonorants and voiceless fricative /s/ in such clusters; the fricative /χ/ in the coda of the preceding syllable, basically, may be traced back to the voiceless uvular /q/. Conclusively, the most frequent consonants in the coda of the preceding syllable are voiceless stops and voiceless fricatives /s/ and /š/. Velars, uvulars and the fricatives /č, z/ only occur in the coda of the preceding syllable in very careful

39 We found only one example [hänsïrä] 'to worry' for the *ns* cluster in our word list.

speech when /s/ and /l/ are in the onset of the following syllable. However, in normal speech, the velars and the uvulars fricativisize, /č/ may aspirated and the /z/ may be assimilated by the following /s/. The voiceless plosives /p, t, k, q/ may also occur in the coda of the preceding syllable, occasionally glottalizing followed by the lateral approximant /l/ (see 2.3.7). Clearly, these clusters are phonologically conditioned, and therefore marked with (+) in (16a) below.[40]

(16a) Frequent consonant clusters initiating with obstruents

| | b | t | d | k | q | č | s | š | r | l | m | n |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| p | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - |
| t | - | + | - | + | + | + | (+) | - | + | + | + | + |
| d | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - |
| k | - | + | - | + | - | + | (+) | + | - | (+) | + | - |
| g | - | - | + | - | - | - | (+) | - | + | - | + | - |
| q | - | + | - | - | + | + | (+) | - | - | (+) | + | - |
| ɣ | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | - |
| χ | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | - |
| č | - | - | - | + | + | + | (+) | - | + | (+) | - | - |
| s | - | + | - | + | + | - | + | - | + | - | + | - |
| z | - | - | + | - | - | - | (+) | - | - | + | - | - |
| š | - | + | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | + | + | + | + |

b) Clusters initiating with /p/: [käptăř] 'pigeon' (1: 12), [öpkä] 'lungs' (4: 9), [tapqaχ] 'wise' (17: 33), [čapča] 'spike-toothed metal harrow', [ǰipsa] 'well suited' (67: 33), [tapšur-] 'to give, to hand over' (67: 38), [tupraq] 'earth' (Lükchün), [toplaš-] 'to gather' (19: 179), [japma] 'a sort of local food';

Clusters initiating with /t/: [jütkä] 'to move' (28: 3), [jutqan] 'quilt' (21: 52), [atčaq] 'a chariot object' (2: 13), [ustra] 'razor' (20: 60), [atlïq] 'mounted' (19: 106), [tatma] 'ledder' (19: 155), [qatnaš-] 'to attend' (77: 28);

Clusters initiating with /d/: [bïdmaq] 'unhappy', only one example in the word list;

Clusters initiating with /k/: [aktän] 'a kind of medicine', [čäkčäj-] 'to scare at' (64: 52), [täkšür-] 'to check' (18: 440), [tiklä-] 'to put something vertically' (18: 124), [tokmä] 'plentiful' (of fruit etc.);

Clusters initiating with /g/: [dügdäj-] 'to jitter' (31: 7), [tägsiz] 'bottomless, extremely deep', [ägri] 'crooked' (67: 153), [ägmä] 'vaulted';

Clusters initiating with /q/: [soqta] 'newly grown vine grape stem', [qo:qči] 'door-keeper', [qaqsi] 'name of a chariot object' (3: 18), [juqla-] 'to visit' (21: 61), [soqma] 'a wall constructed of rummed earth' (19: 100);

40 The clusters pp, tt, qq, čč, ss, šš are possible on syllable boundaries as marked on (16), however, such clusters are mostly phonologically conditioned. For details see 2.3.5.



Clusters initiating with /ɣ/: [boɣdaj] 'wheat' (21: 55), [tuɣrŭ] 'strait' (19: 36), [oɣlaχ] 'lamb' (29: 61), [buɣmaq] 'segmentary' (15: 6);

Clusters initiating with /χ/: [aχtuř-] 'to search for' (17: 103), [tŭχsun] 'Toxsun (place name)' (28: 3), [uχšaš] 'like' (3: 7), [taχla-] 'to jump' (17: 314), [tŭχmaχ] 'club' (13: 14);

Clusters initiating with /č/: [ičkirï] 'inner, inner China' (23: 43), [učqa] 'airplane' (mostly *ušqa*), [učra-] 'to encounter, to receive' (65: 84);

Clusters initiating with /s/: [istä] 'to search' (17: 23), [äskï] 'old, bad' (15: 15), [tasqa-] 'to sieve' (18: 74), [asra-] 'to feed', [osma] 'Osma' (16: 21);

Clusters initiating with /z/: [izdä-] 'to search for' (17: 178), [jezla] 'to search' (19: 122), [sözmän] 'talkative';

Clusters initiating with /š/: [puštu] 'the space between two rows of the vineyard' (15: 1), [mušdaq] 'like this' (11: 25), [pöškäl] 'a fried bread' (24: 7), [qašqïř] 'a sort of grape' (4: 1), [tašči] 'stonemason' (51: 14), [jušrun] 'secret, secretly' (41: 31), [töšlük] 'forward girth' (2: 2), [jašman] 'a kind of food', [dašnaq] 'like that' (20: 65);

2.1.4.3.3 Sonorant-sonorant clusters

Sonorant-sonorant clusters are also permitted. /l/ may occur after all sonorants, and /r/ may also occur after /m, ŋ, l, j/, but not after /n/, whereas /m/ is only permitted after /l/ and /r/ and so on.

(17a) Frequent sonorant-sonorant clusters

| | r | l | m | n |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| r | - | + | + | + |
| l | - | - | + | - |
| m | + | + | - | - |
| n | - | - | - | - |
| ŋ | + | + | - | + |
| j | + | + | + | + |

b) r + nasal: [čařla] 'to check' (17: 178), [jařma] 'groats' (59: 91), [tuřna] 'crane'.

l + m: [almɨ] 'apple' (67: 118);

m + r/l: [imraχ] 'like' (29: 24), [dämlä] 'to weight' (18: 165);

ŋ + r/n: [qoŋra] 'to feel upset' (18: 215), [muŋluχ] 'distressed' (30: 7), [aŋna] 'to listen' (17: 183);

j + r/l or nasal: [tüjrüx] 'pillar' (7: 25), [ajli] 'front side' (17: 288), [mijmaχ] 'crooked' (29: 176), [majnaχ] 'like this' (17: 54).

The analysis above reveals several important distributional features of the consonants in the Turfan dialect: First of all, strong sonorants, including the nasals /m, n, ŋ/, the lateral approximant /l/, the palatal approximant /j/ and the tap /r/ most frequently occur in the coda of the preceding syllable, and the voiceless plosives and the fricatives /s, š/ always occur next to them. Secondly, if voiced plosives and fricatives are in the coda of the preceding syllable, only nasals, the lateral approximant and the tap *ř* are allowed to

occur in the onset of the following syllable.[41] Note that strong sonorants, excluding the approximant /j/, do not occur in the word-initial position. In polysyllabic words, strong sonorants typically distribute to the coda or to the onset of the second or further syllables, but never occur in the onset of the first syllable in native lexemes. On the other hand, strong sonorants, most voiceless plosives, and fricatives in the onset of the second syllable are neutral with regard to the consonant in the coda of the preceding syllable. Presumably, this is why most suffixes in the Turfan dialect generally initiate with strong sonorants, voiceless plosives or fricatives (This is also true for most Turkic languages and dialects). At the end, several consonant clusters are secondary and co-exist with original consonant clusters, e.g. fč, fl with pč, pl and χt, χš, χl with qt, qš, ql, respectively. As a tendency, the first types of clusters seem to be being replaced with the latter types.

In onomotopoeic lexemes of three, or more than three syllables, three consonants may also occur one after another, e.g. [kaŕttidila] (17: 107), [poŕssitä] (19: 162).

#### 2.1.4.4 Features of consonant-vowel combination

In the Turkic languages, "normally, the front consonants *k* and *g* occur in front syllables, whereas the back consonants *q*, *ğ* and *γ* occur in back syllables" (Johanson 1998a: 31). SU and all dialects of Uyghur rather systematically display this phonotactic feature in native stems. Phonological explanation of this phonotactic feature observed in old and modern Turkic languages is not as easy as generally claimed (Johanson 1991: 78-80). Basicly, in the case of Old Uyghur and other ancient Turkic languages 'signal' letters show whether the syllables in which they appear belong to the front or the back series. However, fronting may also occur without velars (Erdal 2002: 5, 13-14).

It has been claimed that the Turfan dialect still more systematically exhibits this combinational feature of front/back vowels with front/back consonants than SU and other Uyghur dialects (Mirsultan 1990: 67). Certainly, in certain lexemes in the Turfan dialect only front vowels occur on the peak when the velars [k], [g] are in the onset or coda position of the same syllable, and this rule is further extended even to copied lexemes as illustrated in (18).

| (18) Turfan | SU | Kashghar | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| kōjnā | kona | kona | old |
| kālpük | kalpuk | kalpuk | lip |
| čükā | čoka | čuka | chopistics |
| pōškāl | poškal | poškal | oil bread |
| gōŕ | gōr | go | tomb |
| gül | gül | gul | flower |
| čō·gün | čōgün | čogun | teacup |

41 *kōbji-* in our vocabulary list results from a regressive voice assimilation, compare SU *köpči-*, Kashghar dialect *köpji-* and *äzkizä* also result from a rather complex phonetic development.



From the examples given in (18), it is not difficult to see that the Turfan dialect exhibits a different picture than SU, especially in relation to the Kashghar dialect with regard to the combination of velars with front vowels, which does not operate as systematically as the Turfan dialect. However, we may also get a completely different picture if other lexemes were taken into consideration. Examples cited in (19) below demonstrate that back vowels may also occur before and after the velars [k] and [g] in a syllable in the Turfan dialect. Interestingly, in contrast to this, only front vowels occur before and after those velars in the same lexemes both in SU and in the Kashghar dialect with the exception of the word for 'lack'.

| (19) Turfan | SU | Kashghar | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| gandi | gändä | gändi | nightsoil |
| sogal | sögäl | sügäl | wart |
| gunǰüt[42] | künǰüt | künǰüt | sesame |
| gumbaz | gümbäz | gümbäz | cupola |
| kam | käm | käm/kam | lack |

On the other hand, this phonotactic feature may also be destroyed in the Turfan dialect due to the existence of w/g alternation; more accurately, due to the strengthening of /v/ in word-initial and intervocalic positions. Thus the velar [g] may occur in more back-syllabic lexemes than other dialects of Uyghur, e.g. [duga] 'pray' (59: 212, compare to SU *du'a* and Kashghar *duwa*), [gaχ] 'time' (9: 1, compare to SU *waqt* and Kashghar *waχ / waq*), [ugaq] 'piece' (compare to SU and Kashghar *uwaq*), whereas [k] rather consistently occurs with front vowels. Notably, in such back syllables [g] is apparently retracted.

In certain lexemes, the velar [g] may occur both in front and back syllables, e.g. [güčuŋ] (55: 8) ~ [gučuŋ] 'Guchung' (57: 30). Presumably, the latter form is new to the Turfan dialect, and might be influenced by SU /gučuŋ/. At any rate, the Turfan dialect presentation of "front consonant + front vowel" phonotactics should not be overstressed.

## 2.2 Sound harmony

### 2.2.1 Vowel harmony

The vowel harmony in the Turfan dialect basically is characterized as an inter-syllabic front vs. back harmony as in SU and in the other Uyghur dialects. In dissyllabic and polysyllabic native stems both or further syllables in a stem may only be front and *vice versa*. In the suffixation process the quality of the last syllable of a stem determines the quality of a following suffix with respect to front vs. back (Johanson 1998a: 33).

42 Some regions display *günǰüt*.

2.2.1.1 Harmonic stems

In the Turfan dialect the harmonic stems may only comprise front syllables and *vice versa*. This may be formally described as follows:

A. Front syllabic harmony → [+ Front syllable] / [Front syllable] _
B. Back syllabic harmony → [- Front syllable] / [-Front syllable] _

Let's take dissyllabic native stems — excluding dissyllabic compounds and the lexemes of clear foreign origin — to illustrate the main aspects of the intersyllabic vowel harmony.

2.2.1.1.1 The patterns of harmonic front syllables

As the examples below in (19) show, several harmonic front stems, i.e (19a), (19d), (19e), (19g), (19n), (19p) also exist in SU, however, the stems (19b), (19c), (19f), (19h), (19i), (19l), (19m), (19o) and (19q) are not typical in SU but specific to the Turfan dialect, especially in contrast to the southern dialects of Uyghur. Usually, the stems of (19b) and (19c) patterns belong to the pattern (19a) in SU, whereas the stems of (19f) pattern are unique to the Turfan dialect: Out of three stems listed under this pattern, /bizä/ and /idä/ do not exist in SU or the southern dialects, while /*bidän*/ occurs as /*bädän*/ in SU and in the southern dialects, and is clearly of a (19a) pattern. The stems of the (19l) pattern belong to (19j) in SU due to the lowering of the Old Turkic word-final /i/ to /ä/ in SU. On the other hand, the so-called common harmonic patterns both to SU and the Turfan dialect, in the case, are only partially similar, showing differences with regard to individual stems comprising those patterns. For instance, the pattern (19a) is relevant both in SU and in the Turfan dialect, however, the corresponding lexeme of /äkä/ is /aka/ in SU, if we should find a counterpart for this stem, which is clearly back harmonic, the second stem /kältäk/ also appears as /kaltäk/ in SU, and apparently is disharmonic, the third stem /jälpäχ/ even occurs in the rather different phonological shape /tälpäχ/ in SU.[43] Anyway, harmonic patterns in the Turfan dialect and SU are not easily comparable, and they should be described as different systems.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (19a) | /ä ä/ | (b) | /ā e/ | (c) | /e e/ | | | |
| | äkä 'father' | | ämček 'breast' | | jette 'seven' | | | |
| | kältäk 'stick' | | čäjnek 'teapot' | | hene 'again' | | | |
| | jälpäχ 'fur cap' | | äjlek 'flour-sieve' | | češmen 'blind' | | | |
| (d) | /e ä/ | (e) | /ı ı/ | (f) | /ı ā/ | | | |
| | belāk 'other' | | kičik 'small' | | bızā 'a few' | | | |
| | ketāk 'fowl-house' | | tïrkiš 'a plow object' | | bidān 'body' | | | |
| | tejnä- 'to be hurry' | | jınık 'light' | | ıdä 'childbirth' | | | |

43 Presumably, the Turfan dialect form /jälpäχ/ results from the palatalization of the initial consonant /t/ in /tälpäχ/.



| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (g) | /ā ı/ | (h) | /e ı/ | (i) | /ı e/ | | | |
| | säkkız 'eight' | | sevit 'good news' | | išex[44] 'donkey' | | | |
| | ägrı 'crooked' | | enjil 'clothe' | | kisek 'clod' | | | |
| | äχır 'at the end' | | tetiŕ 'barren land' | | - | | | |
| (j) | /ü ä/ | (k) | /ö ä/ | (l) | /ü ı/ | | | |
| | üvāk 'sensitive' | | ökā 'younger brother' | | kürı'a dry measure' | | | |
| | jütkä- 'to move' | | sögän 'basket' | | bürı 'wolf' | | | |
| | jürāx 'heart' | | tö:rä- 'to be confused' | | _ | | | |
| (m) | /ö ö/ | (n) | /ö ü/ | (o) | /ü ö/ | | | |
| | mölö 'pack saddle' | | törük 'round' | | güröš 'rice' | | | |
| | – | | öksük 'lack' | | pütö 'solid | | | |
| | – | | tötuŕ 'opposite' | | – | | | |
| (p) | /ü ü/ | (q) | /ü e/ | | | | | |
| | üzüm 'grape' | | düŋgej 'back' | | | | | |
| | tüjrük 'pillar' | | jürex 'heart' | | | | | |
| | jürüš 'traveller' | | - | | | | | |

2.2.1.1.2 Patterns of harmonic back syllables

Unlike the harmonic front stems, most harmonic back stem patterns are common both to the Turfan dialect and SU, i.e. the patterns (20a), (20c), (20e), (20f), (20g), (20h), (20k) and (20l) are also frequently documented in SU. However, certain patterns, i.e. (20d), (20i), (20j), (20m) are specific to the Turfan dialect, and considerable stems comprising certain harmonic patters do not even exist in SU, e.g. */joril-/* 'to tire', */dašo/* 'that', */suryol/* 'a kind of whip'.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (20a) | /a a/ | (b) | /a ï/ | (c) | /ī a/ | | | |
| | ata 'father | | aγïz 'mouth' | | īza 'shame' | | | |
| | qara 'black' | | γalvïŕ 'sieve' | | qīznaq 'store room' | | | |
| | saraŋ 'mad' | | da:rï- 'to catch a cold' | | jïγač 'wood' | | | |
| (d) | /a o/ | (e) | /o a/ | (f) | /ī ï/ | | | |
| | qaro 'blind' | | qojla- 'to drive' | | qïmïš 'reed' | | | |
| | χalo 'rolling pin' | | opqan 'unsatiated' | | nïqsï- 'to go mouldy' | | | |
| | dašo 'that' | | bowa 'grandfather' | | sïŕtïq 'information' | | | |
| (g) | /a u/ | (h) | /u a/ | (i) | /o ï/ | | | |
| | alčuq 'hut' | | qulaq 'ear' | | jorï- 'to tire' | | | |
| | baγru 'stone-hearted' | | učqa 'airplane' | | jorïl- 'to tire' | | | |
| | _ | | _ | | _ | | | |

44 Occasionally occurs also as *išäk*

(j) /o o/
γoro 'bolt'
mozo 'calf'
osol 'bad'

(k) /o u/
boγun 'bee'
čoqu 'handler of a cart'
ojuq 'niche in a wall'

(l) /u u/
umun- 'to hope'
surum 'oppurtunity'
tŭγru 'straight'

(m) /u o/
suŕγol 'a kind of whip'

Further harmonic stem patterns, i.e. /ä ö/, /ä ü/, /ï o/ and /u ï/, are theoretically possible, but they are not established in the Turfan dialect. The patterns /ö ö/, /o o/ and /u o/ are only observable in rather limited stems. Presumably, the latter is restricted by typical first syllabic distributional features of /ö/ and /o/, though both vowels are permitted to occur in further syllables other than the first syllable. On the other hand, exactly these poorly documented harmonic patterns, including /o ï/, are not permitted in SU and in most dialects of Uyghur. The pattern /ö ü/ may be found in stems such as /tömür/ 'iron' and /ötük/ 'boot' in SU, but never in /tötŭŕ/ 'opposite', since the SU equivalent of the latter is /tätür/, and is of /ä ü/ pattern that is not found in the Turfan dialect. Again, this demonstrates that the Turfan dialect not only diverges from SU with regard to the patterns of harmonic stems, but also in the incidence of specific stems.

The last four sound patterns of every type, namely (19m), (19n), (19o), (19p), (20j), (20k), (20l) and (20m), might also be considered as labial harmonic stems. Generally, labial harmonic stems result from progressive assimilation of the further syllables to the first syllable comprising rounded vowels.

2.2.1.2 Stem and suffix harmony

All harmonic suffixes in the Turfan dialect might generally be classified into two main classes: (i) low vowel suffixes and (ii) high vowel suffixes.

2.2.1.2.1 The low vowel suffixes

Prosodically, the low vowel suffixes might be of VC, CV and CVC types, and only front or harmonically neutral consonants may occur in suffix-initials, suffix-finals and *vice versa*. Only [+ front] low vowels may occur before or after a front consonant, while before and after a back consonant only [– front] vowels occur, and vice versa. The low vowel suffixes systematically undergo inter-syllabic front/back harmony, and the frontness/backness of a stem determines the quality or front/backness of the suffixes. For instance, the back stem *at* 'horse' only accepts the back vocalic plural suffix *–la(r)*, e.g. *at-la(r)* 'horses', and the back vocalic directive *–qa*, e.g. *at-qa* 'to a/the horse', the front stem *ät* 'meat' permits only the front vocalic plural *–lä(r)* , e.g. *ät-lä(r)* 'meat and meat-like things' and the front vocalic directive *–kä*, e.g. *ät-kä* 'to the meat'. The vowels in the low vowel suffixes are symbolized with the capital A, indicating two-fold variation *a* and *ä* in the Turfan dialect. The inflections of the verbs listed below in (21) more clearly illustrate front/back harmony between stem and suffixes in the Turfan dialect.



| (21) | NEG | OPT | COND | Pple |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| baŕ- 'go' | ba:-ma | bar-aj | ba(r)-sa | ba(r)-γan |
| käl- 'come' | kä:mä | kil-äj / kil-ej | kä:-sä | kä:-gän |
| al- 'take' | a:-ma | al-aj | a:-sa | a:-γan |
| bäŕ- 'give' | bä:-mä | bir-äj | bä:-sä | bä:-gän |
| tuŕ- 'stay' | tuŕ-ma | tur-aj | tuŕ-sa | tuŕ-γan |
| köŕ- 'see' | kö:-mä | kür-äj[45] | kö:-sä | kö:-gän |

2.2.1.2.2 The high vowel suffixes

The high vowel suffixes may contain twofold alternative vowels /i/ and /ï/ or a fourfold one comprising /i, ï, ü, u/. The twofold vowels of the first type of suffixes might be symbolized as I, and the latter as X, out of which only the latter may undergo both front/back harmony and the so-called labial harmony, whereas the suffixes with *I* only undergo the front/back harmony. The morphological forms of some nouns cited in (21) illustrate the main status of the harmony between the stem and the high vowel suffixes.

| (22) | 3 POSS | 1 POSS | ABL |
|---|---|---|---|
| aš 'food' | eš-ï | eš-ïm | aš-tïn |
| bala 'child' | balə-sï | bala-m | balə-dïn |
| jäŕ 'land' | jer-i[46] | jïr-ïm | jä:-dïn |
| terä 'skin' | ti:ri-si | terä-m | te:ri-din |
| qol 'hand' | qol-ï | qol-um | qol-dun ~ qol-dïn |
| qoγun 'melon' | qoγun-ï | qoγun-um | qoγun-dun ~ qoγun-dïn |
| köz 'eye' | köz-i | köz-üm | köz-dün ~ köz-din |
| čömüč 'laddle' | čömüč-i | čömüč-üm | čömüš-tün ~ čömüš-tïn |

The suffixes with a twofold vowel alternation are written with the same letter in SU. However, our materials show that the unrounded high vowel in such suffixes is realized as [+ back] when these suffixes are attached to back stems and *vice versa*. For instance, the high vowel in 1sg possessive suffix {Im} is clearly [+ back] in /taš/ 'stone' + {Im}→ [tešïm] (47: 15), and the 3sg possessive suffix {I} is also [+ back] in /qol/ 'hand' + {I} → [qulï] (13: 47). Back vocalic characteristics of both suffixes become more apparent when further suffixation processes take place, e.g. *tešïm-γa* 'to my stone', *qulï-γa* 'on his hand' (13: 47).

The status of several suffixes with regard to the stem-suffix harmony in the Turfan dialect obviously diverges from that in SU. For instance, the ablative suffix is a twofold alternative to high vowels in SU, and does not undergo the labial harmony, while in the Turfan dialect it is basically fourfold (it may only be twofold in very careful speech or in the speech of educated speakers). Furthermore, the causative suffix *–DWr* comprises only rounded high vowels in SU and undergoes front/back harmony as seen in *čaptur-* 'to have dug' and *tiktür-* 'to have sew'. However, in the case of the Turfan dialect,

45 Lükchün, Saykanz and Yormung display *küjäj*.
46 Also occur in the forms *jä:ri* and *jiri*.

the causative is realized as *–tXr*, and clearly undergoes both front/back and the labial harmony, e.g. [čaptïr] 'to have dug' (17: 76), [ičir] 'to have drunk' (67: 75), [suquštuř] 'to fight cock' (32: 1), [ö:tüř] 'to kill' (29: 18). In most circumstances, the genitive is marked with *–nX* in the Turfan dialect (see 3.1.1.3.1), though SU marks it with *–nlŋ* of the twofold alternative of high vowels. Note that clearly the genitive *-nX* is not a homonym of the accusative *–nI* in the Turfan dialect as claimed by some scholars (Osmanov 1990: 71). The following comparison exhibited in (24) demonstrates the difference between both suffixes in the Turfan dialect, exemplifying the status of the genitive suffix in (24a), and the status of the accusative in (24b).

(24a) *ata-m-nï̆* *ɣäzni-si-dä* 'at my father's treasure' (18: 85)
father-1sg POSS-GEN treasure-3POSS-LOC

*iskändär-ni* *müŋüz-i* 'Iskandar's horn' (41: 42)
Iskandar-GEN horn-3POSS

*jol-nu* *otturı̈-sï̆-da* 'at the middle of a road' (17: 49)
road-GEN middle-3POSS-LOC

*döŋ-nü* *ast-ïn-dïkï* 'those under the hill' (17: 63)
hill-GEN under-3POSS-LOC

b) *jol-nï̆* *bïka qï-sï̆la* 'Please free the way.' (17: 198)
road-ACC to free-2 PER-POL

*döŋ-ni* *tüzlä-p* 'leveling the slope' (17: 64)
slope-ACC to make flat-GER

Aside from the aforementioned suffixes, the aorist suffix is {-(W)r} in the Turfan dialect, and undergoes both front/back and labial harmony, whereas the aorist suffix {–(A)r} in SU only undergoes front/back harmony, for details see 3.2.2.3.3).

All syllables may undergo front/back or labial harmony in a considerable number of lexemes mainly due to the progressive assimilation of the stem in the Turfan dialect, e.g. *künümüz* 'our life' (21: 124), *lüxčündün* 'from Lükchün' (25: 4), *juruttun* 'from the country' (18: 520), *χoř-jun-u* 'his sack' (21: 207), *üčünčü* 'third' (55: 9), *lüxčüllüx* 'inhabitant of Lükchün' (55: 27). In some lexemes this is also due to the regressive suffix assimilation, e.g. *kü-güz-üp* 'having put on' (21: 162).

2.2.2 Disharmony

In the Turfan dialect, there are also sizeable stems (mostly in copied lexemes) and suffixes (mainly mono-variant suffixes), which are obviously disharmonic.



2.2.2.1 Disharmonic stems

The largest number of the disharmonic stems registered below in (25), especially in (25a), (25e), (25f), (25g), (25h), (25j), (25k), (25l) and (25m) are established in copied lexemes, though a good number of them are poorly documented. A quantity of disharmonic native stems, i.e. the stems of the (25i) pattern, are only disharmonic when pronounced independently, mainly due to the raising of the vowel in the first syllable. However, /e/ in such disharmonic stems is neutral and clearly retracted followed by a back syllable. Therefore, the lexemes /erïq/, /eqïš/ and /seɣïz/ listed in this pattern more accurately should be transcribed as [e+rïq], [e+qïš] and [se+ɣïz] in more strict phonetic transcriptions, respectively. The disharmonic front syllables preceded by a back syllable as seen in (25a) display back a syllabic feature with regard to the next syllable, e.g. /majzi/ + {ɣa}→ [majzïɣa] 'to this side' , /mani-/ + {ɣan}→ [manïɣan] 'having dug'. Clearly, the final vowel in these stems is neutral, and for it an archiphoneme /I/ might be suggested. Consequently, these stems might also be transcribed as /ajlI/ and /manI/. Several disharmonic stems, i.e. the stems of (25b), (25e) and (25i) observed in the Turfan dialect, do also exist in SU. However, certain disharmonic stems, i.e. the stems of (25c), (25d), (25f), (25h), (25l) patterns, are specific to the Turfan dialect.

(25a) /a i/
majni 'this side'
mani- 'to dip'
–

(b) /i a/
gina 'hatred'
χiza 'small street'
hiŋgaŋ 'cracked tooth'

(c) /ä a/
sämsaq 'garlic'
tärša 'obstinate'
zärdař 'rich'

(d) /ä o/
käŋro 'many'
näjzo 'a kind of food'
–

(e) /ä u/
ǰäntuŋ 'felt boots'
ǰäŋdu 'cowpea'
pälguš 'a wooden swab'

(f) /e a/
čečra 'to splash'
teza 'very'
–

(f) /o ü/
χořgül 'poor quality'

(g) /ö a/
kövdak 'foam'

(h) /ü a/
dünja 'world'[47]

(i) /e ï/
erïq 'all'
eqïš 'channel'
seɣïz 'clay'

(j) /i o/
bilok 'a well object'
zilpoš 'small carpet'
zitto 'purpil-head pigeon'

(k) /e u/
eřmuŋ 'double-winged door'
–

(l) /u ö/
sulö 'peace'

(m) /ü u/
ǰüǰuŋ 'water channel'

47 [dünja] occurs mostly in 17:12, 13, 15, 30, etc. and in some other texts, but also in the form of [dunja] in some other texts, see 13: 24 and 63: 2.

2.2.2.2 Disharmonic suffixes

The 3rd person imperative suffix {sun} is suffixed regardless of the front/backness of a stem in SU as well as in most Uyghur dialects. The same suffix is also disharmonic in the Turfan dialect, occurring in the form of *–son*, (see 3.2.3.2.2). However, the adjective suffix {rAq} clearly undergoes front/back harmony both in SU and in the Kashghar dialect, displaying two forms *–raq* and *-rak*. In the case of the Turfan dialect, this suffix basically occurs only in one form {-araq} and obviously violates sound harmony as illustrated below in (26).

| (26) | Turfan | SU | Kashghar |
|---|---|---|---|
| az 'less' | az-araq | az-raq | az-raq |
| čaqan 'fast' | čaqan-araq | čaqqan-raq | čaqqan-raχ |
| čoŋ 'big' | čoŋ-araq | čoŋ-raq | čoŋ-raq |
| bäk 'firm' | bäk-araq | bäk-raq | bäk-raq[48] |
| kičik 'small' | kičig-araq[49] | kičig-räk | kičig-räk |
| köp 'many' | köp-araq | köp-räk | köp-räk |

Moreover, possibility is marked with the suffix {-(j)Al} in SU and in the Kashghar dialect. It goes back to the {*–A* converb + Postverb *al-*} construction, and obviously undergoes a front/back harmony. However, this suffix displays the single form {-a(l)} in the Turfan dialect,[50] and also violates sound harmony as exemplified in (27).

| (27) | Turfan | SU | Kashghar |
|---|---|---|---|
| bar- 'to go' | bar-al-a-mä[51] | bar-al-aj-män | bar-al-aj-mä |
| käl- 'to come' | kil-al-a-mä | kel-äl-äj-män | kil-äl-äj-mä |
| tur- 'to stand' | tur-al-a-mä | tur-al-aj-män | tur-al-aj-mä |
| kör- 'to see' | kör-al-a-mä | kör-äl-äj-män | kyr-äl-äj-mä |
| qïl- 'to do' | qïl-al-ï-mä | qïl-al-aj-män | qïl-al-aj-mä |
| kir- 'to enter' | kir-al-i-mä | kir-äl-äj-män | čir-äl-äj-mä |

Suffixes that rather regularly undergo sound harmony may become disharmonic in the Turfan dialect when preceded by disharmonic suffixes. Usually, the negative suffix {-mA} undergoes front/back harmony in the Turfan dialect,[52] e.g. *ba-majmä* 'I do not go' (17: 232), *ba:-mä* 'do not give' (34: 24). However, it may also be disharmonic when preceded by the disharmonic suffix of possibility {-a(l)}, probably due to progressive assimilation, e.g. *bar-a:-mamä* 'I could not go' (17: 229), *kila:maj* 'not being able to come' (13: 45).

48 [bäk] is an adverb in SU and in the Kashghar dialect, but is an adjective in the Turfan dialect.
49 Once in a text from Lükchün we found *kičigärag* (17: 136).
50 In certain cases the vowel [a] in this suffix raises to [ï] taking the primary accent. However, such raising is not predictable and presumably is personal.
51 Some regions in Turfan exhibit *bar-al-i-mä, kil-al-i-mä, tur-al-i-mä, kör-al-i-mä*.
52 The negation suffix {MA} also realizes as [mi] in the Turfan dialect, e.g. bamimä 'I do not go' (17: 249), *minmimä* 'I do not ride' (17: 240).



Among the dialect words recorded from Turfan, we found that several derivative suffixes such as {-dan}, {-daš} also violate the sound harmony in the Turfan dialect, e.g. *oqdan* 'arrow-box', *küldan* 'hearth', *qoldaš* 'a helper (at wedding)', etc. though those suffixes are also disharmonic in SU.

A number of disharmonic suffixes documented in our text materials, e.g. *adatlɛ* 'customs' (3: 7), *tün-nu nurïda* 'under the darklight' (18: 573), *müššüxnuŋ vešγa* 'to the head of the cat' (19: 13), *humrumdä* 'at my life' (18: 421),[53] seem to be occasional, and therefore could not be counted as a uniform feature of the whole Turfan region.

## 2.3 Phonological processes

This section presents a description of frequent phonological processes unique to the Turfan dialect, especially compared to SU and other dialects of Uyghur. Those phonological processes that are common to the Turfan dialect and SU as well as to the other dialects of Uyghur, e.g. voice assimilation of the alveolar fricative [z] to [s] as seen in [tussiz] 'tasteless' ← /tuzsiz/ and palatalization of nasals followed by [j] as seen in [ojjättä] 'seventeen' ← /on jättä/, etc., are excluded from the scope of our description unless they display some unique features in the Turfan dialect.

2.3.1 Raising and reduction of low vowels

Aside from the traditional Lopnor dialect and some other small dialect regions, namely Paxpu and some villages of Khotan, most regions in the Central dialect display two characteristic phonological processes: (i) raising of low and mid-low vowels due to the regressive assimilation of the following high vowels; (ii) reduction of low vowels resulting from the shifting of the primary accent (a few cases due also to the shifting of the secondary accent) to the following syllables. In most Turcological literature the first one is called "umlauting", and the latter as "raising", or both of them simply as "raising" or "umlauting".

It is wrong to claim that the "vowel raising[54] in conjunction with umlauting accounts for the typically northern Uyghur feature of vocalic "disguise" which constitutes a more or less serious comprehension..." (Hahn 1991: 53). Both the raising (= umlauting) and reduction of low vowels are observable in some fairly early materials recorded in the southern parts of the present XUAR. A comparative vocabulary of some dialects spoken in the domain of Kashghar compiled by H. W. Bellew at the end of the 19th century, includes items such as *egil* 'cow stall' (541) ← *aγïl*, *teriq* 'millet' (550) ← *tarïγ*, *sárghiyip* 'jaundicing' (537) ← *saryay{Ip}*, *dadá-áylisi* 'aunt, paternal (538) ← **dada-ajlasï* (see Bellew 1875: 534-561). The first two examples cited above clearly reflect a raising process, and the latter two the reduction of low vowels. Jarring's materials are also against the cited argument above, see Jarring 1933: 90-94.

53 The same text also displays harmonic form *homurumda* (18: 479).
54 Actually, the reduction of low vowels, see below.

Other widespread opinion on the Uyghur dialect is that the Uyghur "umlauting" results from Uyghur contact with Iranian languages (Adamovic 1993: 4). However, this argument is weak and can not answer many crucial questions relating to the process discussed above. First of all, we have clear evidence to believe that a similar phonological process already existed in Old Turkic, see Erdal 2004: 88, 92; Secondly, even if we accept an Iranian substrata influence in this respect, it is certainly not decisive to this phonological process (Johanson 1993: 101).

Our Turfan dialect materials demonstrate some special factors with regard to both the raising and reduction of low vowels compared to SU and the southern dialects, especially to the Kashghar dialect.

2.3.1.1 Raising of low and mid-low vowels

In the case of Uyghur, "umlaut" clearly refers to the raising of vowels, but not fronting like the German umlaut (Johanson 1991: 85). On the other hand, heretofore available analysis on the vowel raising in Uyghur, excluding the pioneering work by Jarring (1933), mostly deals with SU, especially emphasizing the standard written language though the spoken form of SU diverges from the written form in many respects, especially with regard to the raising of low vowels.

Generally speaking, in the Turfan dialect the open back vowel /a/ and the raised front unrounded /ä/ as well as the rounded mid-low vowels /o/ and /ö/ in closed monosyllabic words may raise to more closed vowels followed by the suffixes initiating with high vowels. Conversely, the process and the output of a-raising and ä-raising as well as o/ö-raising are not completely the same as generally stated, but differ substantially in detail. At least we found such difference in the Turfan dialect. Certainly, all three cases need separate explanations.

2.3.1.1.1 The raising of back low /a/

(a) The back low vowel /a/ in some closed monosyllabic verb stems raises to [ä] followed by the converbial suffix {Xp} as exemplified in (28).

(28) */maŋ-/* 'to walk' + {Xp} → [mäŋıp] 'walking' (18: 179)
*/qal-/* 'to leave' + {Xp} → [qäp] (47: 13) ← [qälıp] 'leaving'
*/al-/* 'to take' + {Xp} → [äp] (50: 6) ← [äl{Xp}] 'taking'

(b) The back low vowel /a/ in some closed monosyllabic lexemes may also raise to the mid-close [e] followed by the suffixes initiating with high close back vowel [ı].

(29) */baɣ/* 'garden' + {I} '3 POSS' → [beɣı] 'his garden' (21: 20)
*/baš/* 'head' + {Xŋ} '2sg POSS' → [bešıŋ] 'your head' (42: 17)
*/qaš/* 'eyebrow' + {Xŋ} '2sg POSS' → [qešşıŋ] 'your eyebrow' (35: 9)
/at/ 'name' + {I} '3 POSS' → [etı] (9: 34)
*/baq-/* 'to feed' + {Xp} 'CONV' → [beqıp] 'feeding' (21: 123)
*/tap-/* 'to find' + {Xp} 'CONV' → [tepıp] 'finding' (21: 12)



(c) The back low vowel /a/ may also raise to the high front vowel [ı] in several closed monosyllabic lexemes as seen in (30).

(30) */tam/* 'wall' + {I} '3sg POSS' → [tımı] 'its wall' (19: 147)
*/baš/* 'head' + {I} '3sg POSS' → [bışşı] 'his head' (2: 20) ~ [bışı] (28: 45)
*/jan/* 'the side' + {I} '3sg POSS' → [jınnı] 'his side' (21: 180)
*/maŋ/* 'to walk' + {Xp} 'CONV' → [mıŋıp] 'walking' (58: 49)
*/jat-/* 'to lay down' + {Xp} → [jıtıp] 'laying down' (21: 12)
*/baq-/* 'to feed' + {Xp} → [bıqıp] 'feeding' (35: 5)
*/bas-/* 'to control' + {Xp} → [bısıp] 'controlling' (55: 39, 20: 29)
*/jap-/* 'cover' + /Xp/ 'CONV' → [jıpıp] 'covering' (56: 34)

Some lexemes may reflect the aforementioned three different forms of a-raising in different context, e.g. /maŋ/ + {Iptu} → [mäŋıptu] (18: 178) ~ [meŋıp] (19: 137) ~ [mıŋıp] (19: 51, 58: 49), but not always. For instance, */jaz-/* 'to write' may occur in the forms of [jezıp] (16: 18) and [jızıp] (56: 32) followed by the converbial suffix {Xp}, but never in the form of [jäzıp]. In the case of */bar-/* 'to go' + {Xŋ} '2sg PERSS', [bärıŋ] and [berıŋ] 'you go' are the possible outputs, but [bırıŋ] is not. Obviously, the latter is to avoid a homonymness with [bırıŋ] 'you give', the 2nd person singular imperative form of */bär-/* 'to give'. Among these raised forms of /a/ which are observed in the Turfan dialect, only (b) exists in SU as well as in most other dialects of Uyghur, but (a) and (c) are specific to the Turfan dialect.

Radlov's materials recorded from the so-called Taranchi dialect rather systematically display examples of a-raising of (b) type, e.g. *beliq* 'fish' (II 5)[55] ← *balıq*, *tešida* 'at the outside' (I 1,1) ← *tašıda*, *elip* 'taking' (9:39) ← *alıp*, occasionally also displaying (a), e.g. *tärïyan* 'having cultivated' (III 5,26). Kathanov's materials recorded from Turfan also mostly display examples for a-raising of the (b) type, e.g. *beši* 'his head' (Menges 1943, XLVIII) ← *baši*, *eqini* 'its white part' (Menges 1943, XLIII D 1) ← *aqını*, *elip* 'taking' (Menges 1943, XXXVIII 45) ← *alıp*, *berip* 'going' (Menges 1976, VIII 15) ← *barıp*. However, Le Coq's records from Turfan exhibit examples both of (a) and (b) types, e.g. *ätïŋ* 'your horse' (1911: 10, 34) ← *atıŋ*, *bäšïŋ* 'your head' (1911: 40) ← *bašıŋ*, *sečim* 'my hair' (1911:3) ← *sačım*, *ĕlip* 'taking' (1911: 33) ← *alıp*.[56] In the Jarring's materials from the southern dialects, we mostly found the examples similar to those of the (a) type, e.g. *bäšïŋ* 'your head' (1946-1951, II 45: 194) ← */baš/* 'head' + /Xŋ/, *bärïp* 'going' (1946-1951, II 40: 35) ← /bar-/ 'to go' + /{Xp}/, etc.[57] Tenishev's materials from the fifties of the 20th century systematically demonstrate the process of the (b) type, e.g. *beši* 'his head' (1984: 6), *ješi* 'his tear' (1984: 6), *terïš* 'cultivation'

55 In the citations from Radloff 1886, the Latin numbers denote text numbers, and the Romanic numbers the page numbers. If the line or further numbers available, they will be given after the page numbers, henceforth.
56 For Le Coq's analysis see Le Coq 1911: 3.
57 For Jarring's analysis see Jarring 1933: 59-60.

(1984: 2), *ečil-* 'open' (1984: 7), occasionally also displaying examples which do not undergo a-raising, e.g. *ačilip* 'opening' (1984: 7). However, the latter occurs in a folk song and obviously is of a rather conservative style. Anyway, (a) reflects the first step of this raising process, and then [ā] raises further to [e] as exemplified in (b). Certainly, (c) reflects a rather new step of this raising process, since it is observable neither from the records of Kathanov and Le Coq of the beginning of the 19th century nor from Tenishev's materials collected in the 1950s (1984). Definitely, raising has intermediary stages as illustrated in (31), though some stages, i.e. (31b) and (31c) can hardly be proved with heretofore available data.

(31) (a) /a/ → [ā] (b) /ā/ → *[E] (c) */E/ → [e] (d) /e/ → [i]/[ɪ]

The main problem is that intermediate stages have never been carefully recorded in previous literature. However, available materials clearly demonstrate that the raising of /a/ to high vowels in Uyghur is realized step by step. Evidently, this process began as raising as mentioned by Johanson (1998b: 93), but is not a phenomenon that [a] raises directly to [e], in the case of the Turfan dialect even to [i], as described in some linguistic literature. At least it is not the case in the Turfan and Kashghar dialects.[58] Several intermediate stages may coexist in a certain period as observed in the Le Coq's material from Turfan and the three outputs reflecting in the same lexeme in the present Turfan dialect. Obviously, the diachronic aspects of the whole raising process require more detailed and systematical descriptions.

2.3.1.1.2 Raising of /ā/

Unlike the case of a-raising, the ā-raising only displays the following two types of raising processes.

a. In most cases /ā/ in monosyllabic closed lexemes raises to close front [i] followed by the suffixes initiating with a high vowel as seen in (32).

(32) */jār/* 'place' + {I} '3sg POSS' → [jiri] 'its place'[59] (19: 153)
*/tāk/* 'grape vein' + {I} '1sg POSS' → [tiki] 'his grape vein' (19: 158)
*/bār-/* 'to give' + {Xp} 'CONV' → [birip] 'giving'[60] (19: 57)
*/kāl-/* 'to come' + {Xŋ} '2sg PERSS' → [kiliŋ] 'you come' (18: 632)

b. In very few cases, mostly in the close monosyllabic verb stems as exemplified in (33), /ā/ may also raise to [e] followed by possessive suffixes and other suffixes initiating with high vowels.

58 For examples from the Kashghar dialect see Jarring 1981: 238.
59 Once also *jāri* in the same text, see 19: 8.
60 The vowel [ā] in the postverb *bār-* may also raise to [e], e.g. *quj peridu* (19: 105).



(33) */jār/* 'place' + {I} → [jeri] '2POSS' (17: 267, 338)
*/bār-/* 'to give' + {Ini} '1pl VOL' → [berini] 'let's give' (60: 30)
*/ār/* 'man, husband' + {Xŋlz} '2sg POSS' → [eriŋiz] 'your husband'

Obviously, (33b) is fairly seldom compared to (33a) as our data demonstrates. The raised forms exhibited in (33b) only coexist with (33a) forms. One may easily conclude that, basically, the raising process from /ā/ to [i] is completed in the Turfan dialect, and the raising of /ā/ to [e] exist only as a trace of an intermedial process from [ā] to [i]. In the case of SU, (33b) is most frequent, although there is also a clear tendency to raise [ā] also to [i] as demonstrated in (33a). However, the latter is mostly observable in the speech of some young female speakers, while the educated adults seem only raise [ā] until [i] only when the outputs of /a/ → [e] and /ā/ → [e] may possibly be confused, e.g. /bar-/ 'go' + {Xŋ} '2nd sg PER' → [beriŋ], /bār-/ 'to give' + {Xŋ} '2nd sg PER'→ [biriŋ].

Diachronically, the ā-raising seems to appear later than the a-raising; at least it was not so common at the end of the 19th century. In the Radlov's Taranchi materials *ā* basically does not raise when preceded by suffixes initiating with high vowels, e.g. *āridin* 'from her husband' (III 3,32) *kālip* 'coming' (III 1,6), *tāšip* 'piercing through' (III 3, 17), *bārip* 'giving' (III 4,21), and the occurence of raised forms is limited to a very few cases, e.g. *xeti* 'their letter' (III 3,35).[61] Raised forms as seen in *berip* 'giving' (III 7,31), *kiliŋlär* 'you come' (III 19,67) are very rare.[62] The materials published by Le Coq, Malov and Jarring display a fairly similar situation.

Many homonym forms reflected in the written form of SU are avoided in the Turfan dialect, e.g. */at/* 'name' + {I} '3sg POSS' → [eti], but */āt/* 'meat' + */I/* '3sg POSS' → [iti] 'its meat'; *bal* 'honey' + /Xm/ '1sg POSS' → [belim] 'my honey', but */bāl/* 'waist' + /Xm/ → [bilim] 'my waist', etc. Note that [eti] 'his name' and [iti] 'its meat', [belim] 'my honey' and [bilim] 'my waist' are spelled in the same way as *eti* and *belim* in SU, respectively.

Both types of raising processes, namely the a-raising and the ā-raising, are blocked in the case of the stem vowel being long, e.g. *ja:l* 'horses mane' + */I/* '3sg POSS' → *ja:li* 'its mane' (13: 47), *bā:š* 'five' + /Imlz/ → *bā:šimiz* 'five of us', *jā:ri* 'his … point' (19: 8).[63]

2.3.1.1.3 Raising of close-mid rounded vowels

As a matter of fact, the close-mid unrounded vowels /o/ and /ö/ are also frequently raised to high rounded vowels [u] and [ü] followed by the suffixes initiating with high vowels in the Turfan dialect as shown in (33) in.

61 This might also be the raised form of [a], since we found *xat* 'letter' in the Radlov's texts.
62 The raising of *ā* to [ɪ] is known only from the inflection of *kāl-*.
63 The latter also occurs in raised forms, eg. [jirigā] 'to their place' (19: 27).

(33) */jol/* 'road' + /I/ '3sg POSS' → [julï] 'his way' (39: 8)
*/qol/* 'hand' + */Xŋlz/* '2sg POSS' → [qulïŋïz] 'your hand' (16: 8)
*/öj/* 'house' + */Xŋızlă/* '2 POL POSS' → [üjiŋizlă] 'your house' (48: 3)
/öz/ 'self' + /I/ '3sg POSS' → [üzı] 'itself' (65: 4)
/söz/ 'word' + /I/ '3sg POSS' → [süzi] (17: 262)

Note that this type of vowel raising is not orthographically reflected in SU. Put differently, the output of the examples stated in (33) are written as *jolï*, *qolïŋïz*, *öjiŋiz*, *özi* and *sözi* in SU, respectively, though, in the spoken form of SU there is also a clear tendency of raising close-mid vowels to more closed vowels just like in the Turfan dialect.

In all cases of the three previously discussed raising processes the low and mid-low vowels assimilate to a following front vocalic segment in an immediately following syllable. If we call it a type of umlaut, it is clearly a raising umlaut which differs from the well-known German umlaut characterized by the fronting of back vowels; see Johanson 1991: 85, Talipov 1987: 178-180. The early stage of raising from *a* to *ä* shows a similarity to the fronting umlaut, but the whole process of Uyghur-umlauting clearly diverges from the fronting umlaut observed in German, showing somewhat similar output to the raising of vowels reflected in the inflection of *ess(en)* 'to eat' ~ *iss+t* '(s)he eats; see Wiese 2000: 193-194. However, the phonological conditions of both processes are quite different: The front vowels always remain to the front in the case of the ä-raising from [ä] to [e] and from [e] to [i], and obviously differs from the front umlauting. Tentatively, I try to describe the raising process of low and close mid-vowels in the Turfan dialect as in (35).

(35)

$$V\begin{bmatrix} a \\ ä \\ o \\ ö \end{bmatrix} - V[+\text{high}] / -\{\text{suffix}\}[+\text{high}]$$

This might be more formally described as in (36), in which /o/ and /ö/ are considered as [-high] together with [a] and [ä] in contrast to [+high] vowels /I/ and /U/, which represent [i], [ï] and [u], [ü], respectively.

(36)

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{consonantal} \\ -\text{high} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+\text{high}] / -\{\text{suffix}\}[+\text{high}]$$



2.3.1.2 Reduction of low vowels

The other important phonological process in SU and most Uyghur dialects, including the Turfan dialect, is the reduction of low vowels,[64] which is often considered the same process as the raising of low and close-mid low vowels discussed in the previous section, though it sharply diverges from the latter in at least two perspectives: (i) The raising clearly is an assimilation process resulting from the regressive assimilation of low vowels in monosyllabic words to high vowels in the following suffixes. However, reduction does not necessarily condition the following suffix to initiate with a high vowel, but results from the shift of the primary, and occasionally also the secondary accent in dis- or polysyllabic lexemes; (ii) As a result of the raising, low vowels shift or raise to high or higher vowels, but in the case of reduction, low vowels are neutralized to central vowels. Let's see the examples listed in (37).

(37a) /bala/ 'child' + /(s)I/ '3sg POSS' → [balәsï] 'his child' (18: 1)
/bala/ 'child' + /lAr/ 'pl' → [balәla] 'children' (19: 8)
/bala/ 'child' + /GA/ 'DIR' → [balәγa] 'to the child' (18: 13)

b) /ätä/ 'tomorrow' + /(s)I/ '3sg POSS' → [ä:tisï] 'next day' (17: 89)
/mänä/ 'meaning' + /DA/ 'LOC' → [mä:nidä] 'in the meaning of' (6: 19)
/hämmä/ 'all' + /DIn/ 'ABL' → [hämmidin] 'than every one' (59: 150)

Among most dsisyllabic lexemes listed in (37), except for */ätä/* and /mänä/, the primary stress falls on the last syllable, whereas the secondary stress is on the first syllable. Reduction takes place in unstressed syllables following the shifting of the primary stress to the preceding and following syllables. In the case of */ätä/* the primary stress falls on the first syllable, and the secondary stress on the second syllable. Apparently, the reduction also occurs in the unstressed third syllable, following the shift of the secondary stress to the third syllable. In polysyllabic lexemes, all low vowels in unstressed syllables are the subject of reduction as exemplified in (38).

(38) [balәlïrïm] 'my children' (21: 98) ← */bala/* 'child' + {lAr} 'pl' + {Xm} '1sg POSS'
[kičilïrı] 'nights' (70: 48) ← */kečä/* 'night' + */lAr/* 'pl' + /I/ '3POSS'
[unimidi] 'did not accept' ( 22: 155) ← */una-/* 'to accept' + */mA/* 'NEG' + {DI} 'SPst'
[saqlimisaŋla] 'if you do not wait' (59: 58) ← */saqla-/* 'to wait' + {mA} 'NEG' + /sA/ 'COND' + {(X)ŋlar} '2plPOSS'

A similar process may also take place in morpheme boundaries in compounds as well as in word boundaries in various phrases. The first one is exemplified in (39a), and the latter in (39b).

64 As far as we know, at least two other Turkic languages, Iranian Azari and Salar also display similarly phonological process; see Deghani 2000: 51-52, Lin 1985: 16. However, the phonological environment and the output in Iranian Azari seem to be different from the case of Uyghur.

(39a) [atə bovəla] 'ancestors' (13: 5) ← /ata bovəlar/
[birgɨ öt-] 'to live together' (41: 8) ← /birgä öt-/

b) [tügɨ vilän] 'with a camel' (67: 151) ← /# tügɨ# + #bilän#/
[üjigɨ käp] 'coming to his own home' (21: 196) ← /#öjigä# + #kälip#/

However, the reduction of low vowels, most often the reduction of [ä], in morpheme boundaries of compounds and word boundaries is not regular, and is mostly avoided in careful speech.

In the Turfan dialect, /a/ in unstressed syllables is very often also reduced to a close central unrounded vowel [ɨ], preceded by rounded vowels. Obviously, there are two different phonological processes at work here; (i) reduction of low vowels and (ii) the progressive assimilation of rounded vowels. The latter may also be called labial assimilation, which might be extended to suffix vowels as shown in (40).

(40) */qursaq/* 'stomach' + */(I)mIz/* '1pl POSS' → [quřsʉɣʉmuz] 'our stomach' (14: 11)
*/orda/* 'palace' + */(s)I/* '3sg POSS' + /ɣa/ 'DIR' → [ořdʉsʉɣa] 'to his palace' (3: 8)
*/torla-/* 'to make net' + */sA/* 'COND' → [tořlʉsa] 'when they made a net' (19: 5)
*/uχla-/* 'to sleep' + */d/* 'SPst' + */uq/* 'PER' → [uχlʉduq] 'we slept' (19: 80)

Note that a similar reduction process also takes place in the spoken form of SU as well, though it is not as regular as in the Turfan dialect. However, in the written form of SU reduced rounded vowels are consistently spelled with the vowel /i/. For instance, the spellings of [quřsʉɣʉmuz], [ořdʉsʉɣa], [tořlʉsa] and [uχlʉduq] listed in (40) are *qorsiɣimiz*,[65] *ordisiɣa*, *torlisa* (if a verb *torla-* exists in SU) and *uχliduq*, respectively. Clearly, the /i/ stands for a reduced vowel, and not for a close front [i]. It should also be noted that in the Turfan dialect the reduced rounded vowels are mostly replaced with normal rounded vowels in very careful speech.

In the Kathanov's materials *e* seems to present both raised and reduced vowels, e.g. *eši* 'his food' (XXXVI 139), *baleni* '*child* (ACC)' (XLV 6).[66] Compared to the raising, the reduction was not so common in the Kathano's materials, e.g. *balaya* (XLIV 5, XLV 13, etc.), *baradï* (XXXIV 30). However, Le Coq's records consistently display reduced vowels in which we read *ătäsī* 'his father', *băläsi* 'his child' (Le Coq 1911: 18,81), *dămlıgăn* 'having taken aim' (Le Coq 1911: 18,77). Malov's Turfan dialect materials also display some examples of vowel reduction, e.g. *anesi* 'her/his mother' (1961: 67,4), *balesi* 'her/his child' (1961: 67,4). Clearly he represents the reduced vowel with *e*.

65 *qorsaq* is a problematic spelling and supposedly is a result of a hypercorrection. In this case, the word is pronounced as /qusaq/ in Kashghar, Urumchi and Ili and as /qursaq/ in the Turfan, Qomul regions.

66 Radloff's Taranchi texts rather consistently represents the reduced vowels with *e* and *ĭ*, e.g. *atlerī* 'their horses (1886: III 1,8), *balīleridīn* 'from their wives' (1886: III 1,6), *barīdu* 'he goes' (1886: III 9,39), occasionally also with *i* and *ī*. However, the low front vowel *ä* basically does not reduce in his texts, e.g. *kälädi* 'they come' (1886: III 9,38, III 9,41), *töpäsigä* 'to the top' (1886: V 3,121), *bäglärigä* 'to his officials' (1886: V 3,122), displaying also the reduced forms, e.g. *kälīdu* (1886: III 9,40).



Tenishev transcribes reduced vowels both with *i* and *y*, occasionally also representing them with *e*, e.g. *anisi* 'her mother' (1984: 11, 16), *paxtyya* 'to the cotton' (1984: 2,9), *baredu* 'they go' (1984: 1,7), *anesi* 'her mother' (1984: 1,7). Presumably, *ä* in the first two lexemes cited from Le Coq's material probably represent a schwa in the unstressed second syllable, and *i* in the last lexeme in an unstressed syllable seems to stand for a schwa or a close central unrounded vowel. However, if the *ä* in Le Coq's material represents a low front vowel [ä], this might imply that the reduction of vowels has also begun from the raising of the low back vowel to the low front [ä] at its initial stage, the same as the raising of the back low vowel *a*.

In the Turfan dialect, the reduced high vowels are often the subject of deletion, e.g. [balla] 'children' (22: 50) ← [balәla] (< */bala/* 'child' + */lAr/* 'pl.'),[67] [ä:tsi] 'the next day' ← [ätɨsi] (< /ä:tä/ 'tomorrow' + /(s)I/ '3sg POSS'), [kalla] 'cows' (17: 311) ← [kalәla] (< /kala/ 'cow' + /lAr/ 'pl.'), etc.

### 2.3.2 The strengthening of /v/

In Uyghur dialectology, the existence of the alternation between [w] and [g], more correctly the strengthening of /v/, often was counted as one of the most impressive phonological features of the Turfan dialect (Tenishev 1963: 139, Osmanov 1990: 63-64).[68] However, the phonological conditions and characteristics of this phonological process in the Turfan dialect are left unexplained.

#### 2.3.2.1 Regional distribution

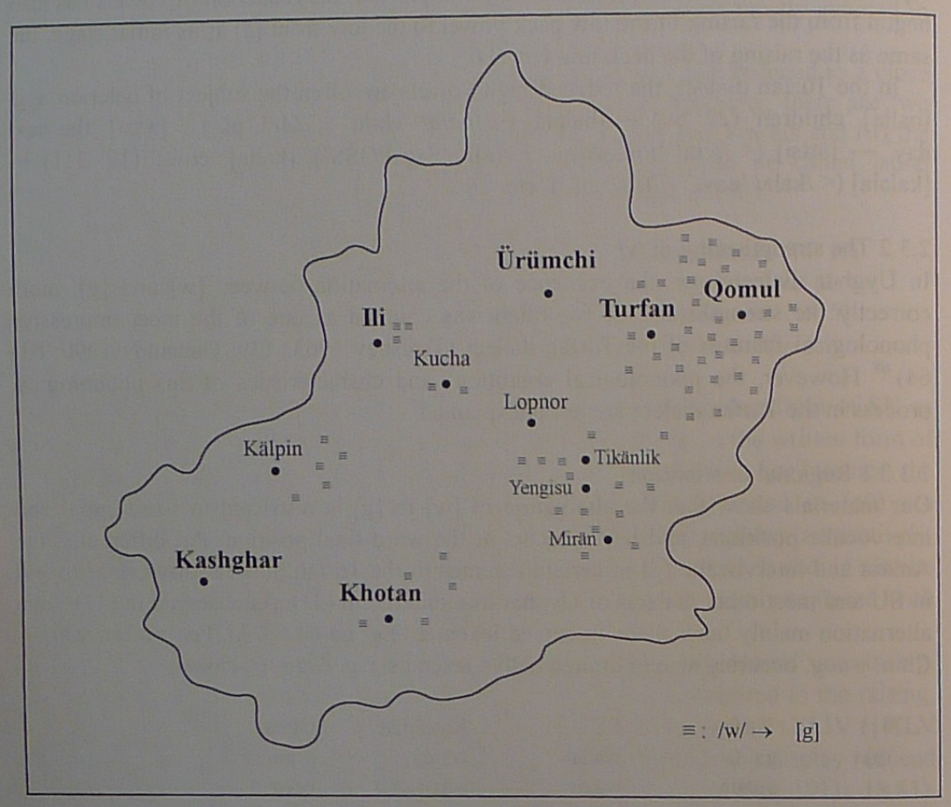
Our materials show that the alternation of [w] to [g] is restricted to word-initial and intervocalic positions, and never occurs at the word-final position. Put differently, the Anlaut and intervocalic [g] in certain lexemes in the Turfan dialect corresponds to [w] in SU and most other dialects of Uyghur as exhibited in (41). As observed in (41), such alternation mainly takes place in copied lexemes, e.g. *gä:dä* << Ar./Per. *wa'da*, *gaŋ* << Chin. *wang*, occuring also in limited native lexemes, e.g. *čugu-* (< *čuwu-*).

| (41) | Turfan | SU | Kashghar | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) | gä:dä | wädä | wä:dä | promise |
| | güzür | wäzir | wäzir | vezir |
| | gaŋ | waŋ | waŋ | ruler |
| | ha:ga | hawa | ha:wa | air, weather |
| b) | ugaq | uwaq | uwaq | piece |
| | čugu- | čuwu- | čuwa- | take apart |

67 Deletion of the reduced vowel in this word is also observable in Tenishev's texts, e.g. *balla* (1984: 7).

68 Tenishev claims that this phenomenon exists in the speech of older generations, see Tenishev 1963: 139. However, his texts recorded from speakers age 40 and under also display strengthened forms though most of them are educated, e.g. *möge* 'fruit' (1984: 2, 9), *gax* 'time' (1984: 7, 14).

Actually, w/g alternation is not unique to the Turfan-Qomul regions; some regions of Lopnor, Khotan and Kälpin, sporadically also some regions of Ili, display the same alternation. In the Kälpin region such alternation even extends to several demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *magu* 'exacintertly this' (Turfan and SU *mawu*), *ti:gu* 'that' (Turfan and SU *awu/äwu*), etc. (Yüsüp 1990: 103; Osmanov 1990: 193).




Map 2-1 Distribution of w/g alternation

As we may see in map 2-1, the w/g alternation is distributed to the northern regions of Lopnor, namely to the villages Chara, Közläk, Mirsali, Tikänlik and Yengisu located near Turfan and Qomul (Osmanov 1999: 5). However, in the villages of Miran located near Khotan, such alternation is only observable in very limited number of words, whereas some villages do not display such alternation at all. In the Ili region, the w/g alternation is mainly distributed to Turpanyüzi and its adjacent villages. Both historical records and oral history show that some Uyghurs of Ili immigrated from Turfan around the 18th century (see Su/Huang 1993: 217-218, Saguchi 1986: 257, 259; for oral history



see Menges 1943: 22 and our text 65), and most parts of Lopnor were under the rule of Lükchün Duckdom. In the Khotan area the w/g alternation is restricted to limited lexemes, and distributed to some of the most eastern regions of Keriyä located near Lopnor. Probably, the w/g alternation spread from East to South along the old trade route linking the southern part of Xinjiang to the regions of Turfan, Qomul and Dunhuang. Many important linguistic features of the Kälpin region are hardly uniform throughout the whole region. We do not know the exact villages of Kälpin where the w/g alternation actually takes place. Presumably, it is not original to this region, and probably was brought from other regions, most probably from the eastern regions by immigrants.

2.3.2.2 Diachronic aspects

Evidently, the w/g alternation (occasionally [w] also alternating with [γ]) is not a new phenomenon in the history of the Turkic languages. Several examples, such as *övüt ~ ögüt*, *qawur ~ qaγur*, *süwlin ~ süglīn* etc., found in the DLT clearly show that such alternation existed in 11th century Turkic; see Dankoff et al. 1982-1985, III 277. However, documentation of this phenomenon from the Turfan-Qomul dialect is not found earlier than the 18th century. An 18th century text (henceforth Ankara text) published by Turkish scholar Ahmet Temir bears the word *W'CW* (l. 12), which was transcribed by Temir as *vacu*. Temir considered it part of a place name *šbu vacu* together with *šbu*. He notes: "*Šbu Vacu* ist unverständlich, es muss das Land dicht bei *Hami* sein." (Temir 1961: 197 note 12). The correct interpretation of *Šbu*, should be *šubu*, and it should not be considered as a part of the place name, since it is a pronoun which is the compound of *šu* 'that' and *bu* 'this', and denotes 'this, exactly this'. This word occurs in many documents of the same period,[69] and exists in several Uyghur dialects in the form of *ušbu*, signifying 'this, exactly this'. In the thirteenth line of the Ankara text, W'CW occurs without *šbu*, clearly testifying that *šbu* is not part of *Vacu*. Temirs transcription *Vacu* may only be accepted as a transliteration, and its correct transcription must be *gacu* or *gaǰu*, which represents the Turfan dialect pronunciation of the Chinese place name 瓜州 *Gua-zhou*, the ancient name of present Anxi County in Gansu Province. Japanese scholar Saguchi Toru correctly points out that *vacu* is not a place near Hami but refers to Guazhou in Gansu, mainly consulting the Chinese sources concerning the migration of the Turfan Uyghurs to Guazhou. However, he does not explain why Guazhou is written as W'CW in this text (Saguchi 1980: 14, 28 note 40).

This phenomenon is rather well documented in *Wuti Qingwenjian*. In this dictionary, the Uyghur words are given in Arabic script, accompanying by phonetic transcriptions in Manchu letters (WTQW = *Wuti Qingwenjian*, Ar. = spelling in Arabic script, Man. = transcription in the Manchu script, Read. = suggested readings).

(41) WTQW Ar. WQT
Man. GWV'Q ~ GWV'XT

69 WTQW 121 *šubu kün* 'this day' corresponds to Chin. 本日 *ben-ri*.

| | |
|---|---|
| | Read. *gax* ~ *g*$^{w}$*ax* ~ *g*$^{w}$*axt* 'time' < Ar. *vaqt* |
| WTQW | Ar. 'WW'L |
| | Man. 'GWV'L |
| | Read. *ag*$^{w}$*al* ~ *agal* 'first, before' < Ar. *avval* |
| WTQW | Ar. HW' |
| | Man. H'GW' |
| | Read. *ha.ga* ~ *hag*$^{w}$*a* 'air, weather' < Ar. *havā* |
| WTQW | Ar. JW'B |
| | Man. JWGW'P |
| | Read. *jug*$^{w}$*ap* 'answer, replay' < Ar. *cavāb* |
| WTQW | Ar. MYWH |
| | Man. MYGW' |
| | Read. *mig*$^{w}$*a* ~ *mögä* 'fruit' < Per. *miva* |
| WTQW | Ar. T'W'R |
| | Man. T'WGW'R |
| | Read. *tavg*$^{w}$*ar* ~ *tagar* 'silk fabric' < Ar. *tawar* |

The name of the Manchu ruler 光徐*Guangxu* was written as W'NK ŠWY (l. 36) in a Manchu-Uyghur (Arabic script) bilingual letter, but obviously was read *gaŋšü* or *g*$^{w}$*aŋšü*.[70] The name of the same Manchu ruler was written in the same way in an official letter issued by the Turfan Jasak Prince Emin Wang to the governors of Kucha and Kashghar, but certainly was also read *gaŋšü* ~ *g*$^{w}$*aŋšü*, the same as the case of the aforementioned Manchu-Uyghur bilingual document.[71]

The reading of *waw* as *g* in copied lexemes is fairly common in the dialect texts recorded by Le Coq from the Turfan area. For instance, in his *Sprichwörter* WF' was read *gäpā* goodwill' (Nr. 27), FHLW'N as *palgan* 'shouter' (Nr. 126), and 'WWL as *agal* 'previous' (Nr. 158). Numerous examples established in his *Lī-Kitābī* more clearly illustrate this point. The latter is a dictation of an etiquette book written in Arabic script by Le Coq's local secretary Ōbul-Māxdī (Abū'l Mahdī) who is originally from Qaraghoja, in which we found *waw* was pronunced *g* by Ōbul Māhdī in many copied lexemes. Actually, this phenomenon had drawn Le Coq's attention and was considered one of the peculiarities of the Turfan dialect.[72]

### 2.3.2.3 Characteristics

Concerning the /gua/ [g$^{w}$a] found in *Wuti Qingwenjian*, Japanese linguist Masahiro Shōgaito claims that /gua/ reflects an intermedial stage of a historical development of a process *va* > *g*$^{w}$*a* > *ga* (Shōgaitio 1975: 51). We have only *dig*$^{w}$*anä* 'bagger' from Murtuq, which is probably a survivor of this intermediate form. By the way, it seems to be that such an intermediate stage was already completed between the 19$^{th}$ and the 20$^{th}$

70 Haenisch 1951: 261, Tafel VI.
71 Bang & Marquart 1914, p. 24.
72 Le Coq 1911, p. 4. Examples are taken from the same publication, the numbers refer to the numbers of the Sprichwörter.



centuries, since Kathanov, Le Coq and Malov's texts only display the last stage form *ga* ~ *g*.

I think, /v/ had at least two different allophorms in the early Turfan-Qomul dialect: the velar approximant [ɰ] and the labiodental approximant [v]. Principally, the labiodental [v] in intervocalic position in the Turfan dialect goes back to /p/ or /b/, and usually does not alternate with [g], e.g. *qavaq* < *qapaq* (< *qabaq* 'gour, pumpkin'), *quvuq* < *qapïγ* 'door', *ičival-* < *ičip al-* 'drink for own', etc. Note that the labiodental [v] also does not occur in a word-initial position in the Turfan dialect, occasionally palatalising as seen in *čujuq* 'a rod or stick' ← *čuvuq* (< *čïbïq*) in intervocalic position. Presumably, the alternation of the velar approximant [ɰ] with [g] in word-initial and intervocalic positions closely connects to the distributional features of [ɰ]. In this case, in a large number of copied lexemes from Chinese, Arabic and Persian, the velar approximant [ɰ] renders the original /v/. However, word-initial and intervocalic distribution of [ɰ] seems to be foreign to the Turfan dialect and this "phonotactically foreign" consonant goes strengthening, having the forms [g$^{w}$] or [gw] in the early stage, gradually developing to the stronger velar stop [g].

We do not know whether there is an intermediary stage from [g$^{w}$] to the velar fricative [ġ], since we found *haġanča* and *handuġa* coexist with *haganča* 'mortar' and *handuga* 'brick-trowel'. The rather rare v/γ alternation found in the Lopnor, Qomul regions as seen in */γaq/* 'time' (SU *waqt*, mostly *gaχ* in Turfan) and */γäräq/* 'page' (SU and Turfan *waraq*) as well as *tuγaq* 'potlid' found in Murtuq, seems to reflect an intermediate stage from /v/ to /g/. Actually, both [ġ] and [γ] may result from the fricativization of /g/ in intervocalic position. However, w/g alternation seems to be a fortition process characterized by openness (Lass 1984: 178). The whole process may be formalized as follows.

(43) /v/ [ɰ] → [g$^{w}$]/[gw] → ([ġ]/[γ]) → [g]

Certainly, the development from [g$^{w}$]/[gw] to [ġ]/[γ] or [g] may also be interpreted as cluster simplification.

The reason for w/g alternation in native lexemes is unclear. I intend to consider the extension of the w/g alternation to certain native lexemes in the Turfan dialect as a kind of analogy, though such alternation is not a new phenomenon in the history of the Turkic languages as we have mentioned above. It is also possible that the strengthening of /v/ to [g] was originally realized in intervocalic position in native lexemes, and was later extended to the word-initial position in copied lexemes. Unfortunately, we have no evidence to prove that such alternation existed in the Turfan dialect until very recent years. Even the *Wuti Qingwenjian* and the materials by Kathanov and Le Coq do not display such alternation in native lexemes. As a result, I prefer my first assumption, regarding the extension of w/g alternation to the native lexemes in the Turfan dialect is a kind of analogy.

According to Kathanov, Le Coq and Malov's texts recorded from Turfan and Qomul, the w/g alternation used to operate with rather large number of lexemes, i.e. *gädži* 'his property' (XXXVIII 10), *nängäi* 'backer' (Le Coq 1910: 98b), *quggät* (Le Coq 1910: 4). However, in the present Turfan dialect those lexemes occur in the forms of *wäji*, *nawaj* and *quwwät*. Clearly, the w/g alternation has been decreasing, probably under the influence of SU and other neighboring dialects.

2.3.3 Fricativization of bilabials

In the Turfan dialect the bilabials /b/ and /p/ undergo fricativization, changing to [v] in the intervocalic position and at morpheme boundaries. However, the phonological condition of such fricativization or voice assimilation — more correctly a type of consonant weakening — diverges with regard to both bilabials.

Generally speaking, the fricativization of the bilabials in the Turfan dialect operates in several rather different phonological environments. In certain native lexemes /p/ changes to [v] in an intervocalic position as exemplified in (44a). The voiceless bialabial /p/ in converb suffix {Xp} fricativizes to [v] in morpheme boundaries, especially in postverb constructions as seen in (44b). In personal names and compounds /b/ fricativizes to [v] preceded by vowels, sonorants or other [+voiced] consonants as illustrated in (44c). Fricativization of the voiced bilabial /b/ also takes place in the same environment (44c) in morpheme boundaries in compounds, and more frequently at word boundaries in causal connected speech. However, such fricativization of /b/ clearly is the extension of the rules illustrated in (44c) to word boundaries. The fricativization of the /b/ in morpheme boundaries in compounds is shown in (44d), and the fricativization at word boundaries in (44e). The latter clearly is the object of sentence phonology or sandhi.

(44a) /p/→ [v]/V__V
[qavaq] 'kurbitsa' (24: 5) ← qapaq
[quvuq] 'door' (51: 18) ← *qapuɣ (< qapïɣ)[73]

b) /p/ [CONV]→ [v]/__{PostV}[V-initiated]
[jıqītīval-] 'to cause to fell down' (18: 6) ← jiqītīp al-
[tīqīvep] 'hiding' (19: 20) ← tīqīp elīp (<tīqīp alīp)

c) /b/ → [v]/__[+sonorant]
[quřvan] 'Qurban' (21: 209) ← qurban
[ıvrajim] 'Ibrahim' (28: 98) ← ibrahim
[čūvūn] 'fly' (28: 1) ← čibun

d) /b/ → [v]/[+sonorant]___

73 The most common words [tavan] 'heel' and [savaq] 'grape stem' in the Turfan dialect also result from the fricativization of *tapan* and *sapaq*.



[qaravaš] 'slave' (21: 70) ← qarabaš (< *qara* 'black' + *baš* 'head')
[eŋilvaš] 'clothes' (21: 131) ← eŋil baš (< *eŋil* 'clothe' + *baš* 'head/hat')
[χušal vop] 'being happy' (17: 31) ← χošal bol- (< *χošal* 'happy' + *bol-* 'become')

e) /b/→ [v]/#__#
[uɣul vala] 'boy' (18: 3) ← /#oɣul# + #bala#/
[unuŋ vilä] 'with him' (19: 41) ← /#unuŋ# + #bilän#/
[mal vuɣïzi] 'fodder' (18: 548) ← /#mal# + #boɣazı#/
[ka vigim] 'my ka bäg' (21: 23) ← /#ka# + #begim#/
[inimız va] 'we have a brother' (21: 102) ← /#inimız# + #bař# /
[ölsäŋ vuldu] 'you should die' (21: 40) ← /#ölsäŋ# + #buldu#/
[diwanı vop] 'being a begger' (21: 207) ← /#diwanä# + #bolup#/

Amongst the examples listed above, (44a) and (44c) are specific to the Turfan dialect, and (44b), (44d) and (44e) are occasionally observable in SU and in the other dialects of Uyghur as well. Obviously, (44a) is basic, and (44b) is the extension of the same rule to morpheme boundaries. On the other hand, (44d) and (44e) belong to a different level as we have stated above, and can be usually avoided in careful speech.

In causal connected speech, the *p* in a converbial suffix {Xp} can also be fricativized in word boundaries followed by words initiating with vowels or an approximant /j/, e.g. *arlav jürüp* 'travelling around' (24: 42), *däv oturup* 'saying so' (19: 140). However, this is not as common as (44e). It should also be noted that, [v] resulting from the fricativization exemplified in (44a) is often deleted between rounded vowels in the Turfan dialect, e.g. [qovuq] 'door' → [qu:q] (7: 11, 12), [qovuz] 'cheek'→ [qu:s] [74]

2.3.4 Deletion processes

Fairly frequent deletion processes observed in /oɣul/ 'son' + {(s)I} → /oɣlı/ ~ /uɣlı/ 'her/his son', /burun/ 'nose' + {Xm} → /burnum/ 'my nose', /bar/ → /ba:/ ~ /ba/ etc. occur in most Uyghur dialects, and are clearly not specific to the Turfan dialect. However, the following five types of deletion processes are unique to the Turfan dialect, at any rate, the other Uyghur dialects do not display such deletions systematically, though some of them, as we shall see, are specific to certain regions inside the Turfan dialect.

2.3.4.1 Deletion of syllable-final vowels

In the Turfan dialect, the word-final high vowel [i] in open three syllabic lexemes is often the subject of deletion. As a result of this deletion process, originally three-syllabic lexemes become two-syllabic as exemplified in (45).

(45) /ju.qu.rı/ → [ju.quř] 'high' (78: 28)
/ič.kı.rı/ → [ıc.kıř] 'inside' (18: 560)

74 The latter results from b → [v]. The fricativization of /b/ should also be rather old, since Le Coq's materials exhibit both *qōbūz* and *qōwūz* side by side; see Le Coq 1911: 95.

Loss of the final vowel in the inflected forms as seen in (46), more accurately the deletion of the final vowel of the conditional suffix, clearly is the extension of the same deletion rule. Note that the deletion process exemplified in (46) operates in monosyllabic verbs in which the word-final lateral approximant is deleted and as a result the stem vowel will be prolonged.

(46) /bolmisa/ → [bo:məs] 'if not' (17: 30)
/kälmisä/ → [kä:mis] 'if it do(es) not follow' (64: 7)

Interestingly, a similar vowel deletion rule operates with declined nominal forms and inflected verbs of the same syllabic structure in normal speech, most often with the possessive phrases and the present form of monosyllabic verbs. However, in this case, not the word-final vowels, but the vowels of the second syllable are deleted.

(46a) /jenıda/ → [jinda] 'at his side' (19: 75)
/jerimiz/ → [jeřmis] 'our field' (57: 33)
/sūjını/ → [sūjnı] 'its water (ACC, 56: 22)
/notısını/ → [notısnı] 'its bud' (ACC, 2: 16)

b) /barıdu/ → [bařdu] 'they go' (19: 77, 79)
/kirıdu/ → [kiřdu] 'they inter' (19: 65)
/kılıdu/ → [kıldu] 'they come' (19: 182, 15: 5)
/qīlīdu/ → [qīldu] 'it seems to be …' (12: 18)
/alımīz/ → [almīs] 'we take' (3: 2)

2.3.4.2 Deletion of the palatal approximant *j*

The palatal approximant *j* is frequently deleted in two phonological environments in Dighar, Lükchün and Say Kariz located in the most southern regions of Turfan, including the Murtuq village near Turfan: (i) the word-final position in certain lexemes, (ii) the final consonant [j] of the negation converbial suffix {-mAj} in the negative present. In other regions, mostly in the urban areas such as Pichan, Turfan and the whole region of Toxsun, [j] is clearly pronounced in both environments. Some regions, namely Tuyuq and Yanghe, only occasionally display this [j] deletion. Amongst the two tables given below, (48a) exemplifies the deletion of a [j] of an (i) type, comparing the forms of four lexemes *qoj* 'sheep', *toj* 'wedding', *öj* 'house, room' and *buγdaj* 'wheat' in the five regions of Turfan, (48b) demonstrates the deletion process exhibited in the first person plural negative present forms of the three verbs *bar-* 'go', *jä-* 'eat' and *dä-* 'say', showing their distribution again in the five regions of Turfan.

| (48a) | Lükchün | Murtuq | Tuyuq | Pichan | Toxsun |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | qo: ~ qo | qo: ~ qo | qo: ~ qo | qoj | qoj |
| | to: ~ to | to: ~ to | to: ~ toj | toj | toj |
| | ö: ~ ö | ö: ~ ö | ö: ~ öj | öj | öj |
| | buγda | boγda ~ budaj | buγdaj ~ buγda | buγdaj | buγdaj |



| b) | Lükchün | Murtuq | Tuyuq | Pichan | Toxsun |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ba:mamıs | ba:ma:mıs | ba:mamız/ bamajmız | bamajmız | bamajmız |
| | jimemiz | jimemis jimejmiz | jimemiz / | jimejmiz[75] | jimejmiz |
| | dimemiz | dimemis | dimemiz/ dimejmiz | dimejmiz | dimejmiz |

In the most southern regions of Turfan, namely in Lükchün and Say Kariz, this deletion process operates with more lexemes, whereas in the other regions, especially in Murtuq, which exhibits the j-deletion, the same deletion rule does not apply to as many lexemes as in the most southern regions. The comparison in (49) shows the distribution of *aj* 'moon', *baj* 'rich' and *majmaq* 'crooked' in the Say Kariz, Lükchün, Tuyuq, Yanghe, Pichan and Toxsun regions of Turfan, demonstrating different figures of the j-deletion in these regions with regard to the three lexemes.

| (49) Say Karız | Lükchün | Tuyuq | Yanghe | Murtuq | Pichan | Toxsun |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a: | a: ~ aj | aj | aj | aj | aj | aj |
| ba: | ba: ~ baj | baj | baj | baj | baj | baj |
| mimaχ | mimaχ | mijmaχ | mimaχ | majmaq | majmaq | majmaq |

Interestingly, only the Say Kariz region faithfully displays this deletion with regard to the three lexemes concerned; the Lükchün region displays both deleted and undeleted forms in the first two lexemes, whereas in the Yanghe region the deletion of [j] is restricted to only one lexeme, namely /mimaχ/. This illustrates the regional distribution of the j-deletion in the Turfan dialect in geographical context, dividing all Turfan dialect-speaking area into three idiolects: (i) the regions where the j-deletion was rather systematically exhibited in comparatively more lexical items, (ii) the regions not displaying such deletion; and (iii) the regions where the j-deletion partially operates in limited lexemes.

Kathanov, Le Coq, Malov and Tenishev's records from Turfan do not exhibit the deletion of (i) type, and therefore it might be a rather new phonological process. However, the j-deletion of (ii) type is observable in the Tenishev's texts, e.g. *baqmidu* 'does not look at' (1984: 11, 16). It is very likely that, the j-deletion originally is a feature of the southern regions of Turfan and gradually spread to Murtuq with immigrants. However, under the influence of SU, probably also being influenced by the regions which do not apply this deletion rule, the scope of the j-deletion zone was gradually narrowed. The influence even extended to Lükchün, one of the central regions where this deletion had been rather systematically attested. As a result, the deletion of [j] only systematically remained in the most conservative rural regions in the south, namely Say Kariz and its adjacent villages.

75 Occasionally also displays *jimemiz*.

2.3.4.3 Deletion of bilabial stop

Deletion of the final consonant *p* of the converbial suffix {Xp} in "Converb + Postverb" constructions is frequent in the Turfan dialect. However, as one can easily conclude from the examples given in (50), it is restricted to "Converb + Postverb" constructions in which the postverbs initiate with voiceless stops. In the case of the postverb *baq-* and *bär-* initiating with the voiced stop [b], a progressive voice assimilation precedes this deletion process. This seems to have originally been a feature of connected speech though it operates in most regions of the Turfan dialect as one of the most established phonological processes at present. In Turfan city, such stop deletion operates with comparatively limited cases, being mostly avoided in careful speech, most parts of Toxsun also do not display this deletion process. Consequently, it is distributed to the regions of Turfan other than Toxsun and the Turfan city.

(50a) Converb + PostV *qoj-*
/solap qojidu/ → [sola qujdu] 'they will lock down' (18: 8)
/urup qojdum/ → [uru qo:dum] 'I beat unnotecidely' (22:135)

b) Converb + PostV *kät-*
/qečip kät-/ → [qeči ket-] 'to escape' (18: 51)
/aldırap ketip/ → [aldıra kitip] 'being hurry' (22:116)
/tügäp kätti/ → [tügä ketti] 'completely ended' (7: 24)
/däp ketip/ → [dä kıtıp] 'completed speaking' (22: 17)

c) Converb + PostV *baq-* and *bär-*
/kırıp baqīnī/ → [kiri paqīnī] 'let's try to enter' (22: 29)
/ečip beriŋlar/ → [eči pıriŋna] 'open the door for (her) (18: 36)

Certainly, the glottalization of *p* in the converbial suffix {Xp} followed by plosives (for glottalization of voiceless stops see 2.3.7) preceds this stop deletion process as observed in [dä? kitip] and [jä? kitip] in (63b). Furthermore, the whole converbial suffix {Xp} might also be deleted, especially in verb stems, including causative verbs ending with sonorants as exemplified in (51).

(51) /qojup bär-/→ [quj pä] 'set free' (18: 10)
/jandurup bäriŋlar/→ [janduř pıriŋna] 'give back' (18: 62)
/jenip kälipsän/ → [jen käpsä] 'coming return' (41: 24)
/apirip bär/ → [äpır pır-] 'bring ... for ...' (22: 127)
/tikip qojup/ → [tık qujup] 'planting down' (55: 25)

If two postverbs co-occur after a converb, the final syllable of the first postverb, more accurately the converbial suffix {Xp} of the first postverb, will also become the subject of the same deletion process. As a result, several verb forms fuse as one morphological unit as exemplified in (52).[76]

(52) [ütkitpa:sa] 'when he is passing through' (18: 30) ← /ötüp ketip barsa/
[ečïq qo:saq] 'let us bring (him) there' (18: 21) ← /elip čiqïp qojsaq/



2.3.4.4 Deletion of the uvular /γ/

One of the obvious phonological features of the Turfan dialect is the deletion of the uvular /γ/ in two phonological environments: (i) in the onset position of the second syllable of some dissyllabic-lexemes preceded by sonorants, (ii) in the intervocalic position. As we shall see from the examples listed in (53a), [γ] is systematically deleted when preceded by [r] in the Turfan dialect, whereas such a [γ] is preserved in SU and in the Kashghar dialect, in which the [r] preceded by [γ] is mostly deleted. The examples given in (53b) show the deletion of [γ] in the intervocalic position, and (53c) the development of *-A turGAn* in the Turfan dialect, exemplifying it with the inflections of *bar-* 'to go', *käl-* 'to come', *tur-* 'to stay' and *kör-* 'to see'. In the case of (53c), a more complicated phonological process takes place: first the uvular [γ] is deleted and then the preceding and following vowels fuse, though the phonological environment of (53b) and (53c) is the same or identical.

| | Turfan | SU | Kashghar | OT | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (53a) | taraq | taryaq | ta:yaq | taryaq | comb |
| | oraq | oryaq | o:yaq | oryaq | sickle |
| | qaro ~ qaru | qarγu | qa:rıyı | qarayu | blind |
| b) | soq | soγuq | suγaq | soγïq | cold |
| | ja:lïq | jaγlïq | jaγlïq | - | scarf |

| c) | Turfan | SU | Kashghar |
|---|---|---|---|
| | barıdan ~ bařdan | baridıγan | baridıγan ~ baritqan |
| | kilidan ~ kildan | kelidıγan | kilidıγan ~ kilitqan |
| | turıdan ~ tuřdan | turıdıγan | turıdıγan ~ turutqan |
| | kürıdan ~ kürdän | körıdıγan | kürıdıγan ~ kürıtqan |

Note that the deletion of /γ/ in the postconsonantal position exhibited in (53a) is a general feature of the Turkic languages in the Oghuz-Qipchaq groups (Dankoff et al. 1982-1985, III 276), whereas, the deletion of the intervocalic [γ] is limited to certain lexemes in South-Siberian Turkic languages such as Altay, Khakas, Shor, Tuvan and Yakut (see Johanson 1998b: 100). The Turfan dialect forms *taraq*, *oraq* probably originate from the Chagatay forms *taraγ ~ taraq*, *oraγ ~ oraq*, but *soq* might also go back to Chagatay *sawuγ ~ sawuq*, and seems to have taken the present shape having experienced an intermediary *sovuq ~ sowuq* as observed in Ottoman Turkish, though

76 In the case of [ečïq] 'bring out', the whole postverb construction seems to lexicalize.

such an intermediate stage has no documentation in the Turfan dialect. Certainly, the deletion of the [ɣ] in the intraterminal participle should be quite new for the Turfan dialect, since such participles occur in full forms in the texts recorded by Kathanov from the Turfan region, e.g. *qilaturγan* (Menges 1943, XXXVI 5), *aladurγan* (Menges 1943, XLIV 5), and existed in the 1950s as observed in Tenishev's materials, e.g. *köčüridigän* (1984: 10, 15), *tutadigän* (1984: 3, 11).[77]

2.3.4.5 Deletion of the initial *j*

Uyghur dialects display a rather complex figure with regard to a hypothetical initial **j* in the Proto-Turkic (Gabain 1974 §27, Johanson 1998b: 96-97).[78] It is systematically preserved in the Urumchi region; the Ili region displays this *j* in most cases, occasionally replacing it with [ž].[79] It is realized as [ž] in the Kashghar-Artush subdialect rather systematically, sometimes alternating with [h] also. (see Osmanov 1990: 38-43, and the section 1.4.2.1 of this book) In the case of the Turfan dialect the initial *j is rather systematically deleted before high vowels.[80]

| (54) Turfan | Kashghar | Khotan | Ili | SU | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ılan | žılan | jılan | ılan | jılan | snake |
| ılman | žılman | jılman | ılman | jılman | warm |
| ılpız | žılpız | jılpız | jılpız | jılpız | leopard |
| ıldam | žıldam | jıldam | jıldam | jıldam | quickly |
| in | žin | žin | žin | jin | (animal's) dung |
| üz | jüz/hüz | jüz/hüz | jüz | jüz | face |
| üt- | žüt- | žüt- | jüt- | jüt- | loose |

We found *j is deleted even in words such as *örgä-* 'wrap' (Menges 1976, V 2), *il* 'year' (Menges 1976, XXII 61) in the Kathanov's materials, though it is occasionally found. However, *j in these words is never deleted in the present Turfan dialect.

The same deletion rule extends to the initial *j* occurring in some copied lexemes of the Turfan dialect, e.g. [üsüp] 'Yusup, personal name' ← Ar. *Yusuf*. However, *j is preserved in several lexemes, e.g. [jip] 'string' (5: 21), [jïγla-] 'cry' (41: 5), [jükün] 'to knee' (63: 82)), [jüräk] 'heart' (50: 8).

In certain lexemes, the initial *j alternates with a pharyngeal /h/ in the Turfan dialect, e.g. [himiř-] 'to rub', [höl] 'wet', etc., see 2.3.2.5 and 2.3.2.6.

77 The quality of the consonant *g* in the Tenishev's texts in both examples seems to be near or identical to [ɣ].

78 In the case of Khalaj this **j* is mostly represented by *h*. According to Doerfer, the initial *h* in Khalaj reflects an old status; it was replaced by *j* in some languages and lost in some languages and dialects. For details see Doerfer 1980 and Doerfer 1981-82.

79 Actually, the process j → [ž] is a weakening or lenition.

80 For the status of this *j in the Uyghur texts written in the Brāhmī script see Maue 1996: XXIV-XXVI.



2.3.4.6 Deletion of the lateral approximant *l*

In the Turfan dialect, the lateral approximant *l* is often deleted when followed by the [t] in two causative verbs /oltur-/ 'sit' and /öltür-/ 'kill'. The [l] in the other verb, /käl-/ 'come', might also be deleted in present continuous form. In both cases, the preceding stem vowel is prolonged. Note that such an [l] is pronounced in SU as well as in other dialects of Uyghur as seen from (55).

| (55) Turfan | SU | Kasghar | Ili |
|---|---|---|---|
| o:tuř-[81] | oltur- | oltu- ~ olta- | oltu(r)- |
| ö:tür- | öltür- | öltü- ~ öltä- | öltü(r)- |
| kivat-/kevat- | kelivat- | kilivat- | kilivat- |

The lateral approximant /l/ might also be deleted in verbal stems preceded by the negation suffix {-mAj} in the Turfan dialect, whereas *l* is assimilated to the nasal of the negation suffix in the case of the Kashghar dialect, e.g. [tapa:məduq] 'we were not able to find' (19: 133), [qa:maptu] 'did not remain' (17: 106), compare the corresponding Kashghar dialect forms [tapammәduq] and [qammaptu].

2.3.5 Gemination

In the Turfan dialect voiceless plosives, fricatives, nasals and the palatal approximant *j* are often geminated (lengthened). The phonological environment of this gemination is basically an intervocalic position, slightly diverging with regard to other secondary conditions in individual consonants.

(a) The voiceless plosives and the fricatives /s/, /š/ and /z/ go toward gemination in the intervocalic position mostly in dissyllabic lexemes of the CVCV structure.

| | |
|---|---|
| (56) pp: | [tuppa] 'dust' (19: 53, SU *topa*) |
| | [töppä] 'upper side' (17: 72, SU *töpä*) |
| tt: | [latta] 'rag' (5: 11, SU *lata*) |
| | [püttün] 'all' (29: 143, SU *pütün*) |
| qq: | [buqqa] 'bull' (11: 16, SU *buqa*) |
| | [taqqa] 'horseshoe' (18: 269, SU *taqa*) |
| | [jaqqa] 'side' (5: 12, SU *jaqa*) |
| ss: | [mässä] 'leather-sock' (5: 13, SU *mäsä*) |
| šš: | [müššük] 'mouse' (19: 13, SU *müšük*) |
| | [ššäk] 'donkey' (29: 67, SU *išäk*) |

In very limited examples we also found the gemination of voiced fricatives in the same environment, e.g. [tazza] 'really' (22: 128, compare SU *taza*), [juγγan] 'big' (21: 131, compare SU *joγan*).

(b) Word-final voiceless fricatives in monosyllabic lexemes — in limited lexemes

81 Once in a text recorded in Tuyuq we found [olturup], see 22: 153. Out of the further two examples cited in this table, *o:tuř-* occurs in 29: 18 and *kivat-* in 17: 302-303.

also plosives and strong sonorants — go toward gemination followed by possessive, accusative and converbial suffixes. Note that like the case of (a), the phonological environment of this gemination is still the intervocalic position.

(57) čč /ič/ 'inside' + {I} '3POSS' → [ičči] 'its inside' (41: 44)
/uč/ 'edge' + {I.nI} '3POSS.ACC' → [uččini] 'the edge' (18: 397)
/küč/ 'power' + {I.DA} '3POSS.LOC' → [küččidä] 'with the power of' (28: 60)
/ač-/ 'to be hungry' + {(I)p} 'CONV' → [eččip] 'being very hungry' (29: 151)
šš /iš/ 'work, matter' + {Xŋ} '2sgPOSS' → [iššiŋ] 'your matter' (21: 206)
/baš/ 'head' + {I} '3POSS' → [bišši] 'his head' (31: 20)[82]
/göš/ 'meat' + {I.nI} '3POSS.ACC' → [güššini] 'the meat' (22:139)
/čiš/ 'tooth' + {I} '3POSS' → [čišši] 'his tooth' (24: 10)
/jaš/ 'age' + {I.DA} '3POSS.LOC' → [jiššida] 'at his age of' (20: 57)
zz /öz/ 'self' + {I} '3POSS' → [üzzi] 'he himself' (22:128)
/jäz/ 'footprint' + {I.nI} '3POSS.ACC' → [jizzini] 'their footprint' (19: 122)
tt /köt/ 'buttocks' + {Xm}'1sgPOSS' → [küttüm] 'my buttocks' (24: 36)
/put/ 'footh' + {(s)I.DA} '3POSS.LOC'→ [puttïda] 'with his foot' (17: 269)
qq /poq/ 'excrement' + {I} '3POSS' → [puqqï] 'its excrement'
γγ /baγ/ 'garden' + {I.DA}'3POSS.LOC' → [beγγïda] 'at his garden' (57: 22)
ll /qol/ 'hand' + {I.GA} '3POSS.DIR' → [qulluγa] 'to his hand' (28: 16)
nn /jan/ 'side' + {I} '3POSS' → [jinni] 'his side' (22: 128)
ŋŋ /čoŋ/ 'big' + {I} '3POSS' → [čuŋŋï] 'the big one' (19: 17)
jj /qoj/ 'sheep' + {I} '3POSS' → [qujji] 'his sheep' (22: 137)

Gemination of the voiceless plosives and fricatives is more common than their voiced counterparts, and the gemination of strong sonorants are only observable in limited lexemes. Moreover, the rounded close-mid vowels /o/ and /ö/ in stems raise to a close rounded [u] and [u] following this gemination process, respectively.

(c) In very limited dissyllabic lexemes of the VCV, CVCV, VCVC or CVCVC structure, the intervocalic plosives, fricatives and nasals might also be geminated when the possessive suffixes are added. Note that the phonological environment is still intervocalic the same as in (a) and (b).

(58) tt /ata/ 'father' + {(s)I.nX} '3POSS.GEN'→ [attəsïnï] 'father's' (17: 152)
/ata/ 'father' + {Xm} '1sgPOSS' → [attam] 'My God!'
/jota/ 'the thigh' + {(s)I} '3POSS' → [juttïsï] 'his thigh' (29: 67)
dd /udul/ 'opposite' + {(s)I} '3POSS' → [uddulïsï] 'its opposite' (19: 146)
čč /koča/ 'street' + {(s)I.DA} '3POSS.LOC' → [kučči̇da] 'at the street' (18: 92)
mm /tumuř/ 'vein' + {(s)I} '3POSS' → [tummuři] 'his vein' (41: 26)
řř /(bala)-čürä/ 'children' + {(s)I.lAr(s)I.nI} '3POSS.Pl.3POSS.ACC' → (bala) [čuřřilïřnï] 'the children' (55: 48)

82 The cluster šš is possible only in *biššim* and *biššiŋ* in Urumchi Uyghur, especially in the speech of young girls.



Notably, here [attam] 'My God!' semantically contrasts with *atam* 'my father', and [*ečči̇p*] 'being extremely hungry' and with *ečip* 'being hungry'. Furthermore, the nasal /m/ might also be geminated followed by the clitic *–la*.

(59) *nemä* 'what' + -la → [nimmila] 'whatever' (22: 63)

### 2.3.6 Nasalization

The open low vowel /a/ and the raised open low vowel /ä/ might be nasalized in the Turfan dialect if the nasals immediately following are deleted. The nasalization of /a/ is exemplified in (60a) and the nasalization of /ä/ in (60b). This is a secondary development from the low vowel + nasal clusters, and the nasalized vowels are often lengthened.

(60a) [a + nasal] → [ã]
[nã] 'bread' (58: 7, 8) ← *nan*
[qã] 'blood' (17: 276) ← *qan*
[jaːγã] 'false' (14: 4) ← *jalγan*
[amã] 'safe' (23: 22) ← *aman*
[amãːša] 'Amansha, place name' (13: 13) ← *amanša*
[jamã] 'badly' (58: 10) ← *jaman*
[jazã məsaχ] 'we can not write' (12: 19) ← *jazammïsaχ* (< *jazalmïsaq*)

b) [ä + nasal] → [ä̃]
[mä̃] 'I' (21: 106) ← *män*
[sä̃] 'you' (13: 35, 21: 143) ← *sän*
[qä̃čilix] 'how many' (21: 193) ← *qänčilik* (< *qančilik*)
[kä̃ri] 'many, good' (21: 174) ← *käŋri*
[jiγïpsä̃] 'you have gathered' (21: 207) ← *jiγïpsän*
[bilidikä̃] 'they know' (19: 124) ← *bilidikän*
[joχkä̃] 'reportedly no' (21: 218) ← *joχkän* (< *joq ikän*)

In some cases, nasalized vowels may lose the nasal element and will be pronounced as normal vowels. This is another phonological process, the denasalization, which might be formalized as V [+nasal] → V[-nasal]

(61) [bügü] 'today' (18: 11) ← **bügü̃* (< *bügün*)
[qïmajmä] 'I do not do' (21: 212) ← **qïmajmä̃* (< *qïlmajmän*)
[baːmikä] 'is he there' ← **baːmikä̃* (< *bařmu ikän*)
[aləmä] 'I buy' (17: 215) ← **alimä̃* (< *alimän*)

Clearly, the denasalization conditions the nasalization. Put differently, the nasalization occurs first, and then the denasalization. The whole nasalization and denasalization process in the Turfan dialect may be formalized as (62), in which N stands for any nasals, and Ṽ for any nasalized vowel.

(62) VN → Ṽ → V

In the texts from Murtuq, we found the high vowel /i/ is also nasalized due to the dropping of the nasal [n] in the ablative suffix {dIn} and the post position *kejin*, e.g. [ʃsadī] 'from there' (56: 22) ← /*āšu järdin*/, [unmuɣaŋkī] 'since have not accepted ...' (58: 40) ← /unumīyandikin/ (< *unīmīyandin kejin*). Two further examples for similar nasalization process are [čattīɣī] 'your business' (22: 62) and [jučuqlerdī] 'from the cracks' (18: 323). Amongst them, the first one is from a text recorded in Tuyuq and the latter is from Lükchün. However, the nasalization of high vowels is occasional and not uniform for the whole Turfan region, including Murtuq.

### 2.3.7 Glottalization

The glottal element [ʔ] occurs in very different phonological environments in the Turfan dialect: (i) In certain lexemes it precedes the voiceless plosives [p] and [t] as shown in (63a); (ii) In "Converb + Postverb" constructions the consonant [p] in the converbial suffix very often glottalizes in morpheme boundaries followed by the postverbs initiating with plosives.[83] As a result, the glottal element stands for [p] in the converbial suffix as exemplified in (63b). (iii) Very similar to (63b), the voiceless plosives [t], [k], [q] may drop in morpheme boundaries followed by strong sonorants, including the lateral approximant *l* and nasals as seen in (63c); (iv) In certain lexemes the glottal element even occurs before the fricatives [s] and [š] (most often before [š]), and also occasionally before the uvular [χ] and the velar fricative [x] as we shall see in (63d). However, the phonological conditions for glottalization of [t] in the lexeme *sejtaʔ* (occurs in 57: 42) are not clear. Presumably, the whole word goes back to **sājtat* (< *sāj* 'vegetable' + *tat* 'vegetable', compare *köktat* 'vegetables'). If so, the word-final position might be another phonological environment for glottalization in the Turfan dialect.

(63a) [gāʔp] 'talk, matter' (9: 4)
[dāʔp] 'saying' (19: 2)
[aʔt] 'horse' (21: 162)
[aʔtlīq] 'horseback' (19: 122)
[oʔt] 'fire' (27: 3)
[dāʔt] 'suffering' (41: 27)

b) [dāʔ kitip] 'finished speaking' (21: 205) ← /dāp ketip/
[jāʔ kät-] 'finished eating' (22: 56) ← /jāp ketıp/
[dāʔ quj-] 'telling out' (14: 11) ← /dāp qoj-/
[kāʔ qaɣan] 'has come unexpectedly' (21: 203) ← /kälip qalɣan/
[tügāʔ qal-] 'finished unexpectedly' (18: 382) ← /tügäp qal-/
[čaʔla qujup] 'pasting down' (57: 29) ← /čaplap qojup/

83 Once in a text recorded in Murtuq we found [p] was glottalized followed by GAn-past, e.g. [čaʔqaŋkin] 'since have cut' (58: 36).



c) [jäʔmäjdu] 'is not enough' (57: 27) ← /jätmäjdu/
[täʔlik] 'vineyard' (55: 19) ← /täklik/
[χäʔlä] 'people' (17: 36) ← /χäqlä/

d) [päʔs] 'under, low' (19: 155)
[mäʔs] 'drunken' (24: 22)
[bäʔš] 'five' (29: 23)
[jaʔš] 'young' (29: 165)
[göʔš] 'meat' (32: 8)
[käʔš] 'evening' (18: 602)
[saʔχ] 'healthy' (34: 16)
[χäʔχlä] 'people' (18: 5)
[täʔx] 'vein grape' (19: 159)

Note that in the case of (63a) all voiceless plosives preceded by the glottal elements are strong consonants. In other words, the glottal element preceded by a plosive functions as a fortis (strong consonant) signal as we found in the Sayan Turkic languages as well as in Yellow Uyghur and Salar (Johanson 1984-1986). The function of the glottal element in (63d) seems to be the same, in which [s] and [š] apparently are also strong consonants. In the case of [päʔs] and [mäʔs] the fortis element seems to go back to the deleted plosive [t] in the originals.[84] In the three further lexemes [saʔχ] 'healthy', [χäʔχlä] 'people' and [täʔx] 'vein grape' the glottal element also occurs before the uvular and velar fricatives [χ] and [x]. However, the original sound signaled by the glottal element was not either [χ] nor [x], but the strong plosives [q] (compare SU forms of both words, *saq* and *χäq*) and [k] (compare the careful pronounciation of *täk*), and in the aforementioned lexemes both /q/ and /k/ are fricativized. In other words, the strongness of [χ] and [x] originates from [q] and [k]. A further development may cause the dropping of the fricative [χ] as observed in [χäʔlä] 'people' in (63c). However, in the Turfan dialect such strong consonants are not regular, and have no systematic value as in Sayan Turkic. Put differently, their occurrence is optional, not obligatory. Even in the speech of the same speaker the same lexeme might be pronounced with the glottal element in one case, and without the glottal element in another case.

In the Turfan dialect as well as in Qomul and Khotan, [strong consonant] vs. [–strong consonant] is not segmental as we observed in some Turkic languages.[85] For instance, we found [oʔt], the word for 'fire' is pronounced with the glottal element in 27: 3. Interestingly, the word for 'grass' is pronunced as [oʔt] in 13: 49, clearly with the glottal element, but the word for 'fire', without the glottal element, simply as [ot] in 13: 52.

Differing from (63a) and (63d), the glottal element exhibited in (63b) and (63c) results from the lenition of strong consonants followed by plosives and strong sonorants. More specifically, that is the phonological realization of strong plosives

84 The original forms of both words are *past* and *mast* in Persian.
85 Amongst the Uyghur dialects, the glottal element seems to be segmental only in the Kälpin special accent, see Osmanov 1990: 204-205 and the introductory chapter of this book.

(62) VN → Ṽ → V

In the texts from Murtuq, we found the high vowel /i/ is also nasalized due to the dropping of the nasal [n] in the ablative suffix {dIn} and the post position *kejin*, e.g. [išädĩ] 'from there' (56: 22) ← */äšu järdin/*, [unmuɣaŋkĩ] 'since have not accepted …' (58: 40) ← /unumĩɣandikin/ (< *unĩmĩɣandin kejin*). Two further examples for similar nasalization process are [čattĩɣĩ] 'your business' (22: 62) and [jučuqlerdĩ] 'from the cracks' (18: 323). Amongst them, the first one is from a text recorded in Tuyuq and the latter is from Lükchün. However, the nasalization of high vowels is occasional and not uniform for the whole Turfan region, including Murtuq.

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b) [däʔ kitip] 'finished speaking' (21: 205) ← /däp ketip/
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[däʔ quj-] 'telling out' (14: 11) ← /däp qoj-/
[käʔ qaɣan] 'has come unexpectedly' (21: 203) ← /kälip qalɣan/
[tügäʔ qal-] 'finished unexpectedly' (18: 382) ← /tügäp qal-/
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83 Once in a text recorded in Murtuq we found [p] was glottalized followed by GAn-past, e.g. [čaʔqaŋkin] 'since have cut' (58: 36).



c) [jäʔmäjdu] 'is not enough' (57: 27) ← /jätmäjdu/
[täʔlik] 'vineyard' (55: 19) ← /täklik/
[χäʔlä] 'people' (17: 36) ← /χäqlä/

d) [päʔs] 'under, low' (19: 155)
[mäʔs] 'drunken' (24: 22)
[bäʔš] 'five' (29: 23)
[jaʔš] 'young' (29: 165)
[göʔš] 'meat' (32: 8)
[käʔš] 'evening' (18: 602)
[saʔχ] 'healthy' (34: 16)
[χäʔχlä] 'people' (18: 5)
[täʔx] 'vein grape' (19: 159)

Note that in the case of (63a) all voiceless plosives preceded by the glottal elements are strong consonants. In other words, the glottal element preceded by a plosive functions as a fortis (strong consonant) signal as we found in the Sayan Turkic languages as well as in Yellow Uyghur and Salar (Johanson 1984-1986). The function of the glottal element in (63d) seems to be the same, in which [s] and [š] apparently are also strong consonants. In the case of [päʔs] and [mäʔs] the fortis element seems to go back to the deleted plosive [t] in the originals.[84] In the three further lexemes [saʔχ'] 'healthy', [χäʔχlä] 'people' and [täʔx] 'vein grape' the glottal element also occurs before the uvular and velar fricatives [χ] and [x]. However, the original sound signaled by the glottal element was not either [χ] nor [x], but the strong plosives [q] (compare SU forms of both words, *saq* and *χäq*) and [k] (compare the careful pronounciation of *täk*), and in the aforementioned lexemes both /q/ and /k/ are fricativized. In other words, the strongness of [χ] and [x] originates from [q] and [k]. A further development may cause the dropping of the fricative [χ] as observed in [χäʔlä] 'people' in (63c). However, in the Turfan dialect such strong consonants are not regular, and have no systematic value as in Sayan Turkic. Put differently, their occurrence is optional, not obligatory. Even in the speech of the same speaker the same lexeme might be pronounced with the glottal element in one case, and without the glottal element in another case.

In the Turfan dialect as well as in Qomul and Khotan, [strong consonant] vs. [–strong consonant] is not segmental as we observed in some Turkic languages.[85] For instance, we found [oʔt], the word for 'fire' is pronounced with the glottal element in 27: 3. Interestingly, the word for 'grass' is pronounced as [oʔt] in 13: 49, clearly with the glottal element, but the word for 'fire', without the glottal element, simply as [ot] in 13: 52.

Differing from (63a) and (63d), the glottal element exhibited in (63b) and (63c) results from the lenition of strong consonants followed by plosives and strong sonorants. More specifically, that is the phonological realization of strong plosives

84 The original forms of both words are *past* and *mast* in Persian.
85 Amongst the Uyghur dialects, the glottal element seems to be segmental only in the Kälpin special accent, see Osmanov 1990: 204-205 and the introductory chapter of this book.

before plosives and strong sonorants. Certainly, such weakenings have been realized step by step. The strong plosive → unreleased plosive (weak consonant) seems to have been its intermediate stage. However, there still remains an important problem: Whether [ʔ] can be considered as an allophone of four different plosives, namely /p/, /t/, /k/ and /q/ in the Turfan dialect. The answer seems to be quite certain. But I will not discuss this question here in detail.

The so-called glottalization or the glottal element in the Turfan dialect might only become a topic when we use phonetic presentation, in a phonemic presentation it can be completely eliminated. Put differently, [oʔt] is only available in our phonetic representation; in the phonemic representation one may present it simply as /ot/, since the glottal element is not segmental in the Turfan dialect as stated previously. Clearly, I intend to consider the glottal element as the signal of a strong following consonant, presenting it as [ʔp], [ʔt], [ʔk] and [ʔq], respectively.

### 2.3.8 Palatalization

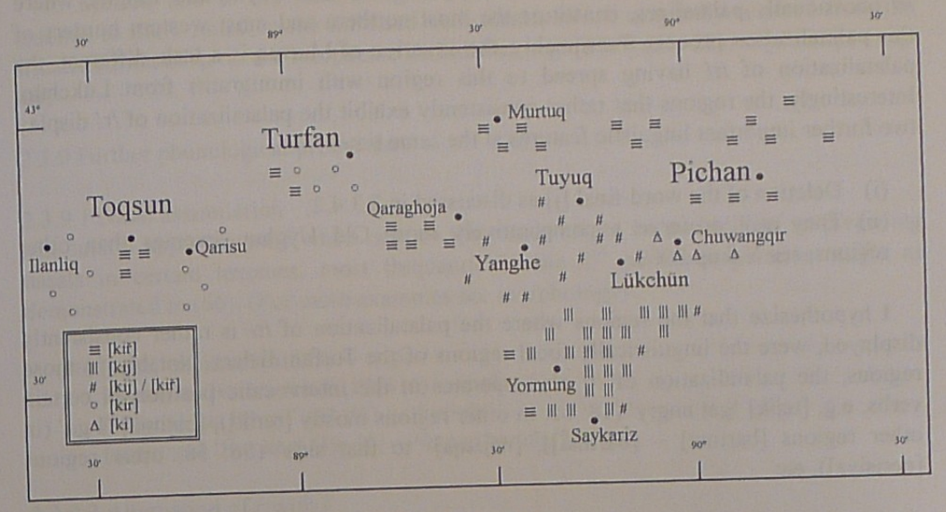
#### 2.3.8.1 Palatalization of the *r*

Different regions in Turfan display rather different figures with regard to the syllable or word-final /r/ in certain monosyllabic lexemes, the main status of which might be outlined by the following five points:

(i) The syllable or word-final /r/ rather regularly is realized as the alveolar tap [ɾ̌] as seen in [bɨɾ̌] 'one' and [kiɾ̌-] 'enter';
(ii) The syllable or word-final /r/ palatalizes or alternates with the palatal approximant [j] as seen in [bij] 'one' and [kij-] 'enter';
(iii) Palatalization of the syllable or word-final /r/ operates only in limited lexemes as seen in [kij-], but /r/ is mostly realized as the alveolar tap [ɾ̌], e.g. [bɨɾ̌], [kiɾ̌-], etc.
(iv) The syllable or word-final /r/ is deleted as seen in [ki-] 'to enter';
(v) The syllable or word-final /r/ is realized as the alveolar trill [r] as seen in [bir] 'one' and [kir-] 'enter', displaying alveolar tap [ɾ̌] in very rare cases.

Amongst them, (i) is typical to Turfan, Pichan and the urban areas of Toxsun, whereas (ii) is distributed to the most southern regions locating around Qumtagh, mainly to Dighar, Lükchun, Say Kariz and Sirkip, some other regions, namely in Tuyuq and Yanghe, which are slightly kept apart from Qumtagh, the syllable or word-final /r/ is mostly realized as the alveolar tap [ɾ̌], exhibiting also the palatalization of /r/ as described in (iii), Deletion of the syllable or word-final /r/ described in (iv) takes place mainly in two regions: Chuwangqir and Längär located in the northern part of Qumtagh. In the wide regions of Toxsun, namely in Ilanliq and Qarisu, the word-final /r/ is realized as the alveolar trill like in SU as described in (v), though it can hardly be explained as the influence of SU. Map 2-2 illustrates the status of the syllable or word-final /r/ in the Turfan dialect, exemplifying it with the distribution of the verb /kir-/ 'enter'.






Map 2-2 Palatalization of the *r* in the Turfan region

Palatalization of the word-final /r/ must be a rather new phonological process, which has been realized in the last hundred years, since the Kathanov, Le Coq and Malov's materials recorded from Lükchün do not display it. Also, Tenishev's records from the Turfan region do not provide precise information concerning the alveolar tap [ɾ̌].[86] Presumably, the r/j alternation originates from the most southern regions of Turfan, which was under the strong influence of the Lükchün Uyghur Dukedom from the beginning of the 18th century to the first half of the 20th century, though we do not have enough materials to proof it. However, judging from the data we possess, the two regions, namely Chuwangqir and Längär, where the word-final /r/ drops, had also originally applied the palatalization of the syllable or word-final /r/. Later on in both regions, the word-final [j] resulting from the palatalization of the word-final /r/ was dropped. If this assumption proves to be true, the deleted element was not *r* as we have described, but *j*, since the palatalization of the word-final /r/ precedes the loss of the final /r/ in these regions. In other words, diachronically, the r-deletion was realized through an intermediate stage: palatalization. This phonological process might be formalized as follows:

(64) /r/ → [j] → Ø

86 Concerning the representation of alveolar tap [ɾ̌] in Tenishev's materials see our notes in 2.1.3.2.4 of this chapter.

The palatalization of /r/ did not extend to the regions located in the western and eastern parts of Qumtagh, probably due to those regions being geographically distanced through the centuries from the Lükchün Uyghur Duckdom. Tuyuq and Yanghe, where /r/ occasionally palatalizes, constitute the most northern and most western borders of this palatalization process. Presumably, the situation of Murtuq is a little different, the palatalization of /r/ having spread to this region with immigrants from Lükchün. Interestingly, the regions that rather consistently exhibit the palatalization of /r/ display two further important linguistic features at the same time:

(i) Deletion of the word-final [j] as discussed in 2.3.4.2;
(ii) They still preserve a comparatively more Old Uyghur lexemes than other regions, see Yakup 2002.

I hypothesize that the regions where the palatalization of /r/ is rather consistently displayed, were the linguistically focal regions of the Turfan dialect. Notably, in those regions, the palatalization of /r/ also operates in the intervocalic position in certain verbs, e.g. [tejik] 'get angry' (18: 65, in other regions mostly [terik]), [bajimä] 'I go' (in other regions [barimä] ~ [barimã]), [nejisqa] 'to that side' (56: 58, other regions [nerisiγa]), etc.

2.3.8.2 Palatalization of the velars and uvulars
Velars and uvulars are also palatalized in certain lexemes as exemplified in (65a) and (65b).

(65a) /dugılap/ → [dujılap 'gathering' (17: 186)
/äglāk/ → [äjlāk] 'siever' (70: 30)

b) /qoγlap/ → [qojlap] 'following' (19: 104)
/baγla-/ → [bajla-] 'bounding' (17: 186)
/čaγla-/ → [čajla] 'hoe' (31: 31)

Some texts display both palatalized and unpalatalized forms, e.g. [bajla] in 26: 1, but also [baγla] in (5) of the same text; [čaγla] in 31: 30, but [čajla] in the next line of the same text. Consequently, the palatalization of velars and uvulars in the Turfan dialect is not predictable.

By the way, the frequently used frozen lexeme [bujnätä] 'in these days' (17: 90) ← /bügün ätä/ in the Turfan dialect, results from the deletion of the whole syllable following the palatalized velar.

2.3.8.3 Palatalization of the labio-dental /v/
In a very limited number of lexemes, the labial dental [v] resulting from the fricativization of the bilabial [b] (for details see 2.3.3) may further trigger palatalization in the intervocalic position, e.g. [čujuχ] 'rod or stick' (17: 186) ← **čuvuq / čïvïq* (compare SU *čïvïq* < OT *čïbïq*), [tüjini] 'its under part' (17: 89) ← **tüvini* (compare SU *tüv* < OT *tüp*).



In Murtuq and in the Ilanliq region of Toxsun, such palatalization sporadically extends to the *v* found in the inflected verb forms, which originally resulted from the fricativization of /p/ in the morpheme boundaries, e.g. [dijdi] (58: 22) ← [dividi] (< *däp idi*).

2.3.9 Further phonological processes

2.3.9.1 Nasal assimilation
The lateral approximant *l* when next to the nasals might be assimilated to preceding nasals in certain lexemes, most frequently in the 2nd person imperative suffix as demonstrated in (66). (For more examples see morphology)

(66) [aŋna] 'to listen' (41: 25) ← /aŋla-/
[oŋnan] 'to be recovered' (17: 316) ← /oŋlan-/
[kisiŋna] 'cut down!' (19: 52) ← /kesiŋla/
[qujpriŋna] 'free him' (19: 96) ← /qojup beriŋla/

2.3.9.2 Alternation of *r* with *l*
In very limited number of lexemes the alveolar tap [ř] occasionally alternates with the lateral approximant *l*,[87] e.g. once we found [kö ř] for 'lake' in 55: 57, but with [köl] in other lines of the same text; the word for 'set of …' occurs as [qul] once in 21: 136, but in other places as [quř].

## 2.4 Sandhi and connected speech

The discussions up to this point have been mainly concerned with the phonological processes within morhemes and words, in other words, with the domain of morphology. Certainly, many important phonological processes operating within morphemes and words may also extend to word boundaries in connected speech. The case of the fricativization of the bilabials discussed in section 2.3.3 might be an example of this argument. However, several important allomorphic features of the Turfan dialect, i.e. the coalescences of vowels and the deletion of word-initial vowels are specific to syntactic contexts larger –than the word. A few such processes were briefly mentioned in various sections of this chapter. The following section provides further illustration on some important morphophonological features of the Turfan dialect, mainly emphasizing the allomorphic variations at the margins of words.

87 It is not clear whether [maχol] 'stable' results from the same alternation process. It actually originates from Chin. *mahao-er*, but not simply from *mahao*.

### 2.4.1 Vowels

#### 2.4.1.1 Vowel coalescence

In the Turfan dialect, two unlike vowels may coalesce to one vowel in word boundaries. Usually, the left hand word-final vowel coalesces to the initial vowel of the right-hand word. Strictly speaking, this is a kind of regressive vowel assimilation. The vowel coalescence most often occurs in several specific constructions.

(a) In compound month names composed of an ordinary number + *aj* 'moon, month', the final high vowel of the ordinary number coalesces to the initial vowel of the right hand word *aj*.

(67) *ombirinči* 'eleventh' + *aj* 'month' → [ombirinčaj] 'eleventh month, November' (69: 59)
*ikkinči* 'second' + *aj* 'month' → [ikkinčaj] 'second month, February' (52: 20, 54: 11)
*üčünči* 'third' + *aj* 'month' → [üčünčaj] 'third month, March' (54: 11)
*tötinči* 'fourth' + *aj* 'month' → [tötinčaj] 'fourth month, April' (12: 27)
*bäšinči* 'fifth' + *aj* 'month' → [bäšinčaj] 'fifth month, May' (74: 46)
*oninči* 'tenth' + *aj* 'month' → [oninčaj] 'tenth month, October' (74: 50)

(b) In "noun + copula (*idi*, *ikän*, *ikänduх*, *imiš*)" constructions, the final vowel of nouns ending with a vowel may coalescence with the initial high vowel of the copula. The outcome of this coalescence can sometimes be a long vowel as seen in (68).

(68) /nimä/ 'what, thing, matter' + /ikän/ → [nimikän] 'that is the matter …' (19: 4)
/bala/ 'child' + /ikän/ → [bali:kin] 'reportedly (he) was a child' (18: 347)
/kiši/ 'person' + /ikän/ → [kišiken] 'I found he is a … person' (18: 456)
/käŋri/ 'many' + /ikän/ → [kä:rikä] 'I found have many…' (17: 51)
/kiši/ 'person' + /ikänduq/ → [kišikänduq] 'was a person …' (17: 82)
/dora/ 'medicine' + /idi/→ [duridi] 'was…medicine' (24: 25)

In such constructions, the high vowels in the preceding syllable may assimilate a low front vowel [ä] in the copula [ikän], e.g. [nimikin] (17: 12) ← /nimä ikän/.

(c) In "demonstrative pronoun + *jär* 'place'/*jil* 'year'" construction, the vowel [u] of the demonstrative pronoun coalesces to the vowel of the right hand word. In this case, the initial consonant [j] of the right-hand word drops, and the front vowel of the right-hand word assimilates the back high vowel *u* in the preceding pronouns.

(69a) /šu/ 'that' + /järdin/ 'place -ABL' → [šädin] 'from that place' (19: 15)
/ašu/ 'that' + /järgä/ 'place-DIR' → [ašägä] 'to that place' (19: 10)
/bu/ 'this' + /jil/ 'year' → [bijil] 'this year' (60: 70)
/mušu/ 'exactly this'+/järgä/ 'place-DIR'→ [mäšägä] 'to this place' (17: 146)

The phonological processes observed in (69b) might be counted as an intermediate stage of this vowel coalescence



(69b) /bu/ 'this' + /järdä/ 'place-LOC' → [bijädä] 'at this place' (12: 1)
/u/ 'that' + /järgä/ 'place-DIR' → [ijägä] 'to that place' (17: 111)
/šu/ 'that' + /järgä/ 'place-DIR' → [šijägä] 'to that place' (17: 89)

Note that as a result of the vowel coalescence new lexemes and new phrases emerge. Usually, the pause at the word boundary is deleted, most often the accent may also be restructured. In the case of (a), the left-hand word loses its primary stress on the last syllable, e.g. [ˌbirinˌči aj] → [ˌbirinˌčaj]. The situation is different in (b) and (c), in which, as in most cases, the copulas lose their original accent and become unaccented, e.g., /#ˌbaˌla# + #ˌiˌkän#/ → [ˌbaˌliˌkin]. In the new lexemes or phrases resulting from this vowel coalescence, the monosyllabic pronouns generally take secondary stress, e.g., [ˌšäˌdä].

#### 2.4.1.2 Reduction of vowels

In compounds, the low vowels in the last syllable of the left-hand word often are the subject of reduction. Generally, the low vowels of the last syllable of the closed syllabic left-hand word may reduce to central vowels losing their primary stress, which originally fell on the last syllable.

(70) *tamaq* 'food' + *ič-* 'to eat' → [taməɣič] 'to eat food'
*molla* 'Mullah' + *mu* 'CLIT' → [mollimu] 'as far as the Mullah' (17: 81)
*qalmaq* 'Kalmuk' + *öj* 'house, room' → [qalməɣöj] 'Buddhist cave' (19: 138)

A similar reduction process may also take place in the boundaries of free combined phrases, e.g., *qandaq* 'how' + *iš* 'work, matter' → *qandəɣiš* 'what a matter' (19: 174). In this case, word boundaries may also be restructured as shown in (71).

(71) *#qandaq# iš#* → [qandəɣiš]

In "nominals/participle + copula" constructions, the low vowels in the last syllable of nominals and participles are often reduced to central vowels.

(72) /čïqqan/ 'having come' + /ikän/ → [čïqqənikän] 'he has come' (21: 147)
/bilidiɣan/ 'have knew' + /ikän/ → [bilidiɣənikä̃] 'he knows' (21: 183)
/läqäm/ 'nickname' + /ikän/ → [läqɨmikä] (1: 13) 'it is a nickname'
/ötkän/ 'passed' + /ikän/ → [ötkɨnikin] (17: 1) 'passed a king …'
/adäm/ 'person' + /ikänsän/ → [ädɨmikänsä̃] (41: 16) 'you are the person…'

The word-final low vowels in the open syllabic left-hand word are also frequently reduced to central vowels. Clearly, this is the extension of the reduction rule (see 2.3.1.2)) to word boundaries.

(73) /ata/ 'father' + /bol-/ 'become' → [atɨ vul] 'one who acts as father' (21: 158)
/nimā/ 'what' + /kördi/ 'saw' → [nimɨ kö:di] 'what he saw' (17: 182)
/birgä/ 'together' + /öt-/ 'pass' → [birǧɨ öt] 'to live together' (41: 8)
/qamča/ 'whip' + /bilän/ 'with' → [qamčɨ vilā] 'with the whip' (22:65)
/öjıdā/ 'at home' + /olturidu/ 'they sit' → [üjdɨ o:turdu] 'they stay home' (57: 31)

The reduced vowels are often deleted in word boundaries, e.g.,

(74) [qulid turša] '(shirt) is on his hand' (18: 668) ← *qulidə tursa ← /qolida tursa/
[nım üčün] 'why' (13: 21) ← *nemɨ üčün ← /nemä üčün/

2.4.1.3 Deletion of the initial vowels of right-hand words
In "nominals + copula" constructions, the initial vowel of the copula is frequently deleted in the Turfan dialect. In this case, *ikän* displays a variant *kin* mostly after front syllabic words assimilated to the preceding syllable. Clearly, *ikän* seems to be in the process of suffixization in the Turfan dialect, having two variants, i.e. **–kin* and **-kä(n)*, though their distribution does not show clear divergence at present, e.g.,

(75) /āmās/ 'not' + /ıkān/ → [āmāskın] 'apparently is not' (19: 30)
/χoraz/ 'cock' + /ikānsān/ → [χorazkānsā] 'I found you are a cock' (13: 35)
/(altī) uɣul/ 'son' + /ikān/ → [(altī) uɣulkān] 'they were (six) brothers' (21: 5)
/jār/ 'place' + /ıkān/ → [jāřkā] 'it is a place ...' (17: 56)

2.4.2 Consonants

2.4.2.1 Voicing
In word boundaries, the word-final voiceless plosives of the left-hand word may be voiced followed by the words initiating with vowels or voiced consonants.

(76) /p/ → [v]
/dāp/ 'saying' + /olturup/ 'sitting' → [dāv oturup] 'considering' (19: 146)
/ājāp/ 'strange' + /āmās/ 'not' → [ājāv āmās] 'not strange' (17: 202)

(77) k/ → [g]
/hōŋgırāk/ 'wailing sound' + /ejtip/ 'saying'→ [hōŋgırıg e:tip] 'wailing' (19: 171)
/belāk/ 'other' + /jurtqa/ 'country-DIR' → [bilāg jurt] 'to the other land' (18: 69)
/tüzük/ 'good' + /gāp/ 'word' → [tüzüg gāp] 'good word' (18: 137)

(78) /q/ → [ɣ]
/šundaq/ 'so' + /dāptu/ 'said' → [šundaɣ dāptu] 'reportedly he said so' (3: 7)
/sıdıq/ 'Sidiq' + /aka/ 'elder brother, Mr.' → [sıdıɣ aka] 'Mr. Sidiq' (22: 100)



2.4.2.2 Devoicing
In the "converb + postverb" constructions, the initial consonant of the postverbs *bar-* and *bär-* is often devoiced, having been assimilated to the consonant in the preceding converb suffix {Xp}. In certain cases, the initial consonant [b] of postverbs may coalesce with the consonant of the preceding converb as seen in the last two examples below.

(79) /učurlap/ 'informing' + /baq-/ → [učuřlap paq] 'try to inform' (21: 27)
/paraŋ selip/ 'talking' + /berip/ → [paraŋ sep pirip] 'talking for ...' (27: 6)
/äkiripā/ (< elip kirip) 'bringing enter' + /bär-/ → [äkiripā] 'bringing enter' (21: 59)
/čïqïp/ 'going' + /baq-/ → [čïqïpaq] 'try to go' (21: 83)

Deletion of the entire converbial suffix (for details see section 2.3.4.3 of this chapter) observed in the following examples (80) certainly takes place after the voice assimilation illustrated in (79).

(80) [äkiřpäsun] 'may them bring (them)' (21: 80) ← /elip kirip bärsun/
[jeq pirip] 'backing for ...' (17: 134) ← /jeqip berip/
[kitpaɣan] 'one is walking' (17: 276) ← /ketip barɣan/
[ber paqaj] 'I try to go' (41: 7) ← /berip baqaj/
[kör peqip] 'seeing' (55: 44) ← /körüp beqip/

2.4.2.3 Assimilation of nasals
The word-final nasals of the left-hand word may be partially or completely assimilated to the initial consonants of the right-hand words as seen in (81).

(81) /pütün/ 'all' + /jurtni/ 'the country (ACC)' → [pütüj jurutni] 'all country' (17: 218)
/jämän/ 'Yemen' + /padišasi/ → [jämäm padišasi] 'king of Yemen' (19: 1)
/sän/ 'you' + /käl/ 'come' → [säŋ käl] 'You come!'

2.4.2.4 Consonant insertion
Among the sentences recorded from the urban regions of Pichan, we found that [d] is regularly inserted between the participle and the copula in "Pple + copula *edī*" constructions.

(82) /barɣan edi/ '(S)he has gone' → [ba:ɣandidi]
/qalɣan edi/ '(S)he has left' → [qa:ɣandıdi]
/kälgän edi/ '(S)he has come' → [kä:gändidi]
/ıčkan edi/ '(S)he has drunk' → [ıčkändidi]

In very limited number of cases, [j] might be inserted between nominals and the copula in "nominal + copula" constructions, e.g.

(83) /dünja/ 'treasure' + /ikän/ → [dünjajikän] 'I found it is treasure of ...' (17: 63)

2.4.3 Complex processes
In the postpositional construction "{Pple + ABL} + *kejin* 'after'", the final consonant [n] of the ablative suffix might be deleted, and the postposition *kejin* shortens to *kin*.

(84) /čïqqandin/ + /kejin/ → [čïqqandikin] 'after (they) have left' (19: 7)
/digändin/ + /kejin/ → [digändikin] 'since (he has) said …' (17: 52)

In a very extreme cases, the ablative suffix might also be entirely deleted, and the last consonant of the past participle may also be assimilated to [ŋ] by the initial consonant of *kin*, e.g. [digäŋkin] (21: 149) ← /digändin kejin/.

2.4.4 Syllable-deletion
Obviously, coalescence and deletion of vowels may cause the deletion of syllables. Moreover, whole syllables may also be deleted in word boundaries as observed in the following two examples (85), both of which are taken from a text recorded at Lükchün.

(85) /üčünči/ 'third' + /sinip/ 'class' → [üčün sinip] 'third class' (12: 18)
/tötünči/ 'fourth' + /sinip/ 'class' → [tütün sinip] 'fourth class' (12: 17)

2.4.5 Boundary-demotion
In certain cases, word boundaries might also be restructured as we have mentioned in 2.4.1.2. Actually, this restructuring is the result of other phonological processes found in connected speech. In other words, word boundaries in careful speech and connected speech do not always coincide. Below, in (86), are two more examples for this boundary demotion in connected speech, in which the left hand forms stand for the pronunciations in careful speech.

(86) #qan 'blood' # eqïp 'dropping'# → #qan + eqïp# → #qaneqïp# (17: 284)
# čïqïmän 'I go'# män 'I'# → #čïqïmä + män# → #čïqïm män# (12: 25)

# 3 MORPHOLOGY

It has been generally estimated that the divergence between Uyghur dialects is mainly reflected in phonology, but hardly at all in lexicon, morphology and syntax (Li 1956; Tenishev 1963: 137). Some scholars claim that most divergent elements in lexicon and morphology result from phonetic factors (Gao 1985: 58, Wei 1989: 239). However, our data clearly shows that divergent morphological elements in the Turfan dialect are also considerable. They exist not only in nominal and verbal morphology, but also in the derivation of some word classes. This chapter presents a description of some important divergent morphological categories and elements observed in the Turfan dialect.

## 3.1 Nominal morphology

### 3.1.1 Nouns

#### 3.1.1.1 Possessive suffixes
First, let us look at the paradigm of the possessive suffix in the Turfan dialect before we discuss their specific features.

Table 3-1 Turfan dialect possessive suffixes

| Possessor | Possessed | |
|---|---|---|
| | Singular | Plural |
| 1 sg. | *-(X)m* | *-(X)mIz ~ -(X)mIs* |
| 2 sg. | *-(X)ŋ* | *-(X)ŋIz* |
| 2 pl POL | *-(X)ŋIz* | *-(X)ŋIzlA* |
| 3 sg. | *-(I)sI* | *-(I)sI* |

As we see in Table 3-1, morphological forms of the possessive suffixes in the Turfan dialect are principally similar to those in SU and in most other dialects of Uyghur. Existence of a variant *–(X)mIs* ending with a voiceless alveolar fricative in the 1st person plural along with *–(X)mIz*, use of the polite form *—(X)ŋIzlA* in the 2nd person plural and the deletion of the initial suffix vowels in the possessive suffixes — occasionally even the whole possessive suffix — might be counted as the most remarkable features of the Turfan dialect possessive suffixes.

3.1.1.1.1 First-person plural possessive suffix *–(X)mIs*

In the texts recorded in Lükchün and Murtuq, the 1st person possessive suffix occasionally occurs as *–(X)mIs* as seen in *jeř-mis* 'our land' (57: 33), *süz-imıs* 'our word' (8: 3) and *es-imis-ni bilsek* 'ever since we can remember' (57: 1) and *kı:m-imis* 'our clothes' (5: 4). However, distribution of this suffix is unpredictable. It may occur with *–(X)mIz* side by side in the speech of one speaker, even in the declension of the same words. For instance, in text 8 recorded in Lükchün we found *til* 'language' both with *–(X)mIs* and *–(X)mIz*, e.g. *järlix til-imis* 'our local language' (8: 1), *bizni til-imiz* 'our language' (8: 5, 6). In another text recorded in Murtuq, we also found *qonaq* 'corn' once with *–(X)mIs* , e.g. *quni̇γ-ïmïs* (57: 1, 4), and once with *–(X)mIz*, e.g. *quni̇γ-ïmïz* 'our corn' (57: 2). It is of interest to note that in the case of *quni̇γ-ïmïs* the stem vowel [o] in *qonaq* raises to [u] when *–(X)mIs* was added to the stem, but not when *–(X)mIz* was added to the same stem.

My impression is that *-(X)mIs* mostly occurs in rather relaxed and normal speech, whereas *–(X)mIz* in more formal speech. Interestingly, *-(X)mIs* was not observed in texts recorded in other regions of Turfan. Obviously, *-(X)mIs* results from the devoicing of the suffix-final consonant *z* in *-(X)mIz*, and such occasional devoicing of the voiced alveolars in the word-final position is unique to the Lükchün and Murtuq regions of Turfan, e.g. *üz* 'face' (4: 8) ~ *üs* (18: 365), *köz* 'eye' (4: 7) ~ *kös* (18: 365), *sekiz* 'eight' (57: 48) ~ *sekıs* (57: 43).

3.1.1.1.2 Second-person possessive suffix *–(X)ŋIzlA*

In most regions of Turfan, except for Toxsun, the 2nd person possessive suffix displays the plural polite form *–(X)ŋIzlA* in contrast to the normal plural possessive suffix *–(X)ŋla*. Usually, the pronoun in the place of the possessor complement is the genitive form of the 2nd person singular polite pronoun *sız* (Genitive *sızni*, occasionally also *sızniŋ*) or the 2nd person plural polite pronoun *sizlä* (Genitive *sizlänin̆*) when *–(I)ŋizlA* is suffixed to the possessed entities as seen in (1a, b), whereas *silä* 'you' (plural) is mostly used as possessor when *–(X)ŋla* is suffixed to the possessed (1c).

(1a) *sız-ni* *atə-ŋəzla*
you: GEN father: 2pl POLPOSS
'your father and others' (12: 20)

b) *üj-iŋızlä* *gül bul-ur.*
house: 2pl POL POSS flower become: AOR
'May your home will be (full of) flowers.' (48: 3)

c) *silä-ni* *gip-iŋla-ya* *kır-ip*
you: GEN word: 2pl POSS-DIR enter: CONV
'following your instructions' (18: 85)



In the Toxsun region, the 2nd person plural does not display the polite possessive form *—(X)ŋızla*, using *–ŋla* for both plural and the polite form.

Moreover, once in a text recorded in Lükchün we found the 2nd person plural possessive suffix in the form of *–iŋlä*, e.g. *biriŋlädin* 'one than another' (18: 156). However, our data does not provide further information on this suffix. Presumably, it is occasional or personal-specific.

3.1.1.1.3 Third-person possessive suffix *–(I)sI*

Generally, the 3rd person possessive suffix *–sI* is added to the nominal stems ending with vowels, whereas *–I* is added to the nominal stems ending with consonants just like in SU and in most dialects of Uyghur, e.g. *ata* 'father' + *-sI* → *atəsï* 'his father' (18: 492), *jär* 'land' + *-I* → *jiri* 'his land' (19: 123). However, in the Turfan dialect *–sI* might also be rather frequently suffixed to dissyllabic nominal stems ending with consonants, mostly occurring in the form of *–(I)sI*.

(2) *balə -ŋız-nïŋ* *räsim-isi* *ba:-mu?*
child: 2POSS-GEN photo: 3POSS have:QPART
'Do you have the picture of your child?' (Pıchan)

*ürǰän-ni* *bir* *qïsm-ïsï*
*ürǰän*-pear: GEN one part-3POSS
'a kind of pear' (1: 8)

*üz-äm-niŋ-mu* *ism-isi-ni* *jaz-a-maj-diγan* *ädäm*
own: 1sgPOSS-GEN-PART name: 3POSS-ACC write: ABIL-NEG-ITPple person
*män*
I
'I am a person who even cannot spell his own name.' (Toxsun)

Note that the possessed nominals with the possessive suffix *–(I)sI* occur in the forms of *räsimi* 'her/his picture', *qismï* 'its ... part' and *ismi* 'his name' in SU, clearly taking *-I*.

Notably, in the Kathanov's texts we found several words ending in a consonant also take *–(I)sI*, occurring in the form of *–(e)sI* and *-(i)sI* just like the contemporary Turfan dialect, e.g. *kök beš-isi* (Menges 1943, XXXVI 127), *täräp-esi-din* (Menges 1976, VIII 9), *räsm-isi* (Menges 1943, XXXIX 44). A similar phenomenon can also be found in the dialect texts recorded by Jarring and Tenishev in Khotan, e.g. *šäxniŋ öj-isi-gä* (Jarring 1946-1951, III, II-347), *bäš äjiqniŋ šäkl-isi-ni* (Jarring 1946-1951, IV, 9-9), *pul-isï* (Tenishev 1984: 53).[88]

In the Turfan dialect, stem vowels in the second syllable of polysyllabic nominals in the possessed position are frequently deleted when *–(I)sI* is added. More interestingly,

88 The possessive form of *pul* 'money' is also pulisi in the speech of some illiterate speakers in the contemperory Kashghar and Khotan dialects.

we found certain words only take *–(I)sI*, e.g. *aχïr-sï* 'at the end' (33: 9, compare SU *aχırı*), *iškirsi* 'Inner China' (8: 3, compare SU *ičkirı*), which are probably frozen.

3.1.1.1.4 Deletion of initial suffix vowels / whole possessive suffixes

The initial vowels in possessive suffixes are often deleted in unaccented syllables, especially when they are preceded by strong sonorants in nominal stem, e.g. *jïrmiz* (55: 17, 56: 13) ← *jirimiz* 'our land'. The 3rd person possessive suffix might also be deleted in the same phonological environment,[89] as a result, the possessed nominals actually occur in ø possessive suffix, e.g. *däqjanusnuŋ bäš jüz quj-ni* (19: 36) ← *däqjanusnuŋ bäš jüz qujını* 'Daqianus's five hundred sheep', *quduχnu süj vilä* (56: 56) ← **quduqnu süjı bilän* 'with the water of the well', *jä:lïr-ni* (57: 29) ← *järlirini* 'their land (ACC)', *savut čuǰaŋnï adämlïrini baš közlïr-ni* (22: 96) ← *savut čuǰaŋnï adämlïrini baš közlirini* 'the faces of Sawut Qujang's people', *tayısïnï üj-gä* (23: 37) ← *tayısınï üjigä* 'to his uncle's house', *aχ patša atlïr-nï tuqup* ( 67: 12) ← *aχ patša atlirini tuqup* 'Aq patša saddled his horse'and *jurtnu išlïr-ya* (29: 63) ← *jurtnu išliriya* 'with the affairs of the village'.

The final vowel of the possessive suffix *–(I)sI* might also be the object of deletion, e.g. *balə-s-nï* (55: 52) ← *baləsïnï* 'his son (ACC)', *erïqnï jaqqï-s-tiki* (19: 158) ← *erïqnï jaqqïsidiki* 'at the end of the ditch', *jüǰämni no:tï-s-nï* (2: 16) ←*jüǰämni notïsïnï* 'the mulberry bud (ACC.)'. In this case, the first syllable of the nominal stem takes the primary accent and the syllable with the centralized vowel precedes the possessive suffix whose final vowel was deleted.

3.1.1.2 Case

3.1.1.2.1 Genitive

3.1.1.2.1.1 Morphological forms

In the Turfan dialect the genitive is marked with three different suffixes: (i) with {nXŋ} – the same as in all other dialects of Uyghur,[90] – (ii) with {nX}, displaying a partly similar form to the accusative, (iii) with {nIki}, actually comprising the (ii) type suffix + {ki}. First two types of suffixes, namely (i) and (ii) are fourfold, and undergo both front/back and labial harmony, while the type (iii) suffix is two-fold, and displays only two variants, *–niki* after back nominal stems, and *–niki* after front nominal stems. Basically, the (i) type of suffix is also two-fold in noun declension, and mainly

89 Deletion of the 3rd person possessive suffix is rather frequent in some late Uyghur texts, see analysis in Zieme & Kara 1978: 14-17. Unfortunately, Kathanov and Le Coq's texts do not display such deletion. We do not know whether the phenomenon in the present Turfan dialect is the continuation of the old deletion process. However, it is clear that the phonological environment of this deletion is not completely the same as the one in Old Uyghur.

90 Both the spoken and written forms of SU only recognize one genitive suffix *–niŋ*, which is neutral to the sound harmony. However, all dialects of Uyghur, including the Urumchi variety, display the four-fold genitive suffix *-nXŋ*. The Lopnor dialect even exhibits more than twenty phonetical forms resulting from progressive assimilation. Cf. Yakup-Imin 1987, Osmanov 1999: 41-43.



undergoes front/back harmony, while its variants with rounded vowels mostly occur in the declension of some demonstrative pronouns as seen in *bu-nuŋ* 'of this' (5: 2) and *šunuŋ* 'of that' (17: 110). Notably, another unique form *–no* is also observable amongst the variants of the type (ii) suffix, existing side by side with *–nu*, though it only occurs occasionally as the free variant of *–nu*.

(3a) *taɣ-nïŋ* *tüšüg-i*
mountain: GEN hole: 3POSS
'the hole of the mountain' (19: 64)

*muzurχan-nïŋ* *jinn-i-ɣa*
Muzurhan: GEN side: 3POSS-DIR
'to the residence of Muzurkhan' (21: 145)

*täx-niŋ* *otturuluɣ-ï*
'vineyard: GEN middle: 3POSS'
'the middle of the vineyard'(15: 4)

*däqjanus-nuŋ* *bäš jüz* *quj-ni*[91]
Daqianus: GEN five hundred sheep: ACC
'Daqianus's five hundred sheep (ACC)' (19: 36)

*kün-nüŋ* *nur-ï-da*
sun: GEN light: 3POSS-LOC
'under the sunshine' (18: 325)

b) *čašqan-nï* *a:qï dïn*
mouse: GEN back: ABL
'after the mouse' (19: 22)

*üzüm-ni* *tür-i*
grape: GEN sort: 3POSS
'varieties of grapes' (6: 1)

*däqjanus-nu* *jin-da*
Daqianus: GEN side: LOC
'at the Daqianus's side' (19: 75)

*deqïjanus-no* *iš-i-ni*
Daqianus: GEN work: 3POSS-ACC
'Daqianus's work (Acc)' (19: 16)

91 The possessive suffix between *qoj* 'ship' and the accusative suffix is deleted. For a description see section 3.1.1.1.4.

*ürüx-nü* *katti-sï*
apricot: GEN best: 3POSS
'the best apricot' (13: 55)

*döŋ-nü* *astïn-diki* *dünja*
hill: GEN under: LOC: ki treasure
'the treasure under the hill' (17: 63)

c) *äjal-niki* *atə-sï*
lady: GEN father: 3POSS
'father-in-law' (lit. the father of the wife) (12: 6)

*mušu* *kün-niki* *pul-ï*
this day: GEN money: 3POSS
'present day currency' (21: 195)

Amongst the variants of the type (ii) suffix, the *-nu* may also simply undergo front/back harmony as seen from the examples in (4a), sometimes also violating both front/back and labial harmony as exemplified in (4b).

(4a) *änǰallïχ-nu* *šä:r-i*
Andijani: GEN city: 3POSS
'Andijani's city' (19: 100)

b) *jigit-lä:-nu* *hämra-sï*
boy: Pl-GEN friend: 3POSS
'friend of those boys' (19: 96)

*tüšük-nu* *ayz-i-ya*
hole: GEN mouth: 3POSS-DIR
'to the entrance of the cave' (19: 124)

*pičan* *lïxčün-nu* *ottuřlu-u-da*
Pichan Lükchün: GEN middle: 3POSS-LOC
'between Pichan and Lükchün' (34: 42)

It is of interest to note that in text 18 we found two pronouns, *uniŋki* 'his' (18: 277, 668) and *bunuŋki* 'of this' (18: 443) with the suffix *–niŋki* and *–nuŋki*, which do not occur in other texts, and we only have 3 occurrences in text 19 as well. Aside from this, in the same text, once we found *–nuki* in *juřtnuki* (18: 352), a variant of *–nïki* with the rounded vowel, which actually results from a progressive labial assimilation.

It was generally known that accusative and genitive coincide in Uzbek, Kumyk and Karachay-Balkar dialects (Johanson 1998a: 39, Boeschoten 1998b: 360, Berta 1998: 306). Cases of such coincidence have already been found in Chaghatay (Eckmann 1966: 83, Boeschoten & Vandamme 1998: 170, Bodroligeti 2001: 31-32). Some Uyghur dialects, including the Turfan dialect, display the genitive of the (ii) type, which is phonetically similar to the accusative. In the case of the Uyghur dialects, the type (ii) genitive results from the deletion of the final nasal in the (i) type of genitive, mostly occurring in the eastern regions, namely Qomul, Turfan and Lopnor, and occasionally also in the Pakhpu accent spoken in the mountain regions of Qarghaliq (Osmanov & Ghappar 1991: 54). Judging from the available data, deletion of the final nasal in the genitive seems to be quite new to the Turfan dialect, because in the Kathanov and Lecoq's materials we only found two types of genitive: (i) *–nXŋ* and (ii) *–niki*. Clearly, the first one was most frequently used at that time, while the latter occurs relatively rarely, appearing alone and mostly before case markers, e.g. *adämniki bädenigä* (Menges 1976, XXIV 41) 'to the body of the person', *qiznikidä* (Menges 1976, VIII 8, 15) 'to the bride's side',[92] *anesïnikidä* 'to the mother's (home)' (Menges 1976, VIII 76).

It is wrong to claim that the genitive and accusative are marked with *–ni* in the Turfan dialect (Osmanov 1990: 71), since the accusative only occurs in the form of {nI}, being realized as *–nï* and *–ni* in the Turfan dialect, and only undergoes front/back harmony. However, the genitive of the type (ii) is four-fold in the Turfan dialect as we saw above, and displays several variants such as *–nï*, *-ni*, *-nu* / *-no* and *-nü*. Another obvious difference between genitive and accusative in the Turfan dialect is that the genitive basically undergoes front/back harmony, occasionally also following the labial harmony, whereas the accusative only undergoes front/back harmony.



3.1.1.2.1.2 Frequency

The (ii) type of suffix is most common in all texts, and the (iii) type of suffix also rather frequently occurs, while the (i) type suffix only occurs in very limited number of cases, occasionally having been replaced with the (ii) type of suffix. Let's just examine the case of text 19 recorded in Tuyuq. In this text, the genitive occurs 35 times, out of these there are 8 examples with the (i) type suffix, occurring 4 times after nouns and 4 times after the pronouns *bu* (2), *šu* (1) and *u* (1), while the (ii) type suffix occurs 26 times, and the (iii) type suffix only once. The status of other texts is the same or similar to text 19. Table 3-2 shows statistical data on the occurrence of different forms of the genitive in some texts recorded in the main regions of Turfan.

It is not difficult to conclude from the statistics provided in Table 3-2 that the genitive marked with *-nX* is most frequent in all texts from different regions except for text 67, which was recorded in Toxsun. Frequency of the (i) type genitive (*-nXŋ*) in text 67 is obviously higher than both other forms, while texts 18 and 21 also display a fairly high frequency. However, the (i) type of genitive is mostly observable in the declension of pronouns in text 18, and the situation is the same in text 21. Therefore, we may conclude that the (i) type of suffix mostly occurs in the declension of pronouns in Turfan, excluding Toxsun.

92 In the Kathanov's text *qiznikidä* occurs several times, in which *–dä* designates direction instead of location.

Table 3-2 Frequency of genitive

| Texts | -nXŋ | -nX | -nIki |
|---|---|---|---|
| 19 | 8 | 26 | 1 |
| 21 | 16 | 20 | 8 |
| 12 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 13 | 3 | 8 | 0 |
| 18 | 29 | 87 | 13 |
| 28 | 1 | 26 | 1 |
| 41 | 3 | 15 | 3 |
| 58 | 1 | 14 | 3 |
| 67 | 36 | 9 | 1 |

We will find the situation quite different if we look at the texts recorded by Kathanov and Tenishev, in which the (i) type genitive is overwhelming, and the (iii) type suffixes mostly occur in the declension of some personal pronouns, e.g. *seniki* 'yours' (Menges 1943, LXI 10), *uniki* 'his' (Tenishev 1984: 11), and also sporadically in the declension of nouns, e.g. *puqaraniki* 'of common people' (Menges 1943, XLVII 45), *är kišiniki* 'man's' (Menges 1943, LI 24), *vaŋneke* 'of the Wang' (Tenishev 1984: 9), etc. Interestingly, Le Coq and Tenishev's texts do not display the (ii) type of suffix, while in Malov's texts from Turfan it also occurs only once, e.g. *meni* 'my, of mine' (Malov 1961, 69: 21). This leads to a conclusion that the deletion of the final nasal in the genitive suffix is rather new in the Turfan dialect, as we mentioned above. It should also be noted that Le Coq's texts are mostly readings from written texts, whereas Malov and Tenishev's data are very limited. Anyway, the occurrence of *meni* in the Malov's texts might show that the (ii) type of suffix was already used as early as the beginning of the 19th century, presumably being specific to the colloquial language, whereas the written language mostly preferred the (i) type of genitive.

3.1.1.2.1.3 Distributional features

As it is well known, in the Turkic possessive constructions, basically the possessor precedes the possessed taking genitive. This might be formalized as in (5).[93]

(5) N.GEN + N.POSS /Possessor + Possessed

In the case of the Turfan dialect, the possessor in all three types of genitive mentioned above may occur before the possessed as exemplified in (5a). However, the possessor in the (i) and (ii) types of genitive may also occur after the possessed, mostly in the sentence final position in nominal sentences as we shall see in (5b). Notably, the occurrence of a nominal predicate is not obligatory (5b).

93 Cited from Csató 2000: 417.



(5a) *it-niŋ tört put-ï-nï*
dog: GEN four leg: 3POSS-ACC
'the four legs (ACC) of the dog' (19: 53)

*aχ patša-niŋ ald-ï-ya*
white king: GEN front: 3POSS-DIR
'in front of Aq patša' (lit. to the front of Aq patša) (67: 8)

*ata baba-m-nï waχt-ï-da*
ancestors: 1sgPOSS:GEN time: 3POSS-LOC
'at my ancestors time' (21: 123)

*čiši ayrïγ-ï-ni dorï-sï-nï*
tooth: 3POSS paint: 3POSS-GEN medicine: 3POSS-ACC
'the medicine (ACC) for toothache' (24: 16)

*sidiχ χälpï-niki hikaji-si tügï-di*
Sidix Xälpä: GEN story: 3POSS end: PST
'The story of Sidix Xälpä came to an end.' (22: 169)

*waŋ-niki täjji-lïï-nï*[94] *enlvaš lař-nï*
Wang: GEN Tayji (title): Pl-ACC clothing: Pl-ACC
'the Jasak Prince's Tayji's clothes' (27: 3)

b) *ism-i-mu joq bu eγïz-nïŋ*
name: 3POSS-CLIT no this mouth: GEN
'This mouth (of the river) had no name.' (19: 110)

*balə-sï joq kiši-känduq u mollï-niki*
child: 3POSS no person: ikänduq that mullah: GEN
'Reportedly, that mullah had no child.' (17: 82)

*bu atalγu-la bäš äza-niki*
this term: Pl five organ: GEN
'Those are the names of the five organs.' (4: 7)

*om-bäš nävrä va üš qïz-niki*
fifteen grandchild have three daughter: GEN
'We have fifteen grandchildren from three daughters.' (12: 13)

94 In *täjji-lïï-ni* the possessive suffix after *täjji-lär* is deleted, for a description see 3.1.1.1.4 of this chapter.

There is a crucial difference between the two constructions of reverse order. In the case the possessor taking *–nXŋ* genitive, the possessive suffixes certainly will be attached to the possessed as seen in the first two examples in (5a). However, the possessed may occur without possessive suffixes when the possessed has taken the *-nIki* genitive as seen in the last two examples given in (5b), at least it is true when nominals occurr as the possessor. However, the possessed certainly take a possessive suffix also as seen in (6), when a pronoun occurrs as a possessor.

(6) *tur-ɣam* *pit-im* *mušu miniki*
stay: Pple status: 1sgPOSS this mine
'My life style is just like this.' (21: 153)

*töt ätrap-i* *ǰaŋgal-ikä* *uniki*
four side: POSS jungle: ikä(n) its
'Reportedly, all four sides are jungle.' (17: 55)

The difference exhibited in both possessive constructions of reverse order might be showed as follows.

(7a) N. POSS (N-Predicate) N. GEN in *–nXŋ*
b) N. (POSS) (N-Predicate) N. GEN in *–nIki*

In contrast to the genitives in *-nXŋ* and *-nIki*, nominals in *–nX* genitive principally do not occur after the possessed, at least there is no such attestation in our data.

3.1.1.3 'Pronominal *n*'
In Turkish and some other modern Turkic languages, e.g. Kazakh, Kirghiz and Noghay, the case suffixes preceding 3rd person possessive suffixes require taking on a 'pronominal *n*' (Csató & Johanson 1998: 210, Kirchner 1998a: 322, Kirchner 1998b: 347-348, Csató & Karakoç 1998: 336). In Old Uyghur texts a 'pronominal *n*' may precede derivative suffixes, post positions as well as case markers (Gabain 1950: 99, Erdal 2004: 161-162, 168, 173-174). Chaghatay displays the 'pronominal *n*' in a similar environment (Eckmann 1966: 92, Bodroligeti 2001: 40). SU and the southern dialects of Uyghur do not display a 'pronominal *n*'. However, we found a 'pronominal *n*' once before locative (see 8a) in the inflection of *ič* 'inside' and several times before the particle *dak* (see 8b).

(8a) *bök-ni* *ič-i-n-dä*
hat: GEN inside: 3POSS-*n*-LOC
'inside the hat' (18: 158)



b) *helïqï-n-däk*
that-*n*-PART
'like that' (9: 6, 14: 3, 33: 6)

However, the pronominal-like *n* before a locative, directive and ablative found in (9a) and (9b), clearly differs from the 'pronominal *n*' and actually is part of the derivative suffix *–tXn*.

(9a) *boːrï-nï* *astïn-da*
plaited mat: GEN under: LOC
'under the plaited mat' (18: 139)

b) *taɣ-nï* *astïn-ɣa*
mountain: GEN under: DIR
'under the mountain' (56: 5)

*üst-i* *üstün-gä*
upper: 3POSS upper: DIR
'one after another' (23: 38)

*tam-nï* *astïn-dïn*
wall: GEN under: ABL
'from the under part of the wall' (19: 155)

As we saw, 'pronominal *n*' is not very productive in the Turfan dialect; in certain instances the same lexeme may even decline with or without a 'pronominal *n*', e.g. *ičin-dä* in 18: 158, but *ičidä* in 13: 47 and 18: 30, etc. Anyway, a 'pronominal *n*' in the Turfan dialect seems to be a relic of some secondary postpositions widely used in Chaghatay and occasionally occurring with a 'pronominal *n*' (Bodroligeti 2000: 85-90).

3.1.2 Pronouns
The Turfan dialect displays several unique personal and demonstrative pronouns, the declension of some personal pronouns also differs from those in SU and in the southern dialects of Uyghur.

3.1.2.1 Personal pronouns
The personal pronouns *män* 'I' and *sän* 'you' are mostly pronounced as *mã̈ ~ mä*, *sã̈ ~ sä*, The 2nd person displays a singular polite personal pronoun *özlä* 'you', plurizing it as *öziŋizlä ~ üziŋizlä*. For the 2nd person pronoun *siz* 'you' there is a plural form *sizlä*, which functions as a plural polite pronoun; The 1st person plural pronoun *biz* 'we' might also be plurized as *bizlä*, which denotes 'we and others'; Declension of personal pronouns is also a departure from SU and the Kashghar dialects.

It should be noted that the possessed takes *–liri* when *özlä* is used as possessor in the genitive form, e.g. *özläni isimliri nim buldu*? (22: 13) 'What is your name, please?'

Table 3-3 Declension of personal pronouns

| Case | First person | Second person | Third person |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nominative | Sg. *mā̃ ~ mä ~ män*<br>Pl. *biz ~ bizlä* | SgNor. *sā̃ ~ sä ~sän*<br>SgPOL. *siz, özlä*<br>PlNor. *sänlä ~ sällä*<br>PlPOL. *sizlä, öziŋizlä ~ üziŋizlä* | Sg. *u*<br>Pl. *ula* |
| Genitive | Sg. *mini ~ miniki*<br>Pl. *bizni ~ bizniki* | SgNor. *seni ~ sini ~ siniki, siniŋ*[95]<br>SgPOL. *sizni~sizniki*<br>PlNor. *sälläni*<br>PlPOL. *sizläni, üziŋizläni* | Sg. *unu ~ unuŋ ~ uniki*<br>Pl. *ulaniki ~ ulaniŋ* |
| Accusative | Sg. *mini*<br>Pl. *bizni* | SgNor. *sini*<br>SgPOL. *sizni*<br>PlNor. *sälläni*<br>PlPOL. *sizläni, üziŋizläni* | Sg. *uni ~ uni*<br>Pl. *ulani* |
| Directive | Sg. *maŋγa ~ maŋa*<br>Pl. *bizgä* | SgNor. *saŋγa ~ saŋa*<br>SgPOL. *sizgä*<br>PlNor. *sällä:gä*<br>PlPOL. *sizlägä, üziŋizlägä* | Sg. *unuŋγa*<br>Pl. *ula:γa* |
| Locative | Sg. *miniŋdä*<br>Pl. *bizdä* | SgNor. *siniŋdä*<br>SgPOL. *sizdä, sizniŋdä*<br>PlNor. *sällädä*<br>PlPOL. *sizlädä, üziŋizlädä* | Sg. *unuŋda*<br>Pl. *ulada* |
| Ablative | Sg. *miniŋdin*<br>Pl. *bizdin* | SgNor. *Siniŋdin*<br>SgPOL. *sizdin, sizniŋdin*<br>PlNor. *sällädin*<br>PlPOL. *sizlädin, üziŋizlädin* | Sg. *unuŋdin*<br>Pl. *Uladin* |

3.1.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Aside from the demonstrative pronouns *bu* 'this' (occasionally occuring as *mu*), *u* 'that' and *šu* 'that', which are common to all dialects of Uyghur, the Turfan dialect displays certain additional demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *da ~ dawu* 'that, that one', *dašo* 'exactly that', *andaγ ~ andaχ* 'like that', etc. The demonstrative pronouns in the Turfan dialect might be classified into several categories.

The parameter for the following classification is the relative distance of the objects referred to by demonstrative pronouns from the speaker and addressse.

A. Pronouns referring to the objects close to the speaker and the addresse: bu 'this', mu (only occurs once in 34: 42),[96] munu 'this one' (17: 27), majna ~ majnaχ ~ mašnaχ 'like this' (22: 97), majda ~ majdaχ ~ majdaγ 'like this' and mušdaq 'like this' (the latter only occurs in 18: 299). Amongst them, munu is common to all regions, whereas other forms seem to be specific to certain regions, i.e. majna and its phonetical variants (see

95 We found *siniŋ* only once in 17: 154.

96 *mu* results from the nasalization of *bu* 'this'.



the previous line) occur in the texts recorded in Tuyuq, while majda and its phonetical variants (see the previous line) occur in the texts recorded in Lükchün.

B. Pronouns referring to the objects far away from the speaker and adressse. The following two series of pronouns belong to this category.

a. Pronouns initiating with the consonant *d*: *da ~ dä* 'that, that one',[97] *dawu* 'exactly that one', *dašo ~ dašu* 'exactly that, exactly that one', *dajnaχ* 'like that', *däšä* 'that place' (< *dašu* 'that' + *jär* 'place');

b. Pronouns initiating with the vowel *a*: *andaγ ~ anda* 'like that, like that one', *ajda ~ ajdaχ* 'like that', *ašdaq* 'like that' and *hänäq* 'like that, such'.[98]

Out of them, *ajda ~ ajdaγ* , *ašdaq* and *hänäq* mostly occur in the texts recorded in Lükchün, Pichan and Yanghe, while the other forms are uniform to the whole Turfan region. Notably, the demonstrative pronoun *u* 'that' is used fairly rarely in the Turfan dialect, presumably due to the replacement of its main function by *da*.

C. Pronouns refering to the objects further away from the speaker and adressse: Aside from šu 'that, that one', the pronouns comprising this group are secondary, and result from a complex phonological development. This group includes šä 'that place' (< šu 'that' + jär 'place'), ašu 'that' (< a + šu), šunaq 'like that, like that one' (< šundaq < *šuntaγ), dašä 'that place' (< da 'that' + šu 'that' + jär 'place'), all of them being uniform Within the Turfan region.

Generally speaking, only three basic demonstrative pronouns can be identified in the Turfan dialect: *bu*, **a* and *šu*. Other demonstrative pronouns are derivations of these basic pronouns by means of various suffixes, while a good number of them also result from the phonetic development of rather complex phrases.

The most unique pronoun in the Turfan dialect is *da*, which also occurrs in the Kälpin special accent in various forms (see Äysa 1999), seems to result from the insertion of *d* before **a*. However, adjectival-adverbial forms of these basic pronouns occur in the same or similar phonetic shape in Old Turkic and Chaghatay.

Principally, all demonstrative pronouns may have nominal declension, though the declined forms of polysyllabic demonstrative pronouns are not as frequent in the discourse as the declined forms of the monosyllabic one.

The plural form of *da* is *da:la* 'they' (far away), and the plural of *šu* is *ušla* 'they' (further away), which also occasionally occur in the form of *šula*.

All demonstrative pronouns may also refer to invisible, unknown and previously mentioned objects in the discourse, mostly qualifying nouns. Besides the aforementioned three basic forms, most demonstrative pronouns may also modify verbs and adjectives, functioning as adverbs.

97 *dä* is very rare and seems to be person-specific. Tuvan displays the similar pronoun *döö* 'that one there', see Anderson & Harrison 1999: 26.

98 The initial consonat *h* in *hänäq* should be an inserted element before *anaq*, which can be traced back to Old Turkic *antaγ*.

Table 3-4 Declension of *da* and *šu*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Nominative | da | šu |
| Genitive | da:ni ~ da:niki~ daniŋ | šunu ~ šuniki |
| Accusative | da:ni | šuni |
| Directive | daniŋγa ~ daniŋγa | šunuŋγa |
| Locative | daniŋda ~ daniŋda | šunuŋda |
| Ablative | daniŋdin ~ daniŋdin | sunuŋdin |

3.1.2.3 Interrrogative pronouns

Most interrogative pronouns used in SU are also in use in the Turfan dialect. Meanwhile, the Turfan dialect displays some phonetically divergent and etymologically secondary interrogative pronouns frozen from the various declined forms of the basic pronouns. The most impressive divergent interrogative pronouns in the Turfan dialect are listed below; for further interrogative pronouns see the list of dialect vocabulary.

(10a) *nimigä* 'why' (< *nemä* + DIR –*GA*) *nimdäp* 'why' (< *nemä däp*)
*nimdaχ* 'why' (< *nemä andaq*) *nimiškä* 'why' (< *nemä iškä*)
*nigä* 'where' (< *nägä*)

b) *asu* 'which' *qāčilix* 'how many'
*qandaχsigä* 'why, on which way' *qa:daχ* 'how' (SU *qandaq*) ~*qanaq*[99]

Amongst the interrogative pronouns listd above, *nigä* occurs in the texts from Tuyuq, while we found *nimiškä* mostly in the texts recorded in Murtuq; *qa:daχ* is mostly used in the Lükchün region, whereas *qajdaχ* is distributed to the Toxsun region and *qanaq* to Murtuq. Consequently, the different interrogative pronouns in same or similar semantics actually have different regional distribution, the same is also true for the phonetically divergent forms of some interrogative pronouns.

3.1.3 Adjectives

A comparative suffix mostly occurs in the form –*(a)raq* in the Turfan dialect. We found it only once in the shape of –*aray* in *čoŋaray* 'fairly big' (17: 136) and once in the form of *-ärag* in *kičigärag* 'fairly small' (17: 136).

–*(a)raq* might be suffixed both to front and back stems, obviously violating inter-syllabic sound harmony (see also phonology) as exemplified in (11). Note that the comparative suffix is two-fold in SU, occurring in the forms –*raq* (after back stems) and –*räk* (after front stems), and clearly undergoes inter-syllabic front/back harmony.

(11) *az* 'small' + *-araq* → 'very small' (29: 4)
*kalta* 'short' + *-araq* → *kalta:raq* 'rather short, fairly short' (6: 7)
*qelin* 'thick' + *-araq* → *qilinaraq* 'very thick, fairly thick' (56: 33)
*jeqin* 'close' + *-araq* → 'very close, fairly close' (18: 633)
*uzun* 'long' + *-araq* → 'fairly long, rather long' (6: 2)

99 This pronoun displays further phonetical forms *qajdaχ* and *qajnaq*.



*tüzük* 'good' + *-araq* → *tüzügaraq* 'better' (18: 647)
*köp* 'much' + *-araq* → *köparaq* 'very many, very much' (7: 27)
*šalaŋ* 'a few, thin' + *-araq* → *šalaŋaraq* 'very thin' (67: 31)

The adjectives taking a comparative suffix might be nominalized by means of a plural suffix, e.g. *mädini:raqla* 'somewhat educated people, educated people' (7: 27).

3.1.4 Numerals and quantifiers

Impressively, the phonetical shape of many basic cardinal numerals in the Turfan dialect diverges from those in SU and in the Kashghar dialect as we shall see from the comparison below in Table 3-5.

Table 3-5 Cardinal numerals in the Turfan dialect

| Turfan | SU | Kashghar | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| bɨř | bir | biž | 1 |
| iki ~ ikki | ikki | iškki | 2 |
| üš ~ üč | üč | üč | 3 |
| tö ~ tö: ~ tört | tört | tö:t | 4 |
| bäš ~ beš | bäš | bäš | 5 |
| alte ~ altı | altä | altä | 6 |
| jette ~ jetti | jettä | jättä ~ jettä | 7 |
| sekiz ~ sekis | sekkiz | sekkiz | 8 |
| toquz ~ toqus | toqquz | toqquz ~ toqqus | 9 |
| atmiš ~ aʔmiš | atmiš | atmïš | 60 |
| üz ~ jüz | jüz | jüz | 100 |

Obviously, *iki*, *beš*, *sekiz*, *toquz*, etc. are closer to the Old Uyghur forms than the forms found in SU and in the Kashghar dialect; *tümän* 'ten thousand' exists in SU and in all other dialects of Uyghur, but it occurs very frequently in the Turfan dialect in place of *on miŋ*, which is the most common numeral for 'ten thousand' in SU and in most Uyghur dialects, while in the Kashghar dialect *tümän* can only be counted as a latent lexeme; Old distributive numerals formed with –*Ar* are observed in limited examples, but they basically denote approximacy in the Turfan dialect, e.g. *ikär jüz kej* 'approxiamtely two hundred *koj*' (14: 1). The phonetic shape of some collective numerals also slightly diverges from the forms found in SU, e.g. *ükäjlä* 'two of them' (17: 34, SU *ikkäjlän*).

Certain quantifiers, e.g. *tal*, *danä* are frequently used in the Turfan dialect, often occurring in the nominal phrases as seen in *ikki tal müŋüz* 'two horns' (41: 9), *jetti danä kala* 'seven cows' (17: 298), *on danä nävrä* 'ten grandchildren' (9: 37), though we also found *jetti kala* (17: 301) and *ikki qïz nävrä* 'two grand-daughters' (69: 52), in which no classifiers are used. Note that the classifiers *tal* and *danä* are not used in the same context in SU and the Kashghar dialect, since SU and the Kashghar dialect prefer *ikki müŋüz*, *jättä kala* and *on nävrä* in the phrases discussed above.

The Turfan dialect also displays certain specific quantifiers, e.g. *döräm* 'time', *čïlak* 'a bunch (of the corn etc.), *čïllıŋ* 'a small branch of (grapes)'. The quantifiers *do* 'kilowatt' (*bïř do tok* 'one kilowatt electricity', 57: 46), and *šıŋ* '1 litre' (*üš šıŋ buγda* 'three *šıŋ* wheat') copied from Chinese, are also unique to the Turfan dialect. Out of them *šıŋ* is known from Old Turkic texts. Moreover, the Old Turkic dry measure *küri* is still in use in the Turfan dialect, while the other dialects of Uyghur do not display it, using other classifiers in similar semantics and function.

## 3.2 Verbal morphology

### 3.2.1 Formation of verbal stems

In contrast to SU and the southern dialects of Uyghur, the Turfan dialect displays some peculiarities in the formation of verbal stems. Denominal verbal suffixes will be discussed in the derivative morphology. Here, some unique facts on the voice and actionality will be briefly introduced.

#### 3.2.1.1 Causative verbs

Causative forms of several verbs in the Turfan dialect are formed with different suffixes than those in SU and the Kashghar dialect. Most obvious one is the causative of *äm-* 'to suck', whose causative form is *imiz-* in the Turfan dialect, while SU and the Kashghar dialect form it with *–it* and *–dür*, displaying *imit-* or *ämdür-*. The causative for *kör-* 'to see', is formed by adding *–sät* (*körsät-*) in SU and the Kasghar dialect, but in most cases by means of *–küz* in the Turfan diaelect, e.g. *köküz-* (17: 87, 79: 15). A part of the causative verb forms such as these is listed in our dialect vocabulary, here we will mention some common causative verbs formed with different suffixes than in SU and the Kashghar dialect.

A. Causative verbs formed with {Vz} (here V designates any suffix initial vowel, which may possibly occur)

Table 3-6 Causative verbs formed with {Vz}

| Turfan | SU | Kasghar | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| imiz- | imit- | imit- | to cause to suck |
| eqïz- | eqit- | eqit- ~ aqquz- | to cause to flow |
| qoqaz- | qorqut- | qo:qut- | to frighten |
| tutaz- | tutquz- | tutquz- | to hand over |
| kökäz-[100] | körsät- | kö:sät- | to show |
| qutuz-[101] | qutquz- | qutqaz- | to rescue |

100 Once also *kösät-* in 17: 94.
101 Once also *qutquz-* in 17: 215.



B. Causative verbs formed with {DXr}

This suffix occurs in the phonetic forms *–tur /–tür* and *–dur/-tur* in SU as well as in the Kasghar dialect, while the Turfan dialect displays four further phonetic forms with unrounded vowels, e.g. *–tïř /–tiř* and *–dïř / -diř* along with forms with the rounded vowels mentioned above.

Table 3-7 Causative verbs formed with {DXr}

| Turfan | SU | Kashghar | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| čaptïř-[102] | čaptur- | čaptu(r)- | to have dug |
| käjdïř-[103] | kijdür- | käjdü(r)- | to dress |
| aldïř- | aldur- | aldu(r)- | to have taken |
| bilindïř- | bilindür- | bilindü(r)- | to make notice |
| didüř- | digüz- | digüz- | to have told |
| sürdüř- | sürgüz- | sü(r)güz- | to have dragged |

C. Causative verbs formed with {Ir}

As far as our data shows, only the following three causative verbs are formed with this suffix, while SU and the Kasghar dialect prefer its variants with rounded vowels. Furthermore, the final suffix consonant *r* drops in the Kashghar dialect.

Table 3-8 Causative verbs formed with {Ir}

| Turfan | SU | Kashghar | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| kečïř-[104] | köčür- | küčä(r)- | to experience |
| pišır-[105] | pišur- | pušu(r)- | to cook |
| ičir-[106] | ičür- | ičü(r) ~ üčü(r)- | to have drank |

Notably, causative forms of certain verbs diverge within the different regions of Turfan. For instance, the causative of *kij-* 'to put on' is *kıgüz-* in Yanghe, but *kigäz-* in Lükchün (11: 33), occurring as *kijös-* in Say Kariz and *kügäz* in Toxsun, whereas other regions basically diplay *käjdïř-*.

#### 3.2.1.2 Possibility/ability marker

Possibility and ability are marked with the suffix {-Al} in SU, which results from the fusion of the converb suffix of the lexical verb and the postverb *al-*. {–Al} in SU is realized in two phonetical forms *–al* and *-äl*, being suffixed according to frontness of the verbal stem, e.g. *bar-al-ajmän* 'I am able to go', *kör-äl-äjsiz* 'you may see'. Possibility and ability are also marked with a suffix resulting from the fusion of the same converbial suffix and the postverb *al-* in the Turfan dialect, but it only occurrs in

102 The text 67 displays *čapturř-* (67: 38).
103 Causative of this verb may also be formed with *–gäz* (< *-güz*), e.g. *kıgäz-*.
104 Occurs in 29: 5.
105 Occurs in 22: 85.
106 Occurs in 68: 75.

the single phonetical form *–al*, and does not undergo intersyllabic front/back harmony, e.g. *mā bar-al-imā* 'I am able to go', *siz kör-al-isiz* 'you may go', *al-al-imiz* 'we are able to buy', *kit-al-imiz* 'we are able to go back', etc. (see also phonology)

The initial vowel in the Turfan dialect, the possibility/ability marker *–al* might be prolonged when it is suffixed to verbal stems, and the syllable to whom it belongs mostly takes the primary accent. As a result, the vowel in the unaccented next syllable is reduced when personal suffixes are attached; compare Turfan dialect *baralimā* [ba,raləmā] with SU *baralajmän* cited above.

In the negation form of possibility/ability, the consonant *l* in the possibility/ability marker *– al* regularly drops in the Turfan dialect, especially when it is attached to verbal stems ending with consonants. The initial vowel *a* in *-al* might also be deleted when it is attached to verbal stems ending with vowels, e.g. *u molla bil-a-mi-du* 'That Mulla was not able to know' (17: 86), *jil buji ula aχ nā ja-l-amadu* 'They couldn't eat bread made of flour for years' (58: 7).

3.2.1.3 Postverbs

In many Turkic languages, "the postverbal construction, i.e. the combination of a verbal lexeme with a following grammaticalized verb whose function is extremely generalized. The verbal lexeme typically appears in a converbial form. These complex verbal constructions usually denote actionality, e.g. phase specification" (Johanson 2002: 92). Uyghur dialects exhibit a rather different picture than Standard Uyghur with regard to members, phonetical shapes, and functions of postverbal constructions expressing actionality. For instance, *–(X)p tašla-* expresses sudden, unexpected action in the Kashghar dialect in competition with *–(X)p sal-*, being also gradually excepted by Standard Uyghur. However, the same postverbal construction is not used in eastern regions, namely Qomul, Turfan and Lopnor. The "Converb in *–(X)p + kör-*" construction signals attempted action in Standard Uyghur, whereas in the Kashghar dialect *baq-* is widely used instead of *kör-* to express same actional meaning. Note that "*-(X)p + baq-*" is a less active construction when compared to the "Converb in *–(X)p + kör-*" in Standard Uyghur. Moreover, completeness is expressed by "*-(X)p bol*" in Standard Uyghur as well as in most dialects of Uyghur, while attestation of this construction is extremely limited in the Turfan dialect, because the "*-(X)p kät-*" construction is mostly preferred to express the same actionality (for a description see below). Moreover, in the case of the Turfan dialect postverbs very often fuse with preceding converbs, displaying a fairly different phonetical shape than those in Standard Uyghur and the Kashghar dialect. In several instances, the grammatical meaning of some postverb constructions in the Turfan dialect are even different from those in Standard Uyghur and in the other dialects of Uyghur.

3.2.1.3.1 Postverbal constructions

It is not so easy to identify the original structure of most postverbal constructions in the Turfan dialect due to their extremely fused situation. Generally speaking, in the Turfan dialect two constructions are mainly used to express actionality: (i) Converbs in *–(X)p* + Postverb constructions; (ii) Converbs in *–A*[107] + Postverb constructions. The same as in SU and in the other dialects of Uyghur, most postverbs in the Turfan dialect occur in the postverb construction (i), while very limited number of postverbs occurr in the construction (ii).



3.2.1.3.1.1 Postverbs used in the construction (i)

According to our data, ten postverbs are used after the converbs in *–(X)p* in the Turfan dialect as shown in the following table, denoting various actional meanings.

Table 3-9 -(X)p + Postverb constructions in the Turfan dialect

| Postverbal constructions | Basic meaning | Examples |
|---|---|---|
| *-(X)p kät-* | Completeness | *jā(p) kät-* 'completely eat, eat up' (eating go), *jezip kät-* 'completely write down' (writing go), *sözlā(p) kät-* 'completely tell' (speaking go); |
| *-(X)p bol-* | Completeness (less active) | *jezip bol-* 'completely write down' (writing become), *kitipol-* 'completely leave' (leaving become); |
| *-(X)p qal-* | unexpected, naturally completed action | *tügäp qal-* 'come to end, almost end' (ending leave), *körü(p) qal-* 'see unexpectedly' (seeing leave), *uχla(p) qal-* 'sleep naturally, completely sleep (sleeping leave)'; |
| *-(X)p qo(j)-* | action which is carelessly carried out | *quju(p) qo(j)-* 'put down' (putting put), *uru(p) qo(j)-* 'beat simply' (beating put), *bayla(p) qo(j)-* 'bind' (binding leave); |
| *-(X)p tuř-* | regular, continuous action | *käp tuř-* 'come regularly' (coming stand), *tutu(p) tuř-* 'hold for a moment' (holding stand), *turu(p) tuř-* 'wait for a moment' (standing stand); |
| *-(X)p baq-* | an attempted action | *izdäp baq-* 'try to search' (searching try), *kör(üp) paq-* 'try to look' (looking try), *äpiř(ip) paχ-* 'try to bring' (bringing try); |
| *vat-* <*-Xp at-*[108] | immidiate, complete action | *uruvat-* 'beat heavily (< **urup at-* 'beating throw'), *čeppat-* 'cut down, kill' (< **čepip at-* 'cutting throw'), *qïvat-* 'do completely' (< **qïlïp at-* 'doing throw'); |

107 These types of converbs display several vowels as suffix vowels, including both low and high vowels, in some Turkic languages even labial high vowels, etc. However, in the Turfan dialect, only the back low vowel *a* and the front low vowel *ä* are most frequent.

108 Usually, *īd-* 'to send' might be suggested as possible origin. However, Kathanov's materials display

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *-Xp ba(ř)-* | ongoing action | *kit(ip)pa-* 'is going' (< *ketip bar-* 'going go'), *apa-* 'bring' (< *alip bar-* 'taking go'); |
| *-Xp al-* | action carried out in the interest of the actant; unexpected action | *bilival-* 'get to know' (< *bilip al-* 'knowing take'), *kirival-* 'get to enter' (< *kirip al-* 'entering take'), *uruval-* 'get to beat' (< *urup al-* 'beating take'). |
| *-Xp bä(r)-* | action carried out in the interest of someone else | *turpä-* 'stay for someone' (< *turup bär-* 'standing give'), *jezpä-* 'write for someone' (< *jezip bär-* 'writing give'). |

3.2.1.3.1.2 Postverbs used in the construction (ii)
Only two postverbs *al-* and *bär-* may occur in the construction (ii) in the Turfan dialect. The postverbal construction with *bär-* has already developed into two suffixes expressing different actional meanings.

A. *al-*: *baral-* 'able to go' (< *bara al-* 'going to take'), *kital-* 'able to go back' (< *kitä al-* 'returning take'), *ojnal-* 'able to play' (< *ojna al-* 'playing take');

B. *bär-*: a) *–avä: a,ta:vä-* 'throw away' (< *ata bär-* 'thowing give'), *i,čä:vä-* 'drink up' (< *ičä bär-* 'drinking give'), *qo,javä-* 'putting down' (< *qoja bär-* 'putting give').

C. *–ivä: olturi,vä-* 'continuously sit' (< *oltura bär-* 'sitting give'), *jiti,vä-* 'keep sleeping' (< *jata bär-* 'sleeping give').

3.2.1.3.2 Fusion of postverbs with preceding converbs
Postverbs may fuse with preceding converbs in the Turfan dialect. Most postverbal constructions given in the normal form in table 3-8, e.g. *jezip kät-*, *tügäp qal-*, *käp tuř-*, etc. mostly occur in rather developed phonetical forms, e.g. *jezi kät-*, *tügä qal-*, *kä tuř-*, etc. Fusion of some postverbal constructions is extremely heavy. The converb and the postverb occur as one word, taking only one primary accent, e.g. *qa,qal-* 'leave' (< *qalip qal-* 'leaving leave'), *ke,qo(j)-* 'come anyhow' (< *kelip qoj-* 'coming put'), *da,paq-* 'try to say' (< *däp baq-* 'saying try'), etc. As a result of a further fusion process some actional suffixes, more correctly semi-suffixes are yielded. Aside from the possibility/ability marker *-al* in *baral-* 'able to go', the forms *-vat* found in *avat-* and *-avär* as seen in *atavář-* result from the fusion of the preceding converbs with the postverbs *at-* and *bär-*. We may present them in the forms of *al-*, *at-* and *bär-* because they were postverbs etymologically, though the most logical presentation seems to be *–al*, *-(A)vat*, *-(A)vär* just like we present suffixes. Obviously, the level of fusion is different with regard to different postverbal constructions and individual postverbs.

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the postverb *at-* in the same construction, e.g. *čiqerıb at-* (Menges II XLVI 57), *körüb at-* (Menges II LXIII D 3), etc. Therefore, here we take *at-* as the original form.



3.2.1.3.2.1 Deletion of p in the converbial suffix
The final consonant *p* of the converb suffix in the construction (i) is often deleted in the Turfan dialect. In certain cases, a glottalization process precedes the deletion of this suffix consonant. (for details see phonology) In this case, converbs and postverbs generally occur as independent items, clearly being pronounced as different word forms, e.g. *quju qo(j)-* (17: 178, < *qojup qoj-* 'putting put'), *ülü qal-* 'died out' (22: 78, < *ölüp qal-* 'dying leave'), *jini kä-* 'come back' (17: 241, < *jenip käl-* 'returning come'). Deletion of the final consonant of the converb suffix seems to be the first step of the fusion process, though no exact fusion of the converb and the postverb takes place at this step yet. Note that deletion of the suffix consonant *p* only takes place when the following postverb initiates with a stop. (for details see phonology) Below (12) provides further examples.

(12a) *-(X)p + kät-*
*toχta kät-* 'stop down' (57: 40) ← *toχtap kät-*
*jä kät-* 'eat up completely' (18: 131) ← *jäp kät-*
*qečı kät-* 'escape' (18: 656) ← *qečip kät-*
*turu kıt-* 'stand up immediately' (29: 149) ← *turup kät-*
*ülü kät-* 'to die away' (17: 133) ← *ölüp kät-*
*küčü ket-* 'to move out' (19: 178) ← *köčüp kät-*

b) *-(X)p + qal-*
*tügä qal-* 'end suddenly' (33: 12) ← *tügäp qal-*
*oγənï qa(l)-* 'wake up' (18: 411) ← *ojγunup qal-*
*berı qal-* 'come without noticing' (65: 52) ← *berïp qal-*
*turu qal-* 'stay long' (17: 303) ← *turup qal-*
*untu qal-* 'forget away' (17: 172) ← *untup qal-*

c) *-Xp qo(j)-*
*bayla qo:-* 'tie up' (20: 17) ← *baylap qoj-*
*quju qo.-* 'leave down' (17: 164) ← *qojup qoj-*
*tunu qo(j)-* 'recognize ' (22: 66) ← *tonup qoj-*
*qï qoj -* 'do so' (21: 131) ← *qïlïp qoj-*

3.2.1.3.2.2 Deletion of whole converbial suffix
As a further step of the *p*-deletion, the entire converb suffix in the construction (i) might also be deleted.[109] There are two different outputs.

A. Lexical verb and postverb still keep their relative independency, being pronounced as different units, e.g. *kör peqïp* 'trying to see' (55: 44, < *körüp beqïp*), *jïγ qujup*

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109 As far as we know, in some Turkic languages, namely in Xakas and Salar, the whole converb suffix may also be deleted. Xakas *toγın sıχ-* < *toγınïp sıχ* 'began to work' (Karpov 1975, 239, cited from Demir 1993: 33), Salar *ayïz di vaχ-* 'try to test' (Cheng et al. 1997: 317), etc.

'gathering down' (20: 47, < *jïyïp qojup*), *o:tuř peqïp* 'sitting down' (18: 651, < *olturup beqïp*);

B. Lexical verb and postverb fuse as one word form, clearly pronounced as one unit, e.g. (*su) qujpiřdu* 'they pour (the water) for us' (77: 2, < (*su*) *qujup beridu*), *kitparımä* 'I am going' (17: 292, < *ketip barimän*), (*duta) čelpä-* 'play dutar for him' (18: 38, < *(duta) čelïp bär-*), etc.

Clearly, the fusion process of the A type precedes the B type. Fusion of the B type mostly occurs in "monosyllabic lexical verbs + postverbs *bär-* and *bar-*" constructions, e.g. *kitpa-* (17: 292, < *ketip* 'leaving' + *bar-* 'go'), *(aš) qïpäsıŋız* 'please cook for me' (18: 314, < *qïlïp* 'doing' + *bäršıŋız* 'if you give'), *e:tpä-* 'to tell' (18: 656, < *ejtip* 'telling' + *bär-* 'give'), etc. Rather complex forms such as *äpiř paχ-* 'try to bring' (29: 37, < **äl per paq-* < *alip berip baq-*) result from the gradual fusion of two postverbs with the preceding converb, in which clearly the fusion of the first postverb with the preceding converb occurs first, and then the whole fused form functions as a new lexical verb for the second postverb.

In "dissyllabic or polysyllabic verbs + postverb" constructions both parts of the construction are clearly pronounced as different units, e.g. *o:tuř peqïp* 'sitting down' (18: 651, < *olturup beqïp*). However, the fusion process of the B type might be blocked in the "monosyllabic verb + postverb" constructions when the whole construction is carefully pronounced, e.g. *kör peqïp* 'trying to look' (55: 44, < *körüp beqïp*), *beř paqaj* 'I try to go' (41: 7, < *berip baqaj*).

3.2.1.3.2.3 Assimilation of the initial consonant *b* of some postverbs

If we carefully check the fused constructions of the B type introduced in the previous section, it is not difficult to find that postverbs in such fused constructions initiate with a voiceless *p*, e.g. *e:tpä-* 'try to tell' (18: 656), *qïpä-* 'try to do' (18: 314). The same is also true for some fused forms of the A type, e.g. *bïř paqaj* 'I try to go' (21: 168), in which the initial bilabial consonat of the postverbs *bär-*, *bař-* and *baq-* are assimilated to the consonant *p* of the preceding converb. In other words, forms such as *e:tpä-*, *qïpä-* and *bïř paq-* certainly come through the intermediate forms **ejtip pä(ř)-*, **qïlïp pä(ř)-* and **berip paq-*, and the forms such as *kitipa-* 'ongoing' (18: 255, < **kitip pa(r)-* < *ketip bar-* 'walking go'), *jitipa-* 'arrive' (18: 306, < **jetip pa(r)-* < *jetip bar-*) and *ečipaq-* 'try to open' (18: 471, < **ečip paq* < *ečip baq-* 'opening try') also result from the same fusion process.

In certain cases, the stem vowel of the lexical verb might also be changed due to the regressive assimilation of the vowel in the postverb, especially, the front low vowel *ä* in *dä-* 'to say' changes to *a* when the back syllabic postverbs fuse with the converbial suffix, e.g. *daqoj* 'tell' (< *däp qoj-*), *dapaq* 'try to talk' (< *däp baq-*), etc.

3.2.1.3.2.4 Extreme cases

In the constructions "converb of lexical verbs ending with *l* + postverbs initiating with plosives", the final consonant *l* in a lexical verb might also disappear together with the



entire converbial suffix. However, lexical verbs are monosyllabic in such constructions, especially restricted to specific monosyllabic verbs, namely *al-* 'to take', *sal-* 'to place', *qal-* 'leave', *qïl-* 'do' and *käl-* 'to come'. As a result of this fusion process, converb and postverbs merge into a new unit, being pronounced as one word form. Mostly, the last syllable of the new word form takes the primary accent as observed below in (13).

(13) *a,pa-* 'bring' (17: 253, < *alïp bar-* 'taking go')
*e,kät-* 'take, bring away' (18: 671, < *elïp kät-* 'taking go away')
*qä,qal-* 'leave behind' (40: 6, < *qalip qal-* 'leaving leave')
*kä'qa(l)-* / *keqa(l)-* 'come suddenly' (59: 49, 59: 31, < *kälip* / *kelip qal-* 'coming leave')

Obviously, the new units resulted from this fusion process may express new lexical meanings, being completely merged to a new lexeme as seen in *ekät-* 'bring away', though they mostly keep their actional denotion.

Another extreme case is the fusion of the converb and postverbs in the construction "*–(X)p* converb of the verbs ending with *l* + postverbs *al-* and **at-*". The same as the fusion process described above, the lexical verbs occurring in this postverbial construction are monosyllabic though they are not necessarily restricted to *al-*, *sal-*, *qïl-* and *käl-*. The fricativization of *p* in the converbial suffix in the intervocalic position precedes this fusion process, and the final consonant *l* of the verbal stem is dropped together with the initial vowels of the converbial suffix. (14) provides some typical examples for this fusion process.

(14) *aval-* ~ *äval-* 'take for own' (20: 8, 43: 15, < **alival-* < *alïp al-* 'taking take')
*qïval-* 'do for own' (17: 343, < **qïlival-* < *qïlïp al-* 'doing take')
*savat-* 'put out' (29: 187, < **salivat-* <*salïp at-* 'putting out throw')
*qïvat-* 'do out, complete' (45: 7, < **qïlivat-* < *qïlïp at-* 'doing throw')

In both cases, fusion of the postverbs *at-* and *al-* with the preceding converb, seems to result in new suffixes, *-(A)val* and *–(A)vat*, actually are semi-suffixes, since they are nonharmonic. This suffixation process seems to have started already at the step when the fricativization of the consonant [p] in the converbial suffix takes place, e.g. *körüval-* 'see for own' (< *körüp al-*), *jezivat-* 'write out' (< *jezip at-*), etc. Notably, the suffixation process observed in (14) is also observable in SU and in most dialects of Uyghur.

However, the fusion of postverbs with the preceding converb will be blocked when the converbs occur in negation forms.

(15) *waj qoχmaj paχsïlara däp äkïrïvïkänduq.*
'They said: "Come without fear!", and brought her there.' (30: 17)

*χäq tujammajla qaldu.*
'People do not realize it.' (64: 61)

3.2.1.3.3 Function of some postverbs

Function and meaning of some postverbal constructions in the Turfan dialect clearly differs from those in SU and in the other dialects of Uyghur. The following lines provide a description of some such constructions.

3.2.1.3.3.1 *–a bär-*

As we have mentioned in the previous section, the postverbal construction "converb in -A + *bär-*" developed into two different actional forms: (i) *–(A)vä(r)* and and (ii) *-(I)vä(r)* in the Turfan dialect.

A. *–Avä(r)*

*–Avä(r)* is realized in two phonetical variants, namely *–avä(r)* and *-ävä(r)*, clearly undergoing front/back harmony, e.g. *bar-avä* 'go immediately without thinking', *ič-ävä* 'drink immediately', *qoj-avä* 'simply put it there', *kör-ävä* 'look without thinking'. Most importantly, the syllable comprising the suffix vowel and the last consonant of the preceding verb stem take heavy accent when this suffix is attached to verbal stems, e.g. *a,tavä* 'throw immediately without thinking', *til,avä* 'cut immediately without thinking', *i,čävä* 'drink up immediately'. This suffix signals immediate, speedy action carried out without much consideration.[110]

(16a) *waj patišaji a:läm, mini ajyïř kö:mïgän bajtalnïkï qujruγïγa esïp bajtal kö:mïgän ajyïřnï qojaväsäŋlara* 'O, the king of the world, just bring me to a jungle, tie me to the tail of a mare that has never seen a stallion, and then run a stallion that has never seen a mare after it.' (17: 340)

b) *minïkï šu etimni bayla qo:majla qujaviriptimä etimni bajla qo:sam.* 'I realized I have left my horse in a hurry without tying it up, please allow me to tie it up.' (20: 17)

c) *jïylav jïylav itïgi tošqandïn kïn čača:vägändïn kïn bir tamčä jamγur vulup üzigä tigip jügürüp ornïdïn qupuptu.* 'He cried and cried and immediately sprinkled his tears when his skirt was full (with tears). A teardrop dripped through the skylight and fell on her face, and she stood up. (67: 144-145)

d) *bu tayïγïnï atavägändikïn bu tayaq taγ vop tusajdikän.* 'She immediately threw her comb and the comb blocked the (infidel's) way having become a mountain.' (68: 29)

(e) *pulum ba däp käsäŋla män häřamgä ammajmä u gipiŋlanï däp näččïsini silkip čïqïřavädim.* 'If you come here saying: "I have money", I don't care for you. I have said this and sent some people immediately away.' (60: 92)

(f) *andïn bäš jüz qojnï hajdaviripla mämu maŋaj sizlä vilän qušulup däp javanus junus qetï-*

110 Very interestingly, this function and meaning of *–(A)vä(r)* shows great similarity to those of *-i ver-* found in a Turkish dialect spoken in Anatolia, see Demir 1993: 55-57.



*lïp altï voldï bula.* '[The shepherd immediately drove his five hundred sheep away, and said: "Let me join you". They became six when joined by Yavanus Yunus.' (19: 44-45)

Very often the postverb *al-* precedes *–Avä(r)* in the Turfan dialect, mostly occurring in the form of *–alivä*. Basically, this complex actional unit expresses very speedy, extensive action (17a-c), sometimes also careless action as seen in (17d, e).

(17a) *a:χïrï u qïz buldu mã to: qïlaj däp nika küni jïniγa bïř ustrunï tiqiväptu, huǰuřγa kïřgändä jutïsi qursüγï hämisigi tilalïviriptu.* 'Then the girl said: "Well, let me marry (him)." On the day of wedding she had hidden a razor at her side. Waiting until (Sultan Mamut) entered the room, she cut his thigh, stomach and all of his body that she could.' (20: 59-61)

b) *heliqï čambaš taza majnaχsïγa köxläp čïqïp putïnï heliqï pärlivatqan pängä paqqidä täpälïvirip taχlap čüšüptu.* 'The boxer jumped (towards the roof), kicked in the board used to decorate the roof and jumped down.' (23: 48)

c) *anda vüsa hen čïq digäŋkin biššïnïmu čïqařdï karttïdïla qojdïdä bunï beššï bijniγa čüšüp tinï nejnida qaldï beššïnïmu äp tinigä tirälivirip lajnï čaplap itivätti ijäni.* '[The vezir said: "If so, come out", and he attacked immediately as [the mullah] stuck his head out of the cave. His head fell here, and his body was left there. [The vezir] immediately put the head back with the body, and then filled in the hole.' (17: 107-109)

d) *dadam šunda γärätlik ädïmikä šundaχ däpla juttïsïni silalïvirip iššäxni minip kïtälivägïnikä.* 'It is told that my father was a very energetic person. My father said that, and just felt his thigh and left there riding his donkey.' (29: 66-67)

e) *šamal kïršïma jatalivirdïγïnikämmiz biz bijäni ädämlïri.* 'Reportedly, we, the local people of this place, used to sleep without carrying about the wind.' (7: 7)

B. *–Ivä(r)*

This suffix occurs in two phonetical forms *–ïvä(r)* and *–ivä(r)*, undergoing front/back harmony. Actually, the initial vowel of this suffix results from the reduction of the vowel *a* of the original converb suffix. In the actional forms formed by attaching the suffix *-(I)vä(r)* to verbal stems, the last syllable of the suffix takes the primary accent. Notably, a similar suffixation process also takes place in SU, but in which the suffix is fourfold, undergoing both front/back and labial harmony. Both the Turfan dialect suffix *-(I)vä(r)* (18a) and SU *–(X)vär* (18b) signal continuous action carried out uninterruptedly and carelessly.

(18a) *šu jatqan pitičä jïti,vägän χäχ bu.* 'They slept and slept continuously.' (19: 130)

*hä, nim boldï? o:turi,vädi paraŋ sep.* '[The child asked:] "What happened?" and still kept sitting there chatting [with others].' (17: 192)

b) *u dadamniŋ agahlandurušliriya qarimaj här küni mäs kelivärdi*. 'He kept drunken returning though my father warned him several times.'

*mehmanlarniŋ öjgä kirginini körgän bolsammu ornumdin heč qopqum kälmidi-dä kitapqa qarap olturivärdim*. 'I saw the guests entered the house, but I did not want to stand up and kept sitting there looking at the book'

*oqušiŋni oqivär, bašqa išlar bilän kariŋ bolmisun*. 'Keep to your studies, do not care about other things'.

The initial suffix vowel in *–(I)vä(r)-* might also be heavily stressed in the Turfan dialect, expressing an ironic, satiric sense in imperative sentences, e.g. *ja,zivä!* 'Write so carelessly!', *ji,tivä* 'Sleep so carelessly!'. Presumably, this meaning of *–(I)vä(r)* is secondary and was developed after the *a bä(r)-* construction had developed into the previously discussed two different morphological forms.

3.2.1.3.3.2 *–p kät-*

In SU and in the Kashghar dialect *–p kät-* basically expresses suddenness and intensiveness. Below, (19a) provides some examples from SU, and the examples given in (19b) are from the Kashghar dialect

(19a) *unuŋ öjidin qajtip kelivatqinimizda jamyur yeyip kätti*. 'It suddenly rained when we were returning from his home.'

*kün issip kätti, qalyan gäp bolsa, sabirbäg, kächä hawa säl salqinliyanda sözlišäjli*. 'The weather suddenly became hot. If you have others, Sabirbäg, lets talk in the evening when it becomes cool.'

b) *čaqqan kliŋ, ämčäx seliŋ! baliŋiz mini küräpla žiylap kätti-yu*. ‚Please come quickly, and put your child to breast! Your child saw me and suddenly cried out.'

*taγiŋiz žürügüm ayrïdi däv žürüp biž küni etizliqta žïqïlip čüšti. öjdä iškki kün jetipla üläp kätti*. 'Your uncle said his heart hurts, and once laid down in the field. Just afterwards he stayed at home in bed for two days, then suddenly passed away.'

In the Turfan dialect, *-p kät* may also express intensiveness and sudden action just like in SU and in the Kaghar dialect as seen in (20).

(20) *päzilaxan γuǰamnï minidïyan etï taydïn sejlip kiti ülü qaldï*. 'Unexpectedly, our Saint Pazilakhan's horse died when it slipped down from the mountain.' (22: 78)

However, the most frequent and common meaning of *–p kät-* is completeness in the Turfan dialect as exemplified in (21).



(21) *oŕniya kälämdu, jäp kätti jerimini, uniŋki*. 'You know, it was too late to think this way, since it had already eaten half [of the horse].' (18: 276)

*bizdä bir kitap ba, män neççi qata küri kettim*. 'We have a book, and I read it several times' (64: 43)

*taŋ äŕtisi naštini qï kitip, äŋkin, hej ana, qača yosa biriŋ digänikänduq*. 'The next day morning [the prince] finished eating his breakfest and asked: "O mum, please give me a bowl."' (18: 379)

*käsiŋizlä amdan buluŕkän, u mäjällädä biz üzümni üzü kätkän nimä*. 'It would be very nice if you could come. At that time we have completed picking the grapes.' (Turpanligharisi)

*abdikäräm lä imtanni biri kätkänisigä ürümčigä sizläni juqlap čïqurmiz*. 'We may go to Urumchi to visit you soon after Abdukeräm and others have completed their exam.' (Turpanligharisi)

*čaŋï iči kitip oturup eŋkin hej ana dividi*. 'After the tea (lit. having completed drinking the tea), [the prince] waited for a while and called: "Mum."' (18: 366)

*biŕ tümän kejläni u bala ikki ajlada išliti kitip jänä pul vamu däp kildu öjgä*. 'That child spends an amount like ten thousand in about two months and comes home asking: "Do you have more money?"' (Lükchün)

*heliqï imam qerï a däm büyaŋkin imam mušunda qüpqïčä allahu äkbäŕ däpla qulaqni qeqï kittu nijaz usta*. 'Since that Imam was an old man, Niyaz Usta completed pressing his ears saying Allāhu Akbār until the Imam stood up.' (29: 50)

*biŕ küni sorajdïyan näsilärni hämmini sorap könä äχlaqlarni insallarï äχlaqlïrini hämmini tälim tärbijä biri kätkändikin andin änkizä bunï kuŋzi soraptu*. 'One day, after having asked all the questions and completed giving all the instructions concerning the old traditions and human morality, Confucius asked [Wenwang's child] this question: ...' (3: 11)

*jetti kalənï biŕ kala jä kätti*. 'The single cow ate the seven cows up.' (17: 313)

Note that completeness is mainly expressed with another postverbal construction *–p bol-* both in SU and in the Kashghar dialect.

In some instances, *-p kät-* may also express unfavorably continued action in the Turfan dialect.

(22) *märägdäp kägällä turu kittu*. 'Those who came to congratulate him waited there for a long time'. (29: 149)

*šunuŋ vilän bu γuǰamla jatqančä jetï kätkän*. 'So, those Saints have been sleeping here since they went to sleep at that time.' (19: 181)

However, the usage of *–p kät-* as seen in (22) is not unique to the Turfan dialect.

In contrast to SU and the Kashghar dialect, *-p bol-* is used quite rarely to express completeness in the Turfan dialect, occasionally occurring in the speech of a limited number of mostly educated speakers.

(23) *šu gaɣlada χičïř χävärčikänduq de:du, bïř kïči kündüzlädä ürümčigä čïqï puldïkänduq.* 'Reportedly, a mule was used as an information carrier at that time. It could arrive in Urumchi within a day and night.' (28: 58)

3.2.1.3.3.3 *–p baq-*

In the Turfan dialect, *-p baq-* basically expresses an attempted action like in SU and in the Kashghar dialect.

(24) *bizgä bïř aj qïrχ kün ruχsät qïsaŋ amdan kitaplanï čarlap izdäp baqïni däptu.* '[The Akhuns] said: "Please give us one month or fourty days time, we will try to check the books well."' (17: 178)

*mä bïř beř paqaj.* 'Let me go.' (lit. Let me try to go there.) (41: 7)

*mammu šunï bïř aŋnap-paqqan büsam.* 'Please let me also hear the answer.' (18: 628)

*bïř waχtïda ujχun paqïnï däp ujχansa taza pišïŋgä jeqïn bïř waχ voptu.* 'Some time later they tried to awake, and awoke; they found it was nearly time for midday prayers.' (19: 67)

However, in the examples cited below, *-p baq-* seems to express temporary action or an action simply carried out rather than the attempted one.

(25) *imamaččilïxni bïř äpïř paχsaŋla vomamdu?* 'How about you let me take the Imamship for a while?' (29: 37)

*ǰimaraq tuřpaχsaŋlara, mä munu išni bïř qïvasam.* 'How about you stay silent for a while, and allow me to finish this work.' (Lükchün)

*bizni mäjlidä ämdi bïř šodüj dä paqïmïs.* 'We just call our village one xiaodui.' (55: 7)

*kuŋzini bïř gipini bijägä qïsturu quju paχtuq disïna.* 'You see, we just added a Confucius story here.' (3: 25)

In some instances, *-p baq-* may also express completeness and speedy action in the Turfan dialect.



(26) *taynï astïndïn mal vaqqili čïqïp bulaχlani köř peqïp uruq bïř neči dan buɣdajlanï ečïqï tašla qujup ...* 'They came from the Lower Mountain to raise sheep, saw the springs and brought some wheat seeds, and threw them on the ground.' (55: 43-45)

*unumu busurup o:tuřpeqïp jen bïř bälgä viriŋ majnaχ nimilä vilä iš hal vumajdu dividi ...* 'He sat on the dress and said: "Please give me one more sign, such things do not help."' (18: 651-652)

*boldi, unuŋ alimä digän numuřini biři paχsina.* 'OK, just give him the points that he wants to have.' (Qaraghoja)

3.2.1.3.4 Combination of postverbs

Usually only one postverb may occur in postverbal constructions in the Turfan dialect. However, in certain cases, two postverbs may also occur one after another, mostly occuring in heavily fused forms. In this case, the first postverb seems to function as a converbial base for the following postverb. Every postverb may keep their original basic function though the whole postverb construction denotes rather complicated actional meanings.[111] Similar to the case of suffixes, the occurrence of postverbs follows the basic rule of suffixation in agglutinative languages.

(27a) *čüšümgä čaqan täbïř et, män ada vop kitparimä.*[112] 'Explain my dream immediately, I am very much terrified."' (17: 292)

b) *taŋ atqïčä on aravida bu altun kümüš tařtuq a:qa išiktin kïřkitparïdäk*[113] '[He found] that gold, silver and other presents had been transported there with ten chariots from the back door by daybreak.' (28: 50)

c) *čašqandïn bïřsïni tutuŋna, tussaŋla jäŋni ičige tïqïvep bunï aχšimi bula taza qïzïqqan waχtïda asta qujpïřpaqïnï.*[114] 'Capture a mouse when you pull down a wall. When you have captured one, let's hide the mouse in our sleeves, and release it out quietly when they are gambling intently.' (19: 19-20)

d) *budaj jillïχ čïqïmnï kütüramiyaŋkin tox vilä pulya setivavatqaŋkin*[115] ... 'Wheat could not cover annual expenses since you have to pay for electricity as well as for other things ...' (57: 45)

As we have seen, various postverbs may be combined: In the case of (27a) and (27b)

111 As far as we know, in Kirim Tatar and Nogay similar combination of postverbs is possible. See Doerfer 1959: 389; Csató-Karakoç 1998: 338.
112 This construction originates from *ada bolup ketip barimän*.
113 This construction originates from *kirip ketip barïdäk*.
114 This construction originates from *qojup berip baqïnï*.
115 This construction originates from *setip elivatqandïn kejin*.

*bar-* which signals continuous action, follows the postverb *kät-* signalling intensivity. In the case of (27c), the postverb *baq-* occurs after the postverb construction *-p bär-*, adding the meaning of attempted action; And in the last example, the postverbal suffix *vat-* signals currently continued action occurring after *–p al-*. Obviously, in all cases, postverbs heavily fuse with preceding converbs. In the last case, *jat-* occurs as *–vat*, clearly developing into a suffix of intraterminality.

3.2.1.3.5 Insertion of other elements

"Postverbal phrases have a common actancy pattern, and insertion of elements between the two verbs forms is heavily restricted" (Johanson 1998a: 42). This is also the case for SU and for the Turfan dialect postverbial constructions. However, particle *la* might be very often inserted between the converbs in *–(X)p* and postverbs in the Turfan dialect, mostly between the converb and the postverb *tuř-*, stressing repeated continuation of an action.

(28) *patiša ändikin hej nimi äkäsäm kilisä däp surəsaŋ vomamdu? unï apasam kä midi bunï apasam kä midi däp hini käpla turamsä? käš vop kittvassa*. 'Then the king said: "Hey, why not ask him: 'What should I bring in order for you to get there?' Why do you come back repeatedly saying: 'He wouldn't come when I brought this and that?'"' (17: 252-253)

*ıtnı baš küzigä urup qojlüsa it unümaj miŋipla tuřyandikin ämdi puttïnï kisiŋna bunuŋ däptu*. 'They attacked the head and face of the dog, but it still followed them. Then, they said: "Cut off its legs!"' (19: 51-52)

*tıllapla tuřyïdäk sürännı sep*. 'He cursed and cursed, and cursed very loud.' (18: 133)

*taza quru kätkän gandïnı tepïp qaγazγa jö gap äkeptu, mušunï čišläp süji čïχsa jütkıtıpla tuřsüla čišlerı tuχtap qaldu digäŋkin*... '[Molla Zedin] found a piece of terribly dried excrement, wrapped it with paper, and brought it to [the Jasak Prince]. [He] said: "Please chew this, and change it if water comes from it. Your tooth pain will disappear soon."' (24: 19-20)

*biz pul tapsaq ajalnï quluγa tutquzupla qujïmïz*. 'If we earn money, we just have ladies hold it.' (60: 44)

*bïř ülüm jïtïm išla vusïma tügïtïvïtıpla hä patšajım majda majda iš voldï dısïla hä däpla ütüpla turïdïyïnikä*. 'The king approved very easily even death cases just listening to the right-hand vezir's simple explanations such as "it was so-and-so."' (17: 6)

The particle *mu* might also be inserted between converbs and postverbs as seen in the examples listed in (29), but it is not so frequent in the Turfan dialect. So far we have only found the three examples cited below.



(29) *mušu nušuř gaŋmu dünjaniŋ nimisidin gaŋ vop a:lämni soravatïdu, biz šunuŋγa išlävatïmïz, biznïŋmï dünjajïmïz vosa tatvasaχmu alilušmïz bunï*. (17: 13-15) 'King Nushur became ruler and has been dominating the country because of his treasure. We are working for him. Perhaps we can seize [his throne] if we also have treasure.'

*eŋïz terïm ajaγlaštï, biz tünögün terip tügättuq qonaχlanï, bäzällä teripmu batïdu*.[116] 'Cultivation of stubble-fields is ended, yesterday we completed cultivating the corn and others, but some people are still cultivating.' (Toxsun)

*bu janduř pïřmä dävatqaŋkın sürvasïmu aluřla*. 'This man is saying he will return [the dinars], just let him apply these dinars.' (18: 103)

3.2.1.4 Converb in *–GIII* + Auxiliary verb constructions

Two auxiliary verbs, *tur-* and *jat-* may compose "*–GIII* converb + auxiliary verb" constructions in the Turfan dialect, expressing intention, beginning of an action, etc.[117]

3.2.1.4.1 Converb in *–GIII + tur-*

In the Turfan dialect combination of *–GIII* converb with *tur-* signals the beginning of an action.

(30) *jučuχtïn šamal kïřgïli tuřdïγu, bïřm tepïp iti qosïna*. 'Look, the wind started entering from the crack, please find something and block it.' (Lükchün)

*mejmalla kägïli tuřdi, čaqan tutuš qïlïnï*. 'Guests started coming, let us began (cooking) immediately.' (Turpanlıgharisi)

*bäšinčajnïŋ aχïřleřda jüjäm pišqïli tuřdu*. 'At the end of May, mulberry starts ripening.' (Yanghe)

The same meaning is expressed by "*–GIII + qop-*" (to stand up) in the Khotan dialect as seen in (31a), while SU mostly uses the "*–GIII + bašla-*" construction to express such ingressive meaning (31b).

(31a) *bala jana jïγlïγïlï qoptï* 'The child started crying again'.

b) *azat azraq uχlapla jänä išligïli bašlïdï*. 'Azat slept for a while, and then started working again'.

In some instances, the whole "*–GIII + tur-*" construction may also combine with the postverb *kät-* in the Turfan dialect, functioning as a complex lexical base for postverbs. In this case, *kät-* adds the meaning of intensivity.

116 Note that in this example *bat-* actually goes back to *jat-* and the whole construction signals intraterminality.

117 Similar constructions are also found in Old Turkic, cf. Erdal 1998: 153, Erdal 2004: 254-255.

(32) *šunuŋ vilä mäxtäp päxtäpkimu ba majla atəsïnï quju qoγan nä silïrni uquγïlï turu kätti bu ändikin.* 'After that he didn't go to school anymore, and began to intensively read the book, which his father had left for him.' (17: 164)

*ula tamaχmu ičmäjla ičkili turu kätti qaraŋ.* 'Look, they started drinking even having not (eaten) his food.' (Pichan)

3.2.1.4.2 Converb in *–GIII + jat-*

The auxiliary verb jat- is very often used together with the *–GIII* converb in the Turfan dialect, actually merging into the form -γilivat. The phonological condition of such a merging process is not quite clear, but the whole unit denotes intentionality or expresses the meaning of 'nearly …'.[118]

(33) *mejmalla kätkilivatidu, χoš dä qujup kiräj.* 'The guests are going to return, I will return to say "good-bye"' (Turpanligharisi)

*jamγur jaqqilivatidu, čaqan kitini.* 'It is going to rain, let us leave quickly.' (Yanghe)

*čiraq öčkilivatidu, maj ǰalap qosïna.* 'The light is nearly out, please add some oil.' (Lükchün)

*χimiř juγuryilivatidu, bizni mäzim, o turuŋuzla.* 'My wife is going to knead the dough, please remain sitting.' (Lükchün)

3.2.2 Finite forms

3.2.2.1 Habitual past marked with *–(I)dïγan*

In SU as well as in the Kasghar dialect *-(I)dIγan* functions as an intraterminal participle, mostly occurring in the form *-(I)tqan* in the Kashghar dialect. It is less focal both in SU and in the Kasghar dialect, e.g. *män oqujdïγan mäktäp* 'the school where I study' (SU), *dejtqan gipim ba* 'I have something to say' (Kashghar). In the Turfan dialect, *-(I)dIγan*, mostly occurs in the form of *–(I)dïγã*, being used in the same function as those in SU and the Kashghar dialect, e.g. *išändüridïγan järi* 'a convincing point (19: 8; lit. the point in which one trusts'), *amdã altun biridïγã balïkän* 'This child gives good gold' (18: 380, lit. a boy who gives good gold'), etc. The intervocalic *γ* in the suffix might be deleted when *–(I)dïγan* used as intraterminal participle mostly in the texts recorded in Lükchün and Murtuq, e.g. *mal vaqidan ädämlä* (56: 35) 'the people who are shepherds' (= shepherds), *aravalada manïdan zamalla* 'At that time people rode chariots' (18: 446, lit. an era in which people used chariots to move).

Furthermore, *–(I)dïγan ~ (I)dïγã* functions as a finite verb form in the Turfan dialect, envisaging habitual past events.

118 Recently, some dictionaries and grammar books on SU began to introduce this form to written Uyghur as a standard form though it is not used in SU except by writers from the Turfan region.



(34) *ular bizni ö-gä köp kil-idïγan.*
they our house: DIR many come: HabPST
'They used to come often to our house/family'. (Lükchün)

*biz kičig-imiz-dä billä ojna-jdïγan.*
we small: 1PlPOSS-LOC together play: HabPST
'We used to play together in our childhood.' (Pichan)

*turpan-da kariz nahajit köp bul-ïdïγan.*
Turfan: LOC karez very many have: HabPST
'In Turfan there used to be many karez.' (Murtuq)

*gomindaŋ-ni gaχt-ï-da mišä-dä iki baj*
Guomindang: GEN time: 3POSS-LOC here: LOC two rich man
*vul-duγan.*
have: HabPST
'There were two rich people here during the Guomindang era.' (58: 2)

As we will see from the examples below, such habitual past is marked with *–at* (< *–Ar* + simple past of the copular *är-*) in SU as seen in (35a) and with *-Xt* in the Kashghar dialect as exemplified in (35b).

(35a) *ular kona bir bina-da oltur-atti.*
they old one building: LOC stay: HabPST
'They used to stay in an old building.'

b) *biz u čaγ-da χeli inaq üt-ittuq.*
we that time: LOC fairly harmonic pass: HabPST
'At that time we used to get along fairly well.'

3.2.2.2 Intraterminal *–(X)vattu*

Generally, the focal intraterminal marker *–(X)vatidu* occurs in a rather advanced phonetical shape *–(X)vattu* in the Turfan dialect, focusing on the action currently going on just like *–(X)vatidu* in SU.

(36) *helïqï hämra-ler-i änkin nimi qï-vattu bu qaro*
that friend: Pl-3POSS then what do: INTR this blind
*däp ke-ptu.*
saying come: EvPST
'Then his friends came, wondering why this blind man was acting so.' (18: 134)

### 3.2.2.3 Modal forms

#### 3.2.2.3.1 Imperative

The imperative is marked in several ways in the Turfan dialect. A very simple and common form of the 2nd person singular imperative is expressed by verb stem (include voice, negation forms and postverb constructions) same as in SU and in the other dialects of Uyghur. Interestingly, in the case of verb *jürü-* 'to go', it may be used as normal imperative form, while *jüro* is favoured by males, mostly being also used by aged or upper class speakers; see the footnote to text 22: 21. There are other common imperative forms marked by means of various personal suffixes, in which normal vs. polite is clearly differentiated.

Table 3-10 Paradigms of imperative suffixes

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2 sg | normal | *-(X)ŋ, -sïna* |
| | polite | *-sIŋIz, -sIŋïza* |
| 2 Pl | normal | *-(X)ŋlA ~ (X)ŋnA, -sAŋlara, -sIlara* |
| | polite | *-(I)ŋizlä, —(X)ŋizlara* |

SU and the Kasghar dialect only display *-(X)ŋ, -sIŋIz* for the 2nd person singular and *-(X)ŋla(r)* for plural, but do not distinguish normal and polite forms. The origin of the Turfan dialect *–sïna* is unclear,[119] but *–sIŋïz* certainly results from the fusion of the conditional suffix *–sA* and the 2nd person personal suffix, while *–sIŋïza* goes back to *–sIŋïz* + particle *a*. The same particle also occurs as a part of the 2nd person plural imperative *–sAŋlara* and the polite plural *-(I)ŋizlara*. The personal suffix *–XŋlA* is realized in the forms of *–(X)ŋla ~ -(X)ŋna, -(X)ŋlä ~ -(X)ŋnä* in the Turfan dialect, in which the last element exhibits morphonological variants both with front and back vowels. Needless to note that *–(X)ŋnA* results from the progressive nasal assimilation; for details see phonology.

Normal singular imperative forms *-(X)ŋ, -sïna* and the plural normal imperative forms *-XŋlA ~ -XŋnA* express rather strong order or command as seen in (37a), while the remaining forms mostly express suggestions and requests of the speaker (37b).

(37a) *a:-sïna* *bu* *bïrmä-ŋ-ni.*
take: 2sgIMPER this thing: 2sgPOSS-ACC
'Take this thing back!' (18: 146)

*qunaχ* *čaŋla-ŋna*
corn hoe: 2PlIMPER
'Hoe the corn there!' (31: 30)

119 Qasim's materials recorded from Lükchün show that the 3rd person imperative suffix *–sun* also expresses a polite request to the 2nd person, e.g. *gezäklä:din a:sun* 'Please try sweets'. Cf. Qasim 2002, p. 63. It is rather common in the Turfan dialect, though our text materials do not display such examples.



*qasu* *saʔχ* *vü-sa* *šu-nï* *čïk-ivït-iŋna.*
which healthy is: COND that: ACC punch: PostV-2PlIMPER
'Punch his healthy eye!' (34: 16)

*üš* *kün* *öt-käŋ-kin* *aʔt-la-ni* *min-iŋlä* *däp*
three day pass: PstPple horse: Pl-ACC ride: 2PlIMPER saying
'After three days passed, he said: "Ride the horses!"' (34: 40)

*baza-dïn* *taŋši* *ekir-iŋnä.*
bazaar: ABL black mulberry jam bring: 2PlIMPER
'Bring black mulberry jam from the bazaar!' (32: 16)

*kitap* *kür-ünŋnä,* *bu* *nimi* *iš* *bu?*
book see: 2PLIMPER this what matter this
'[The king ordered his wise men]: "Look at the books! What does this signify?"' (19: 172-173)

b) *käš* *vo* *qal-dï,* *čaqan-araq* *maŋ-sïŋïza.*
late become PostV: SPST quick: COMP walk: 2POLIMPER
'It is nearly to dark, please walk quicklier.' (Pichan)

*bala-m* *uχli-sïŋïza.*
child: 1sgPOSS sleep: 2POLIMPER
'O, my child, please sleep.' (18: 345)

*χalti-diki* *hämmi-si-ni* *quj-sïŋïza.*
sack: LOC all: 3POSS-ACC pour: 2POLIMPER
'Would you please put in all (the millet) from your sack?' (18: 316)

*birä* *däm* *tim* *o:tuř-paχ-saŋlara.*
a little time silently sit: PostV-2PlPOLIMPER
'How about sitting a little time silently.' (Pichan)

*kelär* *jil-i-mu* *kä:-si-ŋizlära.*
next year: 3POSS-PART come: COND-2PlPOLIMPER
'Could you please come next year again.' (Yanghe)

In certain cases, plural normal imperative forms *–(X)ŋlA ~ -(X)ŋnA* and *–sIlara* may also function as polite forms, agreeing with the polite pronoun *sizlä* 'you', but never with another polite pronoun *özlä*.

(38) *sizlä* *bizä* *täχïř qïl-iŋlä*
you a little wait: 2PlIMPER
'Please wait for a moment.' (23: 51)

*sizlä bügün kitip tur-uŋna.*
you today leave: PostV: 2PlIMPER
'Please return today temporarily.' (Turpanligharisi)

*waj qoχ-maj paχ-sïlara.*
INTER fear: NEGCONV PostV: 2PLIMPER
'Please do not be afraid at all.' (30: 17)

However, in the first two cases the forms *täχïr qïl-ıŋızlä* and *kitip turıŋızla* are mostly expected. Interestingly, *dısına*, the 2nd person singular imperative form of *dä-*, expresses confirmation of the speaker, mostly occurring after the simple past.

(39) *ata-m-mu unuŋ vilä kät-ti dısına*
father: 1sgPOSS-PART his with: leave: SPST say
'You see, my father also left with him.' (Turpanligharisi)

3.2.2.3.2 Optative

The same as in SU and in the Kashghar dialect, the 1st person singular optative is marked with *–(A)j* in the Turfan dialect, e.g. *mäxtäpkä äpiri qujaj* 'Let me bring him to a school' (17: 129). However, a 1st person plural optative is formed by adding *–(I)nI ~ (j)nI* to verbal stems in the Turfan dialect, while SU forms it with *–(A)jli* and the Kashghar dialect with *–(X)lI*. The inflection of some verbs given below illustrates actual distribution of the 1st person plural optative markers in the Turfan dialect, showing their difference from those in SU and the Kashghar dialect.

Table 3-11 Plural optative markers

| Verbs | Turfan | SU | Kashghar |
|---|---|---|---|
| bar- 'go' | bar-ïnï | bar-ajlı | bar-ılı |
| kät- 'go away' | kıt-ını | ket-äjlı | kıt-ılı |
| bašla- 'start' | bašla-jnı | bašla-jlı | bašla-jlı |
| soj- 'slaughter' | suj-ïnï | soj-ajlı | suj-ılı ~ suj-ulı |
| üz- 'pick up' | üz-ını | üz-äjlı | üz-ılı ~ üz-ülı |

In most cases, the initial vowels in the 1st person plural optative might be deleted in the Turfan dialect when it is attached to verbal stems ending with *l*, e.g. *arımal-nï* 'Let's take a rest' (19: 64), *patšalïχnï tatval-nï* 'Let's seize the throne' (17: 41). The 1st person plural optative is realized in two forms *–nï* and *–nı* in negation forms, e.g. *bügün a-manï* 'Let's not go today' (Lükchün), *ämdi kö-mä-nı* 'Let's not see anymore' (Saykariz).

Generally, the 1st person optative expresses the wish and suggestion of the speaker in the Turfan dialect (40a),[120] while the another form *–(I)na* mostly signals the decision of the speaker or express an arrogant hue used by aged or upper class speakers (40b).

120 It seems to be the fusion of the first person plural optative *-(I)nI* with particle *a*.



(40a) *üzüm tix paq-ını.*
grapevine plant PostV: 1PlOPT
'Let's try to plant grapevines.' (57: 7)

*jürü, bügün kit-ip ätä kıl-ını.*
go today leave: CONV tomorrow come: 1PlIMPER
'Come on, let's go back today and come tomorrow (again).' (Turpanligharisi)

*andaχ vŭ-sa bız eyınï vul-nı.*
like that become: COND we friend become: 1PlIMPER
'If so, let's be friends.' (17: 28)

b) *mäsulati amdan bo-γan-dı-kın mušu-nı tık-ına.*
product good is: PSTPART-ABL-POSTP this: ACC grow: 1PlIMPER
'Since the production was good, [people said:] "Lets just grow this."' (57: 11)

*jürü, u-ma kä:-mĭ-dı, kıt-ına.*
go he: PART come: NEG-SPST leave: 1PlIMPER
'Come on, he also didn't come, let's go back.' (Lükchün)

*jüro billä mını vilä bıllä gučuŋ-γa*
come together I: GEN with together Guchung: DIR
*vir-ip pĭrqïla-p kıl-na.*
go: CONV travel: CONV come: 1PlIMPER
'Come on, go with me to Guchung, let's travel there together.' (22: 21)

It is needless to note that SU and the other dialects of Uyghur do not display *-(I)na*, which is unique to the Turfan dialect.

In discourse, the 1st person plural optative, and in some occasions also the 2nd person optative, might also be used to express suggestions and orders from the speaker, functioning just like the 2nd person plural imperative.

(41) *bal-la-nï qïšqır-ını, šopur-la-nı-mu qïšqır-ını.*
child: Pl-ACC call: 1PlIMPER driver: Pl-ACC-PART call: 1PlIMPER
'Please call the children, please also call the drivers.' (Toxsun)

*patïša sorə-sa tap-tuχ de-jni.*
king ask: COND find: 1PlSPST say: 1PlIMPER
'Please tell [the king] 'we found it' when the king asks [you].' (17: 206)

*hej ruzi äpändim, je-jna.*
O Rozi Mr. eat: 2OPT
'O, Mr. Rozi, please take (the food).' (Lükchün)

The 3rd person optative is marked with *–sun* in the Turfan dialect, basically expressing a demand as we found in SU and in the other dialects of Uyghur. However, In the texts recorded from Lükchün and Tuyuq we found *–γaj* and *-(X)šila* was also used as the 3rd person optative, out of them the latter used to express a wish in a very polite way.

(42) *qa-sə-mu* *qa:-γaj-mu* *jä*
leave: COND-PART leave: 3OPT-PART INTER
'Is it all right if we leave it incomplete?' (17: 267)

*γuǰam-nï* *ümr-i-ni* *uzun* *bul-ušïla,* *dölt-i*
Saint: GEN life: 3POSS-GEN long become: 3OPT realm: 3POSS
*uzun* *bul-ušïla.*
long become: 3OPT
'May you have long life, may your realm continue long!' (22: 140-141)

The form *–(X)šïla* exists also in the Kashghar dialect, but it functions as 2nd person plural imperative, expressing a request from the speaker to several addressees. In most cases, fulfilling of such a request is obligatory as a general rule.

(43) *toj kün* *čirajlïq* *kïjin-išïla,* *χošal χoram* *tur-ušïla.*
weddings day beautiful dress: 2PlIMPER stay happy: 2PlIMPER
'On the wedding day you should dress beautifully and always stay happy.'

Notably, this form does not exist in SU or the other dialects of Uyghur.

Once we found the 3rd person imperative clearly pronounced with a close-mid rounded vowel *o*, occurring as *–son* in a text recorded in Lükchün.

(44) *išïk-ni* *eč-i* *pïr-iŋna* *kïř-son*
door: ACC open: CONV PostV: 2PlIMPER enter: 3IMPER
'Open the door, and let him enter.' (18: 36)

3.2.2.3.3 Aorist

In Old Turkic all poly- and monosyllabic derival verbs, including limited underival verbal stems ending in consonants, take *–Ur* for the aorist theme, whereas all monosyllabic underival verbal stems ending in consonants take *–Ar*. Verbal stems ending in vowels frequently take *–yUr*, and *-r* can also be found in many texts (Erdal 1979: 119-120; Johanson 1989: 99). SU does not display aorist forms initiating with high rounded vowels like Old Turkic. Verbal stems ending in consonants take *–Ar*, whereas verbal stems ending in vowels take *–r*. Generally, *-Ar* only undergoes front/back harmony. Put differently, back verbal stems take *–ar* and front verbal stems take *-är*. The same rule is also true for the Kashghar dialect, but in which the consonant *r* of the aorist suffix is fully deleted, and only the initial low vowels of the aorist suffix



remain. Put differently, the verbal stems ending in consonants take *–A(r)*,[121] and in the case of verbal stems ending in vowels, the final vowel of verbal stems lengthen. However, the situation is quite different in the Turfan dialect. Generally, the aorist of verbal stems ending in consonants is formed with *–Ur*, whereas verbal stems ending in vowels take *–r*. Notably, *-Ur* only contains rounded initial vowels,[122] and undergoes intersyllabic front/back harmony instead of labial harmony. Out of the comparative lists provided below, (3-12a) illustrates the situation of monosyllabic verbal stems, and (3-12b) the situation of polysyllabic verbal stems ending in vowels, whereas (3-12c) the situation of polysyllabic verbal stems ending in consonants.

3-12 Suffixation of aorist forms

| a) | Turfan | SU | Kashghar |
|---|---|---|---|
| bar-'go' | bar-uř | bar-ar | bar-a(r) |
| aš- 'increase' | aš-uř | aš-ar | aš-a(r) |
| qïl- 'do' | qïl-uř | qïl-ar | qïl-a(r) |
| tuγ- 'give birth to' | tuγ-uř | tuγ-ar | tuγ-a(r) |
| bol- 'become' | bul-uř | bol-ar | bul-a(r) |
| uč- 'fly' | uč-uř[123] | uč-ar | uč-a(r) |
| bär- 'give' | bir-ür | ber-är | bir-ä(r) |
| käl- 'come' | kil-ür | kel-är | kil-ä(r) |
| kir- 'enter' | kir-ür | kir-är | kır-ä(r) |
| bil- 'know' | bil-ür | bil-är | bil-ä(r) |
| öt- 'pass' | üt-ür | öt-är | üt-ä(r) |
| sür- 'purge' | sür-ür | sür-är | sür-ä(r) |
| sürt- 'smear' | sür(t)-ür | sürt-är | sü:t-ä(r) |

| b) | Turfan | SU | Kashghar |
|---|---|---|---|
| tašla- 'throw away' | tašlu-ř[124] | tašla-r | tašla:(r) |
| qajna- 'boil' | qajnu-ř | qajna-r | qajna:(r) |
| ojna- 'play' | ojnu-ř | ojna-r | ojna:(r) |
| sora- 'ask' | soru-ř | sora-r | sura:(r) |
| uχla- 'sleep' | uχlu-ř | uχla-r | uχla:(r) |
| käŋrä- 'broaden' | kä:rü-ř | käŋrä-r | käŋrä:(r) |
| išlä- 'work' | išlü-ř | išlä-r | išlä:(r) |
| ilkä- 'prosper' | ilkü-ř | ilkä-r | ilkä(r) |

121 I present this suffix in this way only in order to show [r] is deleted, but it certainly does not mean it occurs occasionally, since the aorist consonant [r] never occurs in the present Kashghar dialect.
122 In our corpus we found *–Ar* only once in *ütär-* (17: 166).
123 *učař* is observable in the frozen phrase *učař quš* 'flying bird', and the *–ař* also in the frozen phrase *aqař su* 'running water'.
124 Here the last vowel of the verbal stem is assimilated to the initial vowel of the suffix, see also the further examples listed.

| c) | Turfan | SU | Kashghar |
|---|---|---|---|
| qajnat- 'to boil' | qajnut-uř | qajnit-ar | qajnit-a(r) |
| täkšür- 'check' | täxšür-ür | täkšür-är | täxšür-ä(r) |
| išit- 'listen' | išt-uř | išt-är | išt-ä(r) |
| öjlän- 'marry' | ö(j)lün-ür | öjlin-ář | ö:lin-ä(r) |
| kötär- 'carry' | kütür-ür | kötür-är | kütür-ä(r) |
| pišur- 'cause to mature' | pišir-uř[125] | pišur-ar | pušur-a(r) |

As seen from the comparison above, there are some other aspects of the aorist suffix in the Turfan dialect. First of all, low vowels are reduced preceded by aorist suffixes, while unrounded vowels in the second syllable in verbal stems often assimilate to rounded vowels in the preceding syllable of verbal stems, e.g. *ojnuř* ← *ojna-ř*.[126] On the other hand, the aorist suffix always takes a strong accent in the Turfan dialect. Secondly, the consonant is not trill [r] like in SU, but tap [ř] in the most regions of Turfan, and always very clearly pronounced. Note that the aorist suffix does not take such a strong accent in SU, and the suffix consonant [r] is very often deleted even in the speech of faithful dictors, though it was required to pronounce such [r] in the standard pronunciation.

Negation form of the aorist is *–mAs* in the Turfan dialect same as in SU and in most dialects of Uyghur, e.g. *bař-mas* 'do(es) not go', *kiř-mäs* 'do(es) not enter', *öt-mäs* 'do(es) not pass', etc.

In the Kathanov's texts edited in Menges 1943 we found the aorist vowel was four-fold, including both low vowels and high labial vowels like in Old Turkic, e.g. *baq-ar* 'take care' (XLV 6), *käl-är* 'comes' (XLV 1), *qoj-ar* 'put' (LV 9), *öt-är* 'pass, live' (LV 21), *qïl-ur* 'do' (LV 22), *jäš-ür* 'release' (LV 11), etc.[127] Moreover, both in Kathanov and Le Coq's texts, the aorist suffix is often used with plural suffixes, occurring in the forms *–(A)rlar* and *–(U)rlar*, e.g. *čač-arlar* (69), *dä-rlär* (77), *al-urlar* (94), *bär-ärlär* (98), *ötkür-ürlär* (141), etc.[128] A plural suffix is even relevant after the negation forms of an aorist, e.g. *–mAslar*. Note that the plural suffix does not occur both after the aorist and its negation forms in the present Turfan dialect. Moreover, the negation form of an aorist is used very rarely in the present Turfan dialect.

125 Notably, the vowel in the second syllable is not [u] but [i] in the Turfan dialect; compare the similar examples from some old and modern languages cited in ED 383b.

126 It is not very certain whether the low vowel in the second syllable is assimilated by the preceding rounded vowel or by the suffix vowel in the following syllable. As far as we know, Old Turkic used to have another aorist suffix *–yUr*, occuring after verbal stems ending in vowels, later its initial consonant *y* is deleted. Cf. Johanson 1976: 130-139; Erdal 1979: 123. We have *išlüř* and *kä:rüř* in the Turfan dialect. The rounded vowel [ü] in both stems cannot simply be explained as the assimilation of the stem vowels to the suffix vowels.

127 Lopnor and Qomul regions also exibhit aorist suffixes with initial rounded vowels whose distribution is almost similar to those in the Turfan dialect. See Osmanov 1999: 64-65; Qumul 1997: 97-98. For the analysis of aorist and aorist-based paradigmes in the Turkic languages, see Johanson 1976.

128 All examples cited here are from Menges 1954, XXXVI. The numbers refer to the line numbers of the same text.



It is not very clear when the low aorist vowels disappeared in the Turfan dialect. In the Kathanov's texts *–Ar* and *–Ur* co-exist, very often occurring in the aorist forms of the same verbal stems. For instance, in Menges 1943 XXXVI, we found both *bär-ärlär* (68) and *bär-ürlär* (91), *kirgürüp qoj-arlar* (99) and *qilip qoj-urlar* (89). However, certain verbal stems seem to only take *–Ar*, whereas certain verbal stems only *–Ur*, e.g. *ič-ärlär* (119, 120, 121), *al-urlar* (56, 94, 103), *qil-urlar* ~ *qilur* (89, LXX 1, 2), *bol-ur* (LXXXII 1, 2, 3 etc.), etc. However, in the Tenishev's texts we only found *–Uř* though the data does not provide sufficient evidence with regard to aorist forms. Probably, sporadic use of the aorist suffix *–Ur* in the Turfan dialect took place between the end of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, followed by an another important functional change in the aorist. As we shall see in (45a), an aorist clearly marks the present tense in Kathanov's texts, contextually occurring alongside with *–aladə* forms. It has developed into *-Idu* in the present Turfan dialect, which is widely used as a less focal intraterminal marker.

(45a) *Birinči ajniŋ on törti Nūruz bolar. Bu Nūruzniŋ qājdesi (:) adämlär jeŋi eŋillar käjädə. Uluq ordalarda nahra karnaj čaladə. Ušaq xalqlar Nūruz küni jäjduryan yïzäsïya somsa saladə. Ušaq qïz, džugallar, jigitlär Nūruz küni bir kün käškäčelik mäjlis ojnajdə. Čoŋ amaldalar ol küni qirya čïqïp uruq čečip »jil örüldi!« däp kün qilip-qojar. Andïn kelip Nūruz namäzi däp Nūruz käčesi tört räkät namäz ötäp jurtniŋ hāqïya duā qilur.* (Menges 1976, XII 1-7) 'Am 14. des Monates ist Neujahr. Es ist Neujahrssitte, an diesem Tage neue Kleider anzuziehen. In den Häusern der Grossen macht man Musik mit Pauken und Trompeten. Kleine Leute nehmen am Neujahrstag *somsa* zur Speise (eine gekochte Fleischspeise). Kleine Mädchen, jung verheiratete Frauen und junge Männer spielen *mäjlis* beim Neujahrsfest einen Tag lang bis spät in die Nacht hinein. Hohe Beamte gehen an diesem Tage ins Feld hinaus, streuen Samen aus und sprechen: »Wieder hat sich ein jahr gewendet« und machen diesen Tag (so zum Neujahrstag). Wenn sie zurückgekommen sind, beten sie in der Neujahrsnacht das sogenannte Neujahrsgebet mit viermaliger Verneigung; sie beten für das Land.

b) *Säpär ajda bu Turpān xalqi baxtïni tiläsä, Säpär ajniŋ jättisi, on jättisi, jigirmä jättisi, bu üč jättidä xāji är, xāji xotun bolsa, baxtïni tilär. Bu jätti kälgän käčesi »baxlar eši qilamiz!« däp on jätti qisma jäjturyan yïza qilurlar.* (Menges 1943, LV 1-2) 'Wenn die Einwohner von Turpān im Monat S!afar um ihr Glück bitten, so tun das sowohl Männer wie Frauen an den 3 Siebener-Tagen des Monats, am 7., 17. und 27. Ist die Nacht des 7. gekommen, so richtet man mit den Worten: »Wir wollen das Glücksessen bereiten!«

c) *Buni gāŋniŋ pasra-paresi därlär. Bularni häm jurt xalqi terip-pärädə. ärtä jazlïyï bolyanda gāŋniŋ jeri süjini terip-polyanda ašqan aq qonaq, buγudaj, teriq, arpa, kündžüt, bularni bu jurt xalqïya zōr-bilän satadə, bir kürä (jaγač) buγudajni bäš misqāl kümüškä satadə. Bu buγudaj ašliqni jurtqa bärär gaxti ikkinč'aj ičidä bärärlär. Ordedin jasol čïqïp mečit-mečit xabar qilip-qojurlar.* (Menges 1943, XXVI 85-89) 'Diese nennt man das

Privateigentum des Wang. Diese bestellt auch das Volk der Provinz. Hat man im Frühjahr die Felder des Wang bestellt, so verkauf es das augegangene Weisse Sorgo (Sorghum vulgare), Weizen, Hirse, Gerste und Sesam an das Volk unter Zwang. 1 *kürä* (*jaγač*) Weizen verkauft er um 5 misqāl Silber. Die Zeit, in der man dem Volk das Weizenkorn gibt, ist die Mitte des II. Monats. Aus dem Regierungsgebäude kommt ein Polizist und gibt von Moschee zu Moschee (Gemeinde zu Gemeinde) bekannt.'

In the present Turfan dialect, an aorist does not function as a present marker anymore. It basically denotes prospectivity, bearing an uncertain, doubtful flavour, especially in contrast to the less focal intraterminal item *–(I)du*.

(46) *bǐř ädäm-ni kütür-üp kil-ür-sä apaš qï-p.*
one person.ACC carry.CONV come.Aor-2sgPER carry on the back.CONV
'Perhaps you may bring him by carrying him on your back.' (17: 265)

*sïlä vïlä bǐřgä öt-kü-däk ümür-üm bü-sa*
you (pl) with together live.AcN-PART life.1sgPOSS have.COND
*qajt-ïp kïl-ür-mä.*
return.CONV come.Aor-1sgPER
'I may return if I have more life to share with you.' (41: 8)

*kün-imiz šu-nuŋ vïle üt-ür-mu?*
day.1PlPOSS that.GEN with pass.Aor-QPART
'Should we spend our whole life doing that?' (29: 10)

*aʔt-nï jä-p toj-sa jaltij-i qal-ıř.*
Horse.ACC eat.CONV full.COND give up.CONV PostV.Aor
'Probably, he will stop if it was satisfied after having eaten the horse.' (18: 264)

If we simply change *kilürsä* to *kïlïdu*, *kïlürmä* to *kïlïmä* and *ütürmu* to *ütïdu*, then the meaning of the whole sentence will be changed. The changed intraterminal forms express certain and general events in contrast to the aorist forms.

In the Turfan dialect, the 3rd person aorist may also express the admission of the event by the speaker, mostly preceded by subjunctive clauses. In this case, verbs in subjunctive clauses and the verbs in the aorist form should be identical.

(47) *qa-sa-mu qal-ıř hä.*
leave.COND-PART leave.Aor PART
'Well, let us just leave it there, if it is forgotten.' (18: 443)

*boptu u bala uχlə-sa uχl-uř.*
well that child sleep.COND sleep.Aor
'Well, the child may sleep, if he sleeps.' (Saykariz)



In such cases, the 3rd person imperative suffix *–sun* is expected instead of an aorist in SU, e.g. *qalsïmu qalsun hä* 'let it stay there, if it is forgotten'. However, in the case of SU, the imperative verb form cited above seems to express the careless attitude of the speaker rather than admission.

### 3.2.3 Personal suffixes

Personal suffixes in the Turfan dialect exhibit a divergent phonetical shape to those in SU and in the Kashghar dialect, more importantly displaying a clear polite vs. normal form opposition in the 2nd person.

#### 3.2.3.1 Personal suffixes (I)

The personal suffixes (I) listed in Table 3-13 are mainly used to compose intraterminal forms.

Table 3-13 Paradigm of personal suffixes (I)

| Person | | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|---|
| I | | *-(I)mã̄ ~ -(I)mä* | *-(X)mIz ~ -(I)mis* |
| II | normal | *-sã̄ ~ sä, -sIz* | *-sïlä* |
| | polite | *-(I)la* | *-sïzlä* |
| III | | *-(I)du* | *-(I)du* |

The following table illustrates the actual usage of the personal suffixes listed in Table 3-13, providing examples for the inflections of four verbs *ba(ř)-* 'go' (3-14a), *käl-* 'come' (3-14b), *otuř-* 'sit' (3-14c) and *kö(ř)-* 'see' (3-14d).

Table 3-14 Usage of personal suffixes (I)

| | | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|---|
| a) | I | bar-əmã̄ ~ bar-əmä | bar-əmïz~ bar-əmis |
| | II | bar-əsã̄ ~ bar-əsä | bar-əsïlä |
| | | bar-əsïz, bar-əla | bar-əsïzlä |
| | III | bar-ədu ~ bař-du | bar-ədu ~ bař-du |
| b) | I | kïl-imã̄ ~ kïl-imä | kïl-imiz ~ kil-imis |
| | II | kïl-ïsã̄ ~ kïl-ïsä | kil-isïlä |
| | | kïl-ïsïz, kïl-ïla | kil-isïzlä |
| | III | kil-idu ~ kïldu | kil-idu ~ kïldu |
| c) | I | o:tuř-mã̄ ~ o:tuř-mä | o:tuř-miz |
| | II | o:tuř-sã̄ ~ o:tuř-sä | o:tuř-sïlä |
| | | o:tuř-sïz, o:tuř-la | o:tuř-sïzlä |
| | III | o:tuř-du | o:tuř-du |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| d) | I | kür-imɑ̃ ~ kür-imä | kür-imız |
| | II | kür-ısɑ̃ ~ kür-isä | kür-isilä |
| | | kür-isiz, kür-ila | kür-ısızlä |
| | III | kür-idu ~ kür-du | kür-idu ~ kür-du |

In SU and the Kashghar dialect the consonant *j* is inserted before personal suffixes when they are attached to verbal stems ending in vowels, e.g. *ojna-j-mä* 'I play', *ba(r)-ma-j-män* 'I don't go'. However, in the case of the Turfan dialect, except for Toxsun (also occasional), such an inserted consonant is not relevant, e.g. *de-miz* 'we say', *ba:-mı-mä* 'I don't go'. *–(X)mIs* found in the 1st person plural mostly occurs in the texts recorded in Lükchün, Murtuq and Tuyuq.

Notably, in the Turfan dialect the 1st person plural form of the personal suffixes (I) may also function as 2nd person singular polite forms in interrogative sentences.

(48) *qɑ̃čılix ulaχ vılä ulam bılä maŋ-ımız?*
how many animal with servant with go: 1PlPER
'With how many animals and servants are you travelling?' (22: 145)

*äpändim, nä-din kıl-imiz?*
Mr. where: ABL come: 1PlPER
'Sir, where are you from?' (Lükchün)

3.2.3.2 Personal suffixes (II)
These types of personal suffixes mainly occur after simple past, conditional verbs and the copula *idi ~ di ~ didi*.

Table 3-14 Paradigm of personal suffixes (II)

| Person | | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|---|
| I | | *-(X)m* | *-(U)q* |
| II | normal | *-(X)ŋ, -(X)ŋız* | *-(X)ŋlA* |
| | polite | *-(I)lA* | *-(X)ŋızlä*[129] |
| III | | *Ø* | *Ø* |

The examples given below illustrate the usage of the personal suffixes (II) in simple past and conditional forms. Each column provides examples of the inflections of four verbs *ba(ř)-* 'go' (column 1), *käl-* 'come' (column 2), *otuř-* 'sit' (column 3) and *kö(ř)-* 'see' (column 4), respectively.

Table 3-16a Usage of the personal suffixes (II) in the simple past

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ba(ř)-d-īm | kāl-d-im | o:tuř-d-um | kō:-d-üm |
| ba(ř)-d-uq | kāl-d-uq | o:tuř-d-uq | kō:-d-üm |

129 Curiously, this polite form has been listed in verbal inflections of Standard Uyghur (See OPD 927-963), though it is not used in either spoken or written forms of Standard Uyghur.



| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ba:-d-ïŋ | käl-d-iŋ | o:tuř-d-uŋ | kö:-d-üŋ |
| ba:-d-ïŋïz | käl-d-iŋiz | o:tuř-d-uŋuz | kö:-d-üŋüz |
| ba:-d-ïla | käl-d-ilä | o:tuř-d-ila | kö:-d-ilä |
| ba:-d-ïŋızla | käl-d-iŋızlä | o:tuř-d-uŋuzla | kö:-d-üŋüzlä |
| ba:d-ï | käl-d-i | o:tuř-d-ï | kö:-d-i |

Table 3-16b Usage of the personal suffixes (II) with conditional forms

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ba:sa-m | kä:-sä-m | o:tuř-sa-m | kö-sä-m |
| ba-sa-q | kä:-sä-k | o:tuř-sa-q | kö:-sä-k |
| ba:-saŋ | kä:-sä-ŋ | o:tuř-sa-ŋ | kö:-sä-ŋ |
| ba:-sïŋïz | kä:-sı-ŋiz | o:tuř-sə-ŋïz | kö:-sı-ŋiz |
| ba:-sə-la | kä:-sı-ŋiz | o:tuř-sə-ŋïz | kö:-sı-ŋiz |
| ba:-sə-ŋïzla | kä:-sı-ŋızlä | o:tuř-sə-ŋïzla | kö:-sı-ŋızlä |
| ba:-sa | kä:-sä | o:tuř-sa | kö:-sä |

3.2.4 Non-finite verb forms
The following two converbial forms, which are actually frozen from two different phrases, are specific to the Turfan dialect, especially in contrast to SU and other dialects of Uyghur.

3.2.4.1 Converbial in *–GAnIsIGA*
This suffix originally consists of the perfect participle *–GAn* (here G marks *γ* and *g*, and A represents the vowels *a* and *ä*) and the 3rd person possessive suffix *–(I)sI* + directive *-GA*. Converbs formed with *-GAnIsIGA* mainly express the meanings '(soon) after ...' and 'while ...'. Interestingly, most examples available in our data are from the same text recorded in Tuyuq, though this converb is also widely used in other regions.

(49) *äjali aldıra kitip bıř taγa buγda qačıla piriptu bunuŋγa qaraŋγučiluχ vuγaŋkin qïzıŋï, bıř taγa buγdani qačıla pägäŋkin keptu, kä:gänisigä hä hamut äjaliŋ najti äχli vařkä, mini to: qïldu däp qarımamsä bıř taγa buγda qačıla piriptu äjaliŋ digäŋkin, külüp heliqï bıř tayïřni äpirip qunaq qačıla piriptu.* 'Hamut's wife strained to load a sack of wheat since his storeroom was dark. They returned after she had loaded the sack of wheat. They came and immediately said: "Hey, Hamut, your wife is very clever. Look, your wife loaded a sack of wheat for us, considering that I will hold a wedding." (22: 116-120)

*γizanï jäʔ kätkänisıgıla qolnï tutpiriptu.* 'He allowed them to tie his hands after he had his food.' (23: 56)

*pičanda turγanïsïγa qumul buzuluptu.* 'Reportedly, (the people of) Qomul rebelled while he was staying in Pichan.' (23: 61)

*ikkisi taza qattïq uχlavatqanïsïγa saχčïla kä qaptu.* 'Evidently, the policemen arrived while they both were sleeping very heavily.' (Turpanligharisi)

Usually, such meanings signaled by *–GAnIsIGA* are expressed by *–pla* (< converb in *(X)p* + particle *la*), and *–GAndA* forms in SU as shall we see below in (50).

(50) *u kelipla sözläp kätti.* 'He came and immediately began speaking.'

*biz išlävatqanda tok toχtap qaldi.* 'The electricity stopped while we were working.'

3.2.4.2 Converbial in *–mAstIn*
This converb suffix composes of negation aorist suffix *–mAs* and ablative *–tIn*, denoting 'not v. –ing', very similar to *–mAdAn* in Azarbaijan and Turkish.

(51) *bu küni buldu čilišini däp ča:nï ičmästin čilišiptu.* 'He said: "OK!" and wrestled with him without drinking tea.' (31: 17)

*ula bizni öjdä bir aj turup χošmu dimästin kiti qaptu, qaraŋ.* 'Look, they left without even saying "bye-bye" although they stayed one month at our house.' (Turpanligharisi)

*qara peqïŋa, baliŋïz tamaχmu jimästin gäʔpmu qïmastïn o:turdu.* 'Please look, your child is sitting there without eating and without speaking.' (Turpanligharisi)

*hänäq iš joq, bula bilmeslixtin qï qoyandu, mãmu bilmäslixtin uru qodum sini ädämlïriŋni bïrnäččä qamča, äpu qïsaŋ.* '[Sidix Xälpä said:] "Nothing happened. They might have done so without knowing; I also beat your people with a whip without knowing. I ask you to forgive me."' (22: 104-106)

3.2.5 Evidential markers
The same as other Turkic languages, Uyghur possesses "evidential categories signaling that a given utterance is based on indirective evidence" (Johanson 2000a: 121, Johanson 2000b). In the Turfan dialect, evidentiality is marked by means of various forms: Postterminals, specific evidential finite verb forms, and evidential particles. Well-known indirective past marked with *–(X)ptu* is also frequently used to express indirectivity in the Turfan dialect, occasionally occurring in extremely developed phonetic shapes. The evidential particles *–imiš* and *ikän* are also in use in the Turfan dialect, although the latter displays several phonetic forms, e.g. *–ikã̄*, *ikä*, *iken*, *ikin*, etc. There are other specific forms to express indirectivity in the Turfan dialect, and some of them are rather complex. Here we try to describe all possible evidential markers in the Turpan dialect as a grammatical category.[130]

130 Certain indirective markers clearly are finite-verb forms, and should be described in related sections. However, some evidential forms can hardly be outlined within verbal categories, e.g. *däk*, and some of them are even outside the domain of morphology. Here we described all of them under this title due to the fact that most evidential forms are verbal forms in the Turfan dialect.



3.2.5.1 *–XptU* and *-(I)ttu*
Both forms are actually the morphnological development of the evidential past *–Xptu* in the Turfan dialect (compare SU *–Xptu*), and "signal the reception of information on the basis of perceptive, inferential or reportive evidence" (Johanson 2000b: 73).

(52) *änkin* *oj-jigïrmï* *balə-nï* *jï̆ɣ-ïp* *äki pir-ipto,*
then ten twenty child: ACC collect: CONV bring: EvPST
*dašo* *baq-qa* *äčïq-vittu.*
that garden: DIR bring out: EvPST
'Then he gathered ten or twenty children, and brought them [to his son], putting them inthe garden'. (18: 26-27)

*aʔt-nï* *min-i* *uč-u kit-tu* *bu*
horse: ACC ride: CONV fly PostV: EvPST this
'He (= Imin Sufi) immediately left (the palace), and flew away riding his horse.' (20: 18-19)

*ašïx bul-uš-qan-dïn* *kijin* *otturu-ɣa* *düšmän* *kir-ip*
become lover: COOP-PTPple-ABL after middle: DIR enemy enter: CONV
*a:rï-vittu.*
separate: EvPST
'After they became lovers an enemy appeared between them and separated them.' (67: 21-22)

*aŋɣičä* *sultan mamut* *waŋ-nï* *čïšš-i* *ayrï ki-ttu*
until that Sultan MamutJasak Prince: GEN tooth: 3POSS pain: EvPST
'Before any days had passed, the Jasak Prince Sultan Mamut had tooth pain.' (24: 10)

*balaŋza,* *χatalïq* *miniŋ-din* *üt-üptu,* *mä* *aldïra-p*
child mistake mine: ABL pass: EvPST I harry: CONV
*til-im* *tejnä-p* *χata* *sözlä-p* *quj-uptimä.* '
tounge: 1sgPOSS harry: CONV false speak: CONV Posv: 1sgEvPST
[The king said:] "Small child, evidently I made a mistake. I gave a wrong order to you in haste." (17: 294-295)

3.2.5.2 *-(X)ptU + dedu ~ dejdu*
In some texts — mostly in a text recorded in Toxsun — *dedu* or *dejdu* often occurs after the evidential marker *–(X)ptU*. In competition with *–(X)ptU*, the construction *-(X)ptU + dedu ~ dejdu* specially stresses the reception of information on the basis of reportive evidence.

(53) *ikkisi o:ɣa čïkït perip šunday vädä qilïšiptu dedu, ikkisiniŋmo ajalleri eɣïr vojke, ämdi ikkimiznïŋ qa:simïznïŋmo qis tuχulsa bïr kündä talaɣa čïqirišini.* 'They made an agreement when they were leaving for hunting. Reportedly, both of their wives were pregnant. They

said: "If both our wives give birth to a girl and the other to a boy, let's promise to marry them to each other on the same day."' (67: 2)

*aχ patiša atlirnï tuqup na:jti tineš kitiptu dejdu.* 'Reportedly, Aq patša immediately saddled his horse and left.' (67: 12)

*hušuř taza eyini-lïř vilä paraŋ se-p o:tuř-sa χuräz-ï kot kot dä-p čilla-ptu dedu*
'It is told that the cock cackled when Hushur was chatting with his friends.' (35: 8)

Same indirectivite meaning might also be expressed by means of *–GAn* participle + *dejdu ~ dedu* constructions.

(54) *šunuŋ vilä kät-kän dejdu.*
'It is told that, he went to his (hometown).' (34: 24)

3.2.5.3 Evidential particle *däk*
The evidential particle *däk* also occurs in the phonetic shape of *täk* in the Turfan dialect, basically after words ending in voiceless consonants, e.g. *juřttäk* (18: 281). Obviously, the evidential particle *däk* in the Turfan dialect is on the way to suffixation. Basically, *däk* occurrs as a part of nominal predicates, most frequently also composing an indirective past form *–Gıdäk*, occurring after the noun verbs in *–GW*.

3.2.5.3.1 *däk* as a part of nominal predicates
Basically, *däk* indicates a perceived and discovered event when it is used as a part of nominal predicates.

(55) *kïř-sä* *na:jti katta* *juřt-täk,* *u.*
enter: COND very big country: PART it
'He entered and found it was a very beatiful country.' (18: 281)

*čeč-i-nï* *höl qï-p* *tarï-sa* *ikkï tal* *müŋüz-i*
hair: 3POSS-ACC wet do: CONV comb: COND two CLASS horn: 3POSS
*va-däk.*
have: PART
'He moistened and combed (the king's) hair, and found (the king) had two horns.' (41: 9)

*mujdaγ* *qarə-sa* *šundaγ-däk.*
like this look at: COND like that: PART
'They looked at it and found that was true.' (28: 15)

Note that in the case of (55) SU and the Kasghar dialect mostly use *ikän*, e.g. *jurt ikän* (Kashghar *žutkä*), *bar ikän* (Kashghar *ba:kän ~ ba:kïn*) and *šundaq ikän* (Kashghar *šundaχkä*) instead of *juřt-täk*, *vadäk* and *šundaγdäk*.



3.2.5.3.2 *–GIdäk*
This form results from the fusion of the noun verbal suffix *–GW* with the evidential particle *däk* and displays the phonetic forms *–γïdäk /-qïdäk* and *–gidäk / -kidäk*. It indicates an event is perceived, discovered and recognised. Very often a conditional clause precedes the main clause, in which the indirective form *–GIdäk* is used.

(56) *bïř* *ädäm* *istä-p* *üj-i-gä* *ba:sa*
one person search: CONV house: 3POSS-DIR go: COND
*jat-qïdäk.*
lay down: *-qïdäk*
This person came to his home looking for (the child) and found (he) was sleeping. (17: 227)

*saŋγa* *küč-üm* *jet-mï-gidäk.*
you: DIR power: 1sgPOSS arrive: NEG-*gidäk*
'It has proved that I am not in your power.' (31: 22)

*tiŋšə-sa* *šundaχ* *bïř χïl* *muŋluχ awaz* *čïqïvat-qïdäk.*
hear: COND such one kind pleasant voice come out: *-qïdäk*
'They heard (the song), and found a pleasant voice coming (from there).' (30: 7)

*bu ujγuř-nu* *jir-i* *ba:γansïri* *azla*
this Uyghur: GEN field: 3POSS gradually decrease
*kïtipa-γïdäk.*
PostV: CONV-PostV: *-γïdäk*
'Obviously, the Uyghurs field gradually became narrower.' (33: 4)

*manda* *qarə-sa* *aχol-la* *haravə-da* *jïγlï-š-ïp*
like this look: COND Akhond: Pl chariot: LOC cry: COOP-CONV
*o:ta-γïdäk.*
sit: *-γïdäk.*
'(The child) took a look and saw the Akhuns were sitting on the chariot and crying.' (17: 196)

*-GIdäk* indicates a recognized, concluded event when it occurrs after verb stems in negation form.

(57) *ämdi* *apa* *saŋγa* *di-me* *bo:-mï-γïdäk.*
now mother you: DIR say: NEGCONV to be: NEG-*γïdäk*
'[He said] "Apparently, mum, I have to tell you now.' (18: 191)
*siniŋ-mu* *bo:-sa* *razïlïγ-ïŋ-nï* *a:-mï-sam*
you: GEN-PART to be: COND approval: 2sgPOSS-ACC gain: NEG-1sgCOND
*bo-mï-γïdäk.*
To be: NEG- *γïdäk*
'Apparently, at least I have to gain your appoval'. (18: 210)

3.2.5.3.3 *–Xptudäk ~ (X)ptäk*

In the Turfan dialect *däk* may also occur after *–(X)ptu* past, occasionally displaying a fused form *–(X)ptäk*. In this case, the whole form emphasises a reportive event.

(58) *unu kallï-sï-nï* *a:-ma-ptäk* *ǰïq* *buɣdaj* *görüš*
his head: 3POSS-ACC take: NEG: EvPST many wheat rice
*biränim-lä-ni* *bir-ip* *jolɣa sä quj-uptäk.*
thing: Pl-ACC give: CONV send PostV: EvPST
'Reportedly, (the king) did not kill him, and gave him a lot of wheat, rice and other things and sent him away.' (41: 17-18)

*bïř waχt-ï-da* *sügän-gä* *mijmaχ mijmaχ* *sujma* *ka:va*
one time: 3POSS-LOC basket: DIR crooked crooked unripe melon pumpkin
*pijaz bïřmï-lä-ni* *e-p* *bïřsï* *kir-iptäk.*
onion thing: Pl-ACC take: CONV someone enter: EvPST
'Someone entered carrying a basket with very small unripe melons, pumpkins and onions when he was sleeping.' (29: 176)

3.2.5.4 Perceptive particle *ikän*

The perceptive particle *ikän* occurs in various phonetic forms in the Turfan dialect, e.g. *iken ~ ikin*, *ikā̈ ~ ikä*, *kän ~ ken ~ kin*, *kä ~ kā̈ ~ ke*, though their distribution is hardly predictable. However, amongst them some forms seem to be region-specific. For instance, the forms such as *ikā̈*, *kā̈*, in which the final low front vowel is nasalized, mainly occur in the texts recorded from Tuyuq, whereas *iken* mostly in the texts from Lükchün, and *ikin* in the texts from Murtuq and Toxsun. We found *ke* only in two texts recorded in Lükchün and Toxsun, while the remaining forms seem to be uniform within the whole Turfan region, since these forms are found in the texts recorded from all over Turfan. As a general tendency, it is very likely that, *ikän* is in the process of suffixization in the Turfan dialect, having several phonetic variants as we have mentioned above.

Table 3-16 Distribution of the phonetic forms of *ikän*

| Regions | ikän, ikä | ikā̈, kā̈ | kän, kä | iken, ke | ikin, ki | ken | kin |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lükchün | + | - | + | + | - | + | - |
| Say Kariz | + | - | + | + | - | + | - |
| Tuyuq | + | + | + | - | - | - | - |
| Yanghe | + | - | + | - | - | - | - |
| Pichan | + | - | + | - | - | - | - |
| Qaraghoja | + | - | + | - | - | - | + |
| Murtuq | + | + | + | - | + | - | - |
| Turfan | + | - | + | - | - | - | - |
| Toxsun | + | - | + | + | + | - | - |



All realizations of *ikän* are phonetical or region-specific, and display no difference in semantics. As an evidential marker, *ikän* and its phonetical variants basically compose nominal predicates, mostly indicating statements concluded or perceived (59a), sometimes also clearly signalling indirective information obtained through hearsay (59b). However, the latter meaning of *ikän* relies strongly on the context, and such semantics are actually most often expressed by the "-GAn participles + *ikän*" structure in the Turfan dialect. Notably, SU *ikän* and the Kashghar dialect form *kin* also display exactly the same meaning. Clearly, both functions of *ikän* mentioned above are not specific to the Turfan dialect.

(59a) *turpan* *qašqa-din* *tö* *jüz* *jil* *kijin* *jurt*
Turfan Kashghar: ABL four hundred year after land
*vo-ɣan* *ǰaj-ikin*
become: PPle place: COP
'Apparently, Turfan became a (Muslim) land 400 years later than Kashghar.' (56: 1)

*sidiχ χälpä* *najti* *juɣan* *gaŋguŋ* *ädim-ikā̈.*
Sidix Khälpä very big hero person: COP
'It is told that Sidix Khälpä was a very tall and heroic person.' (23: 69)

*bu* *kiši-ni* *balə-sï* *jox-ke.*
this person: GEN child: 3POSS no: COP
'This person (= the king) had no child.' (18: 2)

*bïř* *do ɣə-nï* *jütkü̈-sä* *nuřɣun* *pul* *äkïř-dïɣan*
one Darugha: ACC change: COND many money bring: ITPPle
*iš-kän.*
matter: COP
'Reportedly, one had to pay a lot of money if a new Darugha was to be appointed.' (28: 2)

b) *ötkändä bïř patiša* *öt-kin-iken* *aläm-din-čo.*
before one king pass: PTPPle: COP world: ABL-PART
'Once upon a time there was a king in the world.' (18: 1)

*bo ri-da* *jat-idan* *qaro-la-kän* *bu*
plaited mat: LOC sleep: ITPPle blind man: Pl-COP this
'Reportedly, those blind men slept on a plaited mat.' (18: 123)

*bïř* *qara* *müššüg-i* *var-ikän.*
one black cat: 3POSS have: COP
'Reportedly, (Daqianus) had a black cat.' (19: 12)

As one may observe from the examples *ädimikā* and *ötkinikän*, the low stem vowel in the last syllable is reduced in polysyllabic lexemes due to the shift of the primary accent to the next syllables, namely, to the last syllable of *ikän*.

3.2.5.5 Complex evidential form *–(i)kändUQ*

The Turfan dialect displays a rather complex evidential form *–(i)kändUQ*, which is realised in three different phonetical forms *-(i)känduq ~ -(i)kändux ~ -(i)kändoq*.[131] Neither SU nor the other dialects of Uyghur display such an evidential marker.[132] *-(i)kändUQ* comprises of *(i)kän* and *–dUQ*, of them, the latter seems to go back to the Old Turkic *–dOq*, a negative suppletive to *–mIš*; see Erdal 2004: 239-240. In *-(i)kändUQ*, the second element *–dUQ* only signals indirective postterminality in an unequivocal way just like the combination of *–(y)mIš* with *–mIš* found in Azarbaijan and Turkish; see Johanson 2000b: 80-81. Basically, the entire evidential form *-(i)kändUQ* expresses indirective information based on a logical conclusion (60a) and direct perception (60b), sometimes also hearsay or reported speech (60c). Compared to *ikän*, indirective information expressed by *-ikändUQ* is more stressed and unequivocal.

(60a) *hä dašu-nu balə-si-känduχ hä.*
Oh that: GEN child: 3POSS-*ikänduχ* PART
'He is actually the child of that (mullah).' (17: 277)

*dabaj-tin šunda qï-γan bo.-sam et-ïm*
before: ABL like that do: PTPle is: COND-1sgPER horse:1sgPOSS
*a.rul qal-uř-känduq.*
leave leave: Aor-*känduq*
'Certainly my horse would have survived if I had done so earlier,' (18: 275)

b) *bu qïz usulnï amdan o.na-dïγïn-ikändoq.*
this girl dance: ACC good play: ITPple-*ikändoq*
'As I see, this girl dances well.' (Lükchün)

*jamčuγ-um-da pul joχ-känduq.*
pocket: 1sgPOSS-LOC money no *känduq*
'I realized there was no money in my pocket.' (Turpanligharisi)

c) *buva-m äsli lüxčüllüx toχtiša digän*
grandfather: 1sgPOSS originally native of Lükchün Toxtisha said
*adäm-känduq*
person: *känduq*

131 In text 50 recorded from Mïränyoli we found the *–kändük* realization of this suffix, eg. *üč kičä kündüz jaqqan qum-kändük* 'Reportedly, the sand had fallen there one night' (50: 16), *u jädä olijala ba-kändük* 'Reportedly, there were holy people' (50: 19).

132 Murtuq displays *känoq*, in which the consonant *d* in *(i)känduq ~ ikändoq* is deleted, e.g. *balamniŋ qoli ošul qelijkänoq* 'I found my child's hand was broken'. See Qasïm 1985: 50.



'Reportedly, my grandfather was called Toxtisha and was originally a native of Lükchün.' (55: 27)

*bïř pa:diša-nï beššï-ïda muŋüz-i var-ikänduq.*
one king: GEN head: 3POSS: LOC horn: 3POSS have: *ikänduq*
'Reportedly, a king had horns on his head.' (41: 2)

*balə-sï joq kiši-känduq u mollï-niki*
child: 3POSS no person: *ikänduq* that mullah: GEN
'Reportedly, the mulla was a person who has no children.' (17: 82)

*šäŋjaŋ gaχt-ï-da turpan-da mäxtäp-lä-ni*
Country Magistrate time: 3POSS-LOC Turfan: LOC school: Pl-ACC
*ujušmï-la-nï quř-γïn-ikänduq*
association: Pl-ACC establish: PTPple-ikänduq
'Evidently, he established schools and associations in Turfan when he was the country magistrate.' (31: 36)

*šu käm-lä-dä sanji-di-känduq sidiχ χälpä*
that time: Pl-LOC Changji: LOC-*ikänduq* Sidix Khälpä
'Reportedly, at that time Sidix Khälpä was in Changji.' (23: 41)

Just like the case of *–(X)ptu*, *dedu* 's(h)e/they said' might also be added to *(i)känduq* in some instances. In this case, the whole construction indicates non-confirmed information, hear-say or a reported event.

(61) *šu gaχ-la-da χïčïř χäwärči-känduq de:du*
that time: Pl-LOC mule information carrier: *ikänduq* said
'Reportedly, a mule was used as an information carrier at that time.' (28: 57)

*uniŋ atï-sï ba adäm-kändoq dedu.*
his father: 3POSS rich person: *ikändoq* said
Reportedly, his father was a rich person. (Saykariz)

3.2.6 Copulas

SU displays copulas *idi*, *ikän*, *imiš* and *dur* developed from the inflected forms of the verbs *–är* 'be' and *turur* 'is' (< 'stands'), respectively. In the case of the Turfan dialect, those copulas occur in divergent, more developed phonetic shapes.

3.2.6.1 *du ~ do / tu ~ to*

Both forms go back to *turur / durur* and clearly exhibit some features of suffixes. *du ~ do* mostly occurs after nominal predicates whose last element ends in vowels or voiced consonants, whereas the remained form tu ~to occurs after nominal predicates ending in voiceless consonants, e.g. *towa, näː-du mišälä*? (79: 61) 'Oh dear! What is this?', *bu*

*nimi išto*? (17: 279) 'What does this mean?'. However, both copula forms are not as active in the Turfan dialect, mostly being used as a part of some interrogative particles, e.g. nimidu 'what', nä:-du 'what, where', kimdo 'who', qasusidu 'which one', etc. In some instances, both copula forms express estimated, uncertain judgements or surprises.

(62) *yol* *ällix* *mitiř-la* *bař-du*.
main canal fifty meter: Pl have: COP
'The main canal might be about fifty meters.' (56: 54)

*ulaniŋ* *teχi* *balə-sï* *joχ-tu*.
their yet child: 3POSS no: COP
'I think, they have no child yet.' (Turpanligharisı)

*mini* *waχt-ïm-da* *mušunda* *qïl-dïγan* *ädäm* *kim-du*?
My time: 1sgPOSS-LOC like this do: PTPple person who: COP
'Who has dared to do this during my time?' (22: 98)

3.2.6.2 *idi*, *di* ~ *ti*, *didi* ~ *dijdi*
All three forms are developments of *erdi*, the simple past form of *er-* 'to be'. Out of them, *idi* very seldom occurs in our texts, only after some nouns. In most cases we found *di* and *ti*, both clearly have some characteristics of suffixes: *di* occurs after words ending in vowels or voiced consonants, while *ti* after words ending in voiceless consonants. Another form *didi* ~ *dijdi* is mostly used at Pichan town and its adjacent villages, occasionally also at Murtuq. All forms function as past personal markers of nominal predicates just like *idi* in SU.

(63) *nuřyun* *χäq-idi*.
many people: COP
'They used to have many members.' (1: 16)

*šu* *waχt-ï-da* *adäm* *najti* *az-di*.
that time: 3POSS-LOC person very a few: COP
'At that time, here were very few people.' (55: 12)

*ata-m* *mini* *yäzni-diki* *pul-nï* *išlit-ip*
father: 1sg.POSS I: ACC treasury: LOC money: ACC use: CONV
*tügit-ivat* *di-gän* *ämäs-ti*
complete: PostV say: PPle not: COP
'My father did not tell me to spend the money of the treasury.' (18: 83)

*biz* *kičix* *waχ-la-da* *uluχ köl-dä* *on bäš-täk* *ajlä*
we small time: Pl-LOC Ulugh Köl: LOC fifteen: PART family
*vař-di*
have: COP



'When we were young, there used to be about fifteen families at Ulugh Köl.' (55: 6)

*tünügün* *ača-m* *čïq-qan-didi*.
yesterday elder sister: 1sgPOSS come: PTPle: COP
'Yesterday my elder sister came.' (Pichan)

*šu* *waχt-ï-da* *ällix-täk* *adäm* *ba-dijdi* *čuŋ kičix*
that time: 3POSS-LOC fifty: PART person have: COP big small
'At that time, there were altogether about fifty people, counting the adults and the children too.' (55: 10)

The original syllabic structure of the preceding word might be broken when *idi* is used after closed syllabic words. Normally, the initial vowel *i* in *idi* and the last consonant of the preceding word compose a syllable. The initial vowel *i* in *idi* coalesces with the final vowel of the preceding word when *idi* occurs after open syllabic words, e.g. *biřmidi* 'was a thing' (18: 675) ← * *biř nimä idi*, see also phonology.

3.2.6.3 Copula usage of *demiz*
The 1st person intraterminal form of *dä-* 'to say', *demiz*, seems to function as a copula in the examples given below in (64a). This function of *demiz* clearly diverges from its common semantics 'we say' as found in (64b).

(64a) *biř* *mo* *jä-din* *čïq-ïdan* *budaj* *najti* *on küri* *demiz*.
one mu land: ABL come out: ITPPle wheat very ten *küri* COP
'Only ten *küri* of wheat is produced from a one *mu* field.' (57: 49)

*bu* *jädä* *äŋ* *bařlïq* *ädäm* *unu malki-sï* *demiz*
this place: LOC most rich person his elder brother: 3POSS COP
'The richest person here is his elder brother.' (Lükchün)

b) *bök-ni* *könä* *ism-imiz-dä* *šapaχ* *de-miz*.
hat: ACC old name: 1PlPOSS-LOC melon-peelings say: 1PlPER
'We call hats *šapaχ* 'melon-peelings' in our old terminology.' (5: 1)

## 3.3 Indeclinable word classes

### 3.3.1 Copula particles

3.1.1.1 Particles *nimä* and *digän*
Usually, *nimä* functions as an interrogative pronoun denoting 'what' as seen in *ismiŋiz nimä*? 'What is your name', whereas *digän* functions as the post terminal participle form of *dä-* 'to say' as seen in *bu gäpni malkam maŋa digän* 'My older brother has told

me about this.' However, both *nimä* and *digän* have further functions in the Turfan dialect.

3.3.1.1.1 *nimä* and *digän* as copula particles

Both *nimä* and *digän* function as copula particles in the Turfan dialect, mainly occurring after the post terminal participle in *–GAn*. In this function both particles create the indicative past, envisaging a past event as certain, direct knowledge as shall we see in (65a). This function of *nimä* is very similar to the function of SU *dur*, while *digän* has a similar function to the SU *idi* (65b). Obviously, unlike *idi*, *digän* does not display personal inflections.

(65a) *biz-mu* *aran* *jiti kä-gän* *nimä* *jol meŋ-ïp*
we: PART with difficulty arrive: PTPple COP travel: CONV
'We have had a hard journey and arrived here.' (18: 621)

*äpridin waŋ-nï* *šä-dä* *ö:tür-vat-qan* *nimä*
Jasak Prince Äpridin: ACC that: LOC kill: PostV-PTPle COP
'They killed Jasak Prince Äpridin there.' (20: 38)

*bu härä* *öt-mäj* *tur-üv-a-γan* *nimä.*
this saw cut through: NEGCONV stop: CONV-PostV-PPle COP
'The saw would not cut through.' (67: 24)

b) *ajla-m* *billä* *kä-gän* *digän.*
elder sister: 1sgPOSS together come: PTPPle COP
'My older sister has come together (with me).' (Pichan)

*avlimit* *kil-imä* *di-gän* *digän.*
Ablimit come: 1sgPER say: PTPPle COP
'Ablimit said: "I will come".'

The directive meaning of *nimä* is blocked when the indirective marker *ikän ~ ikä*, etc. is added to it.

(66) *bu-nï* *pičan-nï* *tōt kučči-da* *tut-qa* *nimi-kä.*
this: ACC Pichan: GEN crossroads: LOC capture: PTPPle *nimä*: COP
'As we know, they arrested him at the crossroads of Pichan town.' (28: 78)

*nimä* is more frequently used than *digän*, and the usage of *digän* as a copula is restricted to the speech of rather aged speakers. Notably, *digän* is the most frequent copula marker in the Qomul region, having the functions of both *dur* and *idi* in SU, see Abdulla 1985, Qumul 1997: 83.



3.3.1.2 Subject marker *digän*

In some texts recorded in Yanghe and Murtuq, especially in Text 28 recorded in Yanghe, we found *digän* also functions as subject marker. This function of *digän* is very similar to the Chinese copula verb *shi* and Japanese subject marker *ha*.

(67) *irajim* *do:γa* *digä* *zajit hajï-nï* *oγl-i:kä*
Ibrahim Daruga *digän* Zahid Haji: GEN son: 3POSS-COP
'Daruga Ibrahim was the son of Zahid Haji.' (28: 19)

*sän digä* *bïr* *čoŋ* *oγri-kä-sä.*
you *digän* one/a big thief: COP: 2sgPER
'Evidently, you are a big thief.' (28: 65)

*kubo* *digän* *qelin-araq* *tuqu-γan* *aχ* *räχ*
*kubo* *digän* thick: COMP weave: PTPPle white cloth
'Kubo is a kind of white cloth, which is woven relatively thickly.' (56: 33)

*muřtuχ* *digän* *bu* *bäš mäjli-ni* *öz iččigä al-du.*
Murtuq *digän* this five village: ACC comprise: INTR
'Murtuq consists of five villages.' (55: 1)

Notably, the Chinese copula verb *shi* is mostly translated into SU with *bolsa* (+ Personal markers), which actually also functions as a subject marker as seen in (68).

(68) *män* *bolsa-m* *oqutquči,* *dada-m* *bolsa* *dehqan.*
I *bolsa*: 1sgPER teacher father: 1sgPOSS *bolsa* farmer
'I am a teacher, and my father is a farmer.'

*siz* *bolsï-ŋiz* *ikki bali-niŋ* *apï-sï.*
you *bolsa*: 2sgPER two child: GEN mother: 3POSS
'You are the mother of two children.'

Once in the sentence given below in (69) we found *bolsa* has the same function in the Turfan dialect.

(69) *sän bïř* *tapqaχ* *kïši-kän-sä,* *män bŭsa-m* *bïř vizïř*
you one clever person: COP-2sgPER I *bolsa*: 1sgPER one vezir
'Apparently, you are a clever man, and I am a vezir.' (17: 33)

3.3.2 Conjuctions

The four conjuctions described below are unique to the Turfan dialect, but all of them go back to rather complex phrases.

3.3.2.1 *aŋala ~ aŋvala ~ uŋala* 'therefore'
Amongst the phonetic variants of this conjuction, *aŋala* is found in the materials recorded in Murtuq and Qaraghoja, and *uŋala* in Say Kariz, whereas *aŋvala* seems to be uniform to the remaining regions.

(70) *tünögün ö:-gä mejman kä-qa-ɣïn-idi, aŋala*
yesterday house:DIR guest come:PostV-PTPple:COP therefore
*kil-a-mï-di-m*
come:ABIL-NEG-SPST-1sgPER
'Yesterday, a guest suddenly came ; therefore I couldn't come'. (Murtuq)

*kariz-la quru kät-ti, uŋala sajtaχ-mu tera-ma:-miz*
karez-Pl dry PostV:SPST therefore vegetable:PART cultivate:NEG-1PlPER
'A lot of karez has dried out; therefore we could not even cultivate vegetables.' (Saykariz)

*unu dadï-sï baj, aŋvala čoŋ gä? qï-vat-qïn-ï*
her father:3POSS rich therefore to boast PostV-PTPPle-3POSS
'Her father is a rich man, that is why she is boasting like this'. (Turpanligharisı)

*sän bala-ŋ-nï halal-dïn nan tep-ïp jidüř-üp*
you child:2sgPOSS-ACC clean:ABL bread find:CONV have eaten:CONV
*baq-mï-ɣan nimä, aŋala bala-ŋ saŋɣa nim*
take care of:NEG:PTPPle COP therefore child:2sgPOSS you:DIR what
*bo-ma-jdu de-jdi-kän šeri 'ät-ni kitav-i-dï-ma*
is:NEG-INTR say:INTR:COP law:GEN book-3POSS-LOC-PART
'You have not taken care of your child only by earning clean bread and having them eat it. Therefore your child does not listen to you.' (60: 14-16)

3.3.2.2 *ja:mïsa* 'or'
This conjuction originates from *ja bolmïsa*, probably having experienced the forms *ja bomïsa, ja vomïsa* and *javŭmïsa*.

(71) *jamïsa pul-nï vāsun, jamïsa qo:-ni*
or money ACC give:3IMPER or sheep:ACC
*äkä-pä-sun*
bring PostV-3IMPER
'Let him give the money or return the sheep.' (Turpanligharisı)

*hey ükä-m, ja ata-ŋ-nï qïšqar;*
Hey younger brother:1sgPOSS or father:2sgPOSS-ACC call
*jamïsa zïjadä gä? qï-maj kät.*
or much speak:NEGCONV leave
'Hey, my younger brother, call your father or leave here not talking much.'



3.3.2.3 *äŋkin, äzikin* and *äŋkiziä* 'and, then'
This is a very frequent conjuction in the Turfan dialect and basically coordinates compound phrases and sentences as seen in (72).

(72) *bu dünja-nï jeŋi öj-gä jötke-dïɣaŋ-ɣa*
this treasure:ACC new house:DIR move:ITPPle-DIR
*pilaŋ qï-p äŋkin kičï-si jötkä-ptu*
plan do:CONV then evening:3POSS move:EvPST
'Reportedly, they planned to move the treasures to the new house, and then they moved the treasures at night.' (17: 78-79)

*šula mudapä vo-p äzikin kil-a:-ma-du*
they being protector:CONV then come:ABIL-NEG-ITPple
'They will be protectors (for us), and (the enemy) will not come.' (17: 327)

*kül-lä-din bïř kün-i aχšïm-ï jït-ip*
day:Pl-ABL one day:3POSS evening:3POSS lye:CONV
*äŋkiziä üz-i-gä bïř ǰüj tep-ïptu bu*
then own:3POSS-DIR one idea find:EvPST this
'Apparently, one evening he went to bed and had an idea.' (21: 13)

*päridi χaŋ ɣuǰa-m-ni juqla-p čïq-ï paq-aj*
Päridin Khan Saint:1sgPOSS-ACC visit:CONV go:CONV PostV:1sgOPT
*däp päridi χan-niki-gä čïq-ïptu*
saying Päridin Khan:GEN-DIR go:EvPST
'The next day he decided to visit Päridin Khan and went to the Päridin Khan's dwelling.' (21: 101)

3.3.2.4 *digäŋgä* 'nevertheless'

(73) *qo:-mï-ɣan-di-kin ändin išlit-idïɣan bïřmï-sï*
put:NEG-PTPPle-ABL-PPOS then use:ITPPle thing:3POSS
*joχ vo qa:-ma-m-do, digäŋgä ujuŋ-ɣa ras toš-tï*
nothing leave:NEG-QPART-INTR however play:DIR very full:SPST
'Since nothing was left, naturally that left nothing [for the prince] to spend. Nevertheless, he became a master at playing (music).' (18: 47-49)

3.3.2.5 *aŋičün* 'therefore'
We found this conjucture only once in a text recorded in Tuyuq.

(74) *bula šu jat-qan pït-i-čä jït-ivä-gän*
they that sleep:PPle form:3POSS-EQUA sleep:PostV-PTPle
*χäχ bu, aŋičün hajat ɣuǰam-la de-du*
people this therefore live Saint:Pl say:INTR

*bu-la-nï* *öl-mü-gän*
this-Pl-ACC die-NEG-PPle
'They slept, and slept continuously for a long time. Therefore, they were called "Living Saints that slept."' (19: 131-132)

## 3.4 Derival morphology

### 3.4.1 Nominal suffix *-ŋza*

This suffix consists of a 2nd person possessive suffix + the Chinese denominal nominal suffix *–zi*. Originally, *–zi* was used to form new nouns from Uyghur kin terms in the 2nd person singular possessive forms in the Muslim Chinese spoken in Xinjiang. However, in the Turfan dialect as well in the speech of some of the younger generation in Urumchi, *-ŋza* seems to function as a nominal derivative suffix, deriving nouns from some kin terms and adding a clear, haughty, arrogant hue, see also lexicon.

(75) *aka* 'brother' + *-ŋza* → *akaŋza* 'older brother'
*bala* 'child' + *-ŋza* → *balaŋza* 'child'
*ajla* 'older sister' + *-ŋza* → *ajlaŋza* 'older sister'
*ata* 'father' + *-ŋza* → *ataŋza* 'father'
*apa* 'mother' + *-ŋza* → *apaŋza* 'mother'
*uka* 'younger brother' + *-ŋza* → *ukaŋza* 'younger brother'

Note that this suffix does not derive nouns from compound kin terms, e.g. *qijin ata* 'father-in-law', *kičigapa* 'aunt', and also does not derive nouns from the kin terms such as *bova* 'grand-father', *ini* 'younger borther', *igičä* 'older sister' and *singil* 'younger sister', etc.

### 3.4.2 Derival verbs

#### 3.4.2.1 *–dA*

Many denominal verbs formed with *–la* in SU and in the Kashghar dialect are formed by means of *–dA*[133] in the Turfan dialect. Notably, some verbs formed with *–dA* are unique to the Turfan dialect, while SU and the Kashghar dialect do not display corresponding verbs.

(76) *u:ruq* 'lean' + *-da* → *u:ruɣda-* 'to get lean, loose weight' (17: 174)
*majaq* 'dung' + *-da* → *majiɣda-* 'to puss dung' (19: 121)
*märäk* 'holy, blessed' + *-dä* → *märägdä-* 'to gradulate' (28: 62)
*šilim* 'glue' + *-da* → *šilimda-* 'to paste' (67: 33)

133 In Old Turkic this suffix was less productive than *–lA*, being realized in the forms of *–ta*, *-tä*, *–da* and *-dä*. Cf. Erdal 1991: 455-458.



*qamča* 'whip' + *-da* → *qamčida* 'to whip' (28: 16)
*toχmaq* 'club' + *-da* → *toχmaɣda-* 'to strike with a club' (28: 47)

SU and the Kashghar dialect display *uruqla-* ~ *uruɣla-* for *u:ruɣda-*, *majaqla-* ~ *majaɣla-* for *majiɣda-* and *mubaräklä-* ~ *märägla-* for *märägdä-*.[134] However, both SU and the Kashghar dialect have no specific verbs for *šilimda-*, *qamčida-* and *toχmaɣda-*, and both express their meanings with rather complex phrases, e.g. *šilim sürkä-* (SU) ~ *šilim sükä-* (Kashghar), *qamči bilän ur-* (SU) ~ *qamči vilä u-* (Kashghar) and *toχmaq bilän ur-* (SU) ~ *toχmaq vilä u-* (Kashghar), etc.

#### 3.4.2.2 *-rA*

Amongst the dialect lexemes recorded in different regions of Turfan, we found several verbs are formed with *–rA*. As it is well known, this suffix was less productive in comparison to *–lA* in Old Turkic, mainly deriving onomatopoeic and synaesthetic verbs, e.g. *yaŋra-* 'to babble', *kükrä-* 'to roar, bellow', *sačra-* 'to jump up or out', etc. (for details see Erdal 1991: 469-474). In Chaghatay it has already become unproductive, deriving onomatopoeic verbs, including other limited verbs formed from other bases (Bodroligeti 2001: 292). It is also true for SU, e.g. *haŋra-* 'to bray' ← *haŋ* 'braying voice of a donkey', *märä-* 'to bleat' ← *mä* 'voice of sheep'. However, in the Turfan dialect, aside from the onomotopoeic verbs, *-rA* may also derive verbs from other nouns and adjectives, though the number of verbs derived with this suffix is also limited.

(77) *düvä* 'heap, pile' + *-rä* → *düvirä-* 'to gather' (Tuyuq)
*joɣan* 'big' + *-ra* → *juɣura-* 'to become big' (41: 26)
*katta* 'big' + *-ra* → *kattira-* 'to become arrogant' (Lükchün)
*köjnä* 'old' + *-rä* → *köjnirä-* 'to become old' (Murtuq)

Amongst the verbs listed above, *juɣura-* and *düvirä-* do not exist in SU or the Kashghar dialect, whereas the latter two have corresponding verbs formed with *–la* or *–ra*, e.g. *kattila-*, *konira-*. In the case of *köjnirä-* and *konira-*, the difference between the Turfan dialect form and the one in SU is mainly phonetic, the former results from the progressive assimilation of the stem.

#### 3.4.2.3 *qïl-*

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, *qïl-* is mainly distributed to the eastern and northern dialect regions, whereas *ät-* mainly to the southern regions, namely Kashghar and Khotan. Many verbs formed by means of the auxiliary verb *qïl-* in the Turfan dialect, are generally formed with *ät-* in the Kashghar dialect, although some of them have no real equivalents either in SU or the Kasghar dialect. As we shall see from Table 3-17 below, SU sometimes follows the southern dialects, especially the Kashghar dialect, sometimes using *qïl-* instead of *ät-* like the eastern and northern dialects.

134 The forms before the "~" occur in SU, and the forms after the "~" in the Kashghar dialect.

Table 3-17 Deverbal *qïl-* in the Turfan dialect

| Turfan | Kashghar | SU | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| tamaq qïl- | tamıγät- | tamaq ät- | to cook |
| la(j) qïl- | laj ät- | laj ät- | to prepare mud |
| bala qïl- | balet- | bala qïl- | to adopt a child |
| kijım qïl- | kijimet- | kijım qïl- | to prepare a dress |
| baγ qïl- | baγ ät- | baγ qïl- | to make a garden |
| hakajä qïl- | hıkajejt- | hekajä ejt- | to tell a story |
| päχäs qïl- | päχäs vol- | päχäs bol- | to be careful |
| zijapät qïl- | zijapät vä- | zijapät bär- | to hold a banquet |

3.4.3 Derival adverbs

The following three suffixes deriving adverbs are specific to the Turfan dialect, at least SU and the other dialects of Uyghur do not display them.

3.4.3.1 *–Ittä ~ -Itte*

This suffix derives intensive adverbs from some adverbs and adjectives ending in consonants. Always, the last consonant of the adjective or adverb is doubled when this suffix is attached.

(78) *ǰim* 'silently' + *-ittä* → *ǰimmittä* 'very silently' (17: 129)
*tım* 'silent' + *-itte* → *timmıte* 'silently'[135] (Tuyuq)
*ǰïq* 'many' + *-ïtte* → *ǰïqqïte* 'very much' (Turpanlighariѕı)
*kičik* 'small' + *-itte* → *kičikkite* 'very small' (Turfan)
*lïq* 'full' + *-ittä* → *lïqqıtä* 'fully' (18: 371)
*čıp* 'suitable' + *-ittä* → *čıppıtä* 'exactly suitable' (64: 54)

The same suffix may also form adverbs from onomatopoeic words by doubling the last consonant of the onomatopoeic word. Unlike the intensive adverbs formed with this suffix, in this case, the meaning of onomatopoeic word is not intensified, but simple adverbs are formed.

(79) *taq* 'sound of jumping' + *-ïtä* → *taqqïtä* 'jumping noisily' (18: 305, 459)
*paŋ* 'sound of shooting' + *-ïtä* → *paŋŋıtä* 'bang bang' (18: 274)
*tařs* 'sound of whiping' + *-itä* → *tařssitä* 'immediately ' (18: 267)
*güp* 'sound of falling down' + *-itä* → *güppitä* 'noisily' (18: 543)
*γïŋ* 'sound of boiling or door opening' + *-ittä* → *γïŋŋıtä* 'with the sound *γıŋ*' (18: 614)

This suffix occurs in the form of *–(I)dä* in SU mainly forming adverbs from onomatopoeic words, e.g. *paqqıdä* ← *paq* 'dropping sound of light objects', *likkidä* ← *lik* 'the state of rapidly standing up ', but is never added to adjectives and adverbs.

135 *tım* and *ǰim* should be etymologically identical, while the latter certainly originates from the former.



In the Turfan dialect, the meaning of the adverbs formed by adding this suffix might be intensified by means of *–la*, e.g. *dïkkıtïla* 'very immidieately' (29: 49) ← *dïkkïtä* 'immediately '.

3.4.3.2 *-(I)la*

This suffix seems to go back to the Old Turkic and Chaghatay adverbial suffix *–la*,[136] deriving limited adverbs from some onomatopoeic words and adverbs in the Turfan dialect. The same as the case of adverbs derived with *–Ittä ~ Itte*, the last consonant of the onomatopoeic word might also be repeated, but not always.

(80) *čaq* 'sound of dropping' + *-(I)la* → *čaqqïla* 'immediately' (59: 158)
*hüt* 'sound of immidiate action'+ *-(I)la* → *hütla* 'suddenly' (13: 45)
*haqajät* 'extreme' + *-(I)la* → *haqajätla* 'extremely' (19: 35)
*haman* 'always' + *-(I)la* → *hamanla* 'immediately' (17: 64)

3.4.3.3 *–sigä*

This suffix derives limited adverbs[137] from some pronouns.

(81) *mujdaχ* 'like this' + *-sigä* → *mujdaχsigä* 'this way' (41: 37)
*qandaχ* 'how' + *-sigä* → *qandaqsigä* 'how, which way'[138] (18: 157)
*dajnaχ* 'like that' + *-sigä* → dajnaχsigä 'that way' (58: 24)

In a text recorded in Toxsun we read *könisigä* 'in the old way, in the old language' (69: 1), which is also derived from the same suffix.

136 For Old Turkic *-la* see Erdal 1991: 429–455, for Chaghatay see Bodrogligeti 2001: 312.
137 These pronouns might also be called adverbial pronouns.
138 *qandaχsigä* semantically is an interrogative pronoun (see pronouns), but functions as an adverb.

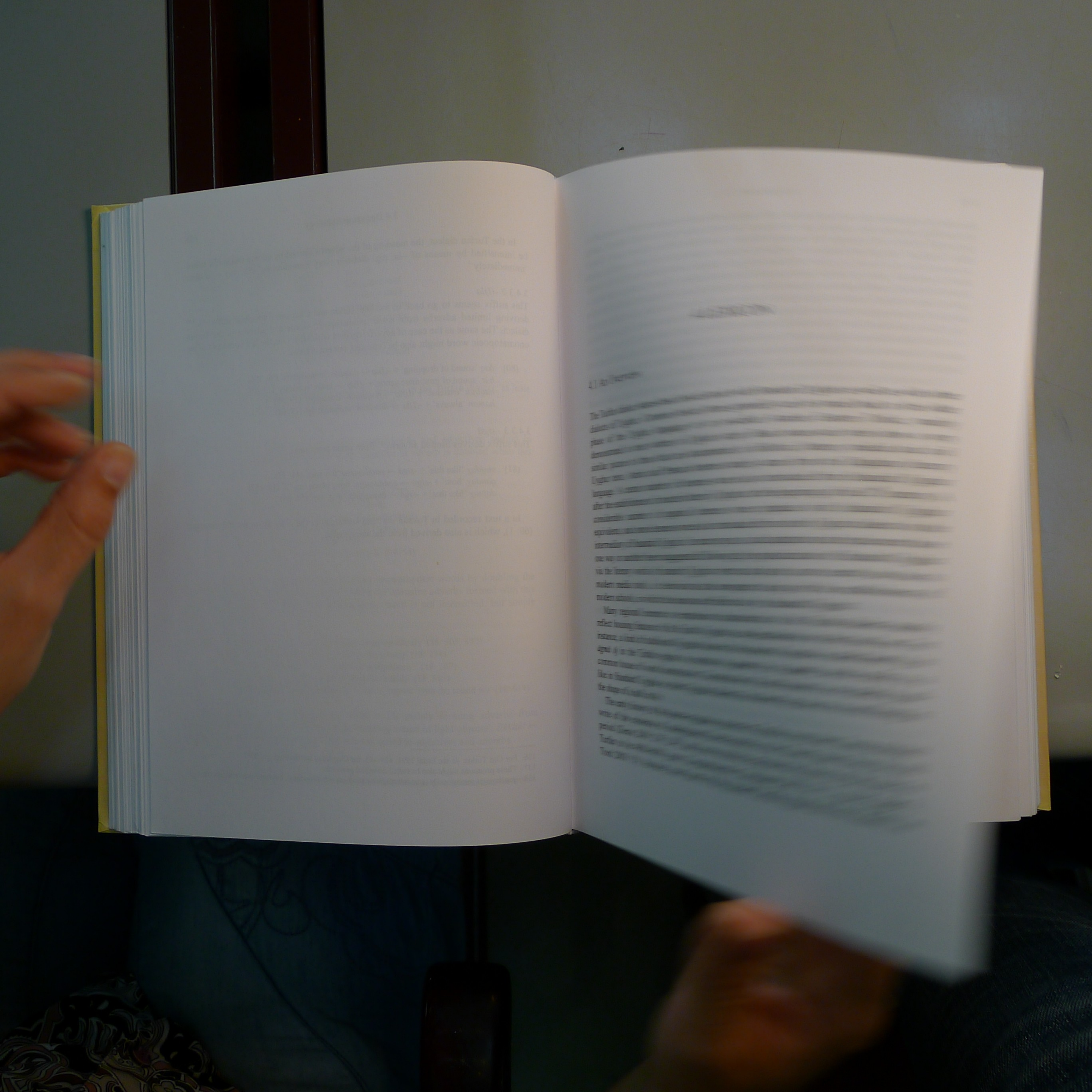
# 4 LEXICON

## 4.1 An Overview

The Turfan dialect shares basic lexical stock with Standard Uyghur as well as with other dialects of Uyghur. Common lexical items generally can be traced back to the older phase of the Uyghur language or to so-called Ancient Eastern Turkic, mainly demonstrated in texts written in Uyghur script. Basic nouns and verbs show a very similar picture to those that are documented in folkloric, literary, medical and civil Uyghur texts. Arabic and Persian lexemes mainly came from the Chaghatay literary language. A certain number of lexemes were also introduced from Standard Uyghur after the establishment of modern literary Uyghur at the beginning of the 20th century. A considerable number of regional lexemes were replaced with Standard Uyghur equivalents, and some lexemes were also introduced from other Uyghur dialects via the intermediary of Standard Uyghur. In recent years, such adaptation and replacement have one way or another been exaggerated following the popularization of Standard Uyghur via the literary works of modern Uyghur writers and poets, most recently also due to modern media tools, i.e. televisions and newspapers along with the establishment of modern schools, in which the lessons are offered only in Standard Uyghur.

Many regional lexemes or expressions characteristic of the Turfan dialect mainly reflect housing features of the Turfan Uyghurs, and peculiarities in their land use. For instance, a kind of traditional Uyghur house in the shape of copula is called *kimiř öj* or *ägmä öj* in the Turfan region in contrast to *japma öj* or *japmöj*, which refers to a common house of wood construction. Construction of such houses is not called *öj sal-* like in Standard Uyghur or other Uyghur dialects, but *kimiř äg-* due to its roof being in the shape of a half circle.

The early history of the karez-irrigation system in Turfan is not clear. Some scholars write of the existence of underground karez-canals in the Tarim basin from the old period (Zieme 2000: 205, 209), and some scholars estimate the history of the karez in Turfan to be 4000-6000 years (*Turpanšunasliq Tätqiqati* 2000, Nr. 2, cover page 3; Toxti 2003: 51). Anyway, most parts of the present Turfan region still rely mainly on



the *karez* irrigation system, and some individual families even possess their own *karez*. According to statistics, there were 420 *karez* in 1988 in the domain of Pichan County only (Shi 2001: 160) though the number of *karez* has decreased in recent years. Due to this unique irrigation system, Turfan Uyghurs developed several special terms connected to the *karez*, e.g. *karizči* 'karez-digger', *tilma* 'main drainage ditch of a karez', *bul* 'a wooden stick to which the rope of the water fetcher is bound' and so on. Also, in the traditional administrative system, the rural districts and villages in the Turfan region are divided mainly according to the distribution of *kariz*. Therefore, many place names in the Turfan region take the categorical term *kariz* after their names, e.g. *Yanjhi Kariz*, *Say Kariz*, *Dalan Kariz*, *Khandu Kariz*, *Yengi Kariz*, *Qum Kariz*, etc.

The cultivation of grapevines flourished in the Turfan region in very early times and many characteristic regional lexemes are closely connected to the viticulture of this region; for a detailed description of grapevine terms see 4.2.1 of this chapter.

Unsurprisingly, some domestic items and comestibles are expressed with special regional terms. For instance, in the Turfan region people sleep on a kind of heatable brick bed called *kaŋ* (originates from Chin. *kang*). Sleeping on the *kaŋ* is called *kaŋŋa qūŋŋaj-* (lit. decline to the *kaŋ*) or more precisely *kaŋda jat-* (lit. lie on the *kaŋ*). Expressions such as *kaŋŋa orun sal-* 'to make a bed on the *kaŋ*', *kaŋŋa öt-* 'to sit on the *kaŋ*' are not understood in other Uyghur dialect regions, since in other regions *kaŋ* basically function as heating mediums, but are never used for sleeping or inviting guests to sit on. A kind of local food prepared with hand-rolled dough and fried vegetables called *qoldama* is common in the Turfan and Qomul regions. Other regional food prepared by steaming the dough together with meat, potato and carrot is called *japma*. A kind of special mixed grain bread eaten in this region is called *qošuqluq nan*, occasionally appearing in the shape of *qošuq nan* in some regions, and so on.

For some items regional names are given. For instance, fried vegetables and salad are not called *qoruɣan sāj* and *χam sāj* as in Standard Uyghur or in the other dialect regions, but *tuskōki* (lit. salty vegetable). This indicates that a vegetable dish was traditionally prepared with salt in the Turfan region but not fried like in other regions. An electric fan is called *šamalči*, while the Standard Uyghur *šamalduřyuč* is only a latent lexeme in this region. A bed pan for children in a wooden cradle is called *kūltūk*, whereas the southern Uyghur dialects use mainly *jaka* for it. The small braid worn by young Uyghur girls is not called *sekilāk* or *sikiːlāk* like in Standard Uyghur and the Kashghar dialect,[139] but *balčuq čač*.

Formation of some adverbs and interrogative pronouns is also specific to the Turfan region. For instance, *jimmite* 'silently, secretly' and *jiqqite* 'many, too much' are formed by adding a suffix *–(l)te* to adjectives *jim* 'silent', *jiq* 'many', while *qandaχsigā* 'how' is formed by adding *-sigā* to *qandaq* 'how' as described in the morphology (see 3.4.3.3).

139 The meaning of *sekilāk* or *sikilak* in the Khotan dialect is a little different, where it denotes 'girl'.



Semantic departures are also observable. Basically, *čiq-* has the meaning 'to go out' in the Turfan dialect, but also signifies 'to go' as we find in the sentence *ürümčigā čiqtim* 'I went to Urumchi'. However, in the last case, *bar-* 'to go' is used in Standard Uyghur but not *čiq-*. The common verb *ič-* 'to drink' also denotes 'to eat' in the Turfan dialect as we find in the phrase *lāgmān ič-* 'to eat *lāgmān*'.[140]

A rather special kinship terminological system established in the Turfan dialect probably reflects regional peculiarities of social organization. The Turfan dialect displays rather distinct kin terms for aunt and uncle to Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects. Certain kin terms, which are phonetically and etymologically identical to their SU counterparts, also denote different forms of kinship (for details see 4.2.2).

A considerable number of lexemes copied from Arabic, Chinese, Mongolian and Persian into this dialect hint at the long-standing cultural and religious contact of Turfan Uyghurs with neighboring nationalities, exhibiting some peculiarities in adaptation of those lexemes (for discussions see 4.3).

Significant archaic lexical units found in the Turfan dialect demonstrate that most verbs and a considerable number of nominals in the Turfan dialect directly or indirectly originate from Old Uyghur. Many important lexemes used in some legal, literary and folkloric texts in Old Uyghur are still in use in this dialect, though a large number of Old Uyghur nominals and functional words died out or were replaced with other words (for analysis see Yakup 2002 and 4.4 of this chapter).

So-called regional lexemes and dialect words characteristic of the Turfan dialect, are mostly retained in the speech of illiterate older generations, while some of them have also been transferred to pre-school children. Words such as *aːsīq* 'benefit', *ujus* 'cheap, easy' and *boːšut* 'wedding gift' found in Le Coq's word list are only understood by the older generations, and are not used so often by most speakers. Words such as *daroɣa* 'tax collector', *ebār-* 'to send' and *tišlā-* 'to bite' known from Kathanov, Le Coq and Malov's records, have also been replaced by advanced forms such as *doːɣa*, *ivāt-* ~ *āvāt-*and *čišlā-*, respectively.

Generally speaking, the regional lexemes and expressions, particularly the rich viticulture lexicon, rather systematic *karez*-lexemes, unique kinship terms as well as the considerable number of Old Uyghur lexemes retained in the Turfan dialect, function as some of its uniform linguistic features. Most of this chapter focuses on the description and analysis of these important lexical properties of the Turfan dialect.

As one would expect, different parts of Turfan display local differences with regard to some lexical and pronunciation isoglosses. In some cases, semantics and the function of certain lexemes differ from region to region. Internal regional differences found in the lexicon of the Turfan dialect are considerably extensive, especially in contrast to phonology and morphology.

140 *lāgmān* is a kind of stretched noodle most commonly consumed by Uyghurs.

## 4.2 Analysis of regional lexemes

### 4.2.1 A viticulture lexicon

We don't know exactly when the grapevine began to be cultivated in the Turfan region. Archeologists declare the discovery of large number of grapes, vine branches and wall paintings of vineyards in a tomb in Turfan dating from Eastern Jin (A.D. 317-420; see Shi 2001: 224). Chinese chronicles and documents from the 6th century on include numerous rather detailed records on vine growing, grape varieties and wine producing in the Turfan region.[141] Several important lexemes and expressions such as *üzüm* 'grape', *bor* 'vine', *borluk* / *bag borluk* 'vineyard' closely connected to viticulture, frequently occur in Old Uyghur texts. Both religious and civil documents unearthed from Dunhuang and Turfan clearly demonstrate that vine growing was widespread around the 10th and 13th centuries in both regions. An Uyghur document discovered in Turfan clearly states that wine was even used as an exchange medium along with other objects (Yamada et al (eds.) 1991, Lo30). Vineyards were considered important economic sources by the Manichean monastery, which existed until the end of the 10th century (Moriyasu 1991: 159-160). Even a kind of vineyard tax (*borluk ayïz*) was levied by the government during the Yuan period (Matsui 2002: 93-94).

Names of some grape varieties, e.g. *it üzümi* 'wild grape', *asgu üzüm* 'grapes hanging (on the vine)' and *kurug üzüm* 'dried grape, raisin' are known from some civil and medical texts (see Hamilton 1986, Nr. 29: 7 and Arat 1930, 1932). *Weiwuerguan Yiyu* of the Ming dynasty records a further variety of grape called *günǰüt üzüm* (lit. sesame grape, WYY 324). Both Chinese and Turkic literature of a later period provide more and detailed information on viticulture in the Turfan region. Ming envoy Chen Cheng of the 15th century writes: "Lükchün Town, which was known as Liuzhong County in old times, is located to the East of Qocho, approximately a thousand miles from Qomul (Hami)... Each sides of the town is around two or three miles long, and there are many rural districts surrounded by flowing waters and dense forests. From this land wheat, hemp and beans are produced. [Here] widely grow grapes, peaches, apricots, red apples (huahong), walnuts, jujube (xiaozao), sweet melon, pumpkin, etc. [Here] grows a small grape called Suozi- grape[142] which tastes sweet and is seedless. Cloth made of the cotton produced here is sheer. They are master winemakers." (Chen Cheng 2000: 111; Su / Huang 1993: 152). During the Qing period local grapes and melons from Turfan were shipped westward to Urumchi (Lin & Wang 1991: 74-75).

141 For a rather detailed analysis of viticulture in China and Iran, see Laufer 1973, pp. 220-245; For very valuable text materials on the viticulture of the southern parts of present Xinjiang, see Jarring 1998, pp. 21-40.

142 Suozi-grape: *suozi* literally means 'lock'. It seems to be another spelling for suosuo-grape, which is discussed in Laufer 1973: 229, if not, it is unclear which variety of grape it refers to.



In present day Turfan – perhaps also true for many regions of Dunhuang – vine growing is considered a most important economic resource for the settlements of the region. Massive vineyards have been newly formed, and the wine industry and trade has been developing at a fairly high speed. Statistics show that there are 75973 *mu* of vineyards in Pichan County alone. Excellent wine products, tinned grapes, grape vinegars, grape oils, grape juice and other grape products are increasingly produced (Shi 2001: 238-239). Reflecting such a cultural and economic situation of this region, Turfan Uyghurs have developed a rather rich viticulture lexicon during their long-standing history of vine cultivation. Certain important lexemes, such as *čunčä* 'a shady and well-ventilated building for drying grapes', *täk* 'vine stalk', have been adopted by Standard Uyghur. However, most grape lexemes are only understood in this region. It might be said that the viticulture lexicon clearly divides the whole Turfan dialect area from other dialect regions as a bundle of isoglosses. The classified grape lexemes discussed below demonstrate this bulk of regional lexical items of the Turfan dialect.

#### 4.2.1.1 Lexemes for vine and vine stalks

Vine stalk is called *täk* in the Turfan dialect, while the other dialect regions use descriptive terms such as *üzüm teli*, *üzüm šeχi* (Kashghar) or simply covering it with *üzüm* (some regions of Kashghar and Khotan) in this sense. In the Turfan region, different terms are used to refer to different branches and sub-branches of grapevine. The term *it jatqu* refers to the main branch of the grape stalk, while *tûpaš* signifies 'the secondary branch developed from the main branch of the vine stalk (in some regions the latter also refers to the main branch of stalk) and *šuŋ* refers to the long branch of the vine exactly where grapes appear. A newly formed grape stem is called *soχta* or *suχta*, using *jitim soqta* or *seriq soqta* for 'a year old grape stem'; *čörlimä* specifically refers to the first vine in two rows of vines, whereas the descriptive term *jawa täk* is used as a general name for all grape varieties other than the seedless grape.

#### 4.2.1.2 Lexemes relating to the vineyard

Generally *täk* is also used to refer to a vineyard, though a newly formed lexeme *täklik* has begun to be used along with it. In the Turfan region *qerim* specifically refers to a ditch where vines are planted, but not to a general ditch like in Standard Uyghur and in the other Uyghur dialects.

#### 4.2.1.3 Lexemes for grape varieties

Turfan is the only Uyghur region where the lexeme *üzüm* covers both grape and raisin. According to some statistics, 45 local grape varieties exist in the Turfan region (Shi 2001: 225). Recently, numerous grape varieties have been introduced from other regions and countries. Basically two types of grape, *kišmiš* 'seedless, round shaped, small grape' and *sa:va* 'comparatively long grape with seed', are sharply

differentiated.[143] Traditionally, only seedless grapes are dried and sold. Grapes with seeds are mostly left for personal consumption or used for serving guests. As far as we know, there is only a sort of seedless grape in the shape of fish in the image of the Turfan Uyghurs, which was called *beliq üzüm* (lit. fish grape) and differs from other normal seedless grapes.

Turfan Uyghurs clearly differentiate several varieties of grapes with seeds. The general term *sa:va* is a for grapes with seeds as we have mentioned. It is also called *sa:va üzüm* '*sa:va* grape' more precisely. It is bigger than *kišmiš*, including many sub-varieties, e.g. *uzun sa:va* 'long *sayva*' (a sort of *sa:va* of fairly long grape), *qizil sa:va* 'red *sayva*' (also called *qizil üzüm* 'red grape'), *aq sa:va* 'white *sayva*' (also called *aq üzüm* 'white grape') and *jumbulaχ sa:va* 'round *sayva*'. All of these terms mainly emphasize the shape and colour of the grape varieties.

Grapes which ripen rather late are generally called *qašqïř*, although it also covers some *sayva* sorts that ripen later and also occasionally the grape sorts other than seedless grapes. It has two sorts: *kök qašqïř* 'blue *qašqïř*' and *kičik qašqïř* 'small *qašqïř*'. The latter is also called *kičik bulduyan igïř* in the Lükchün region. These sorts of grapes are also considered wild grapes, calling them *χašak*. Generally, the Turfan Uyghurs neither eat *χašak* nor serve them to guests, mainly using them for wine producing and for preparing local grape beverages.

There are other terms for some other grape sorts: *bäjaqi* refers to a kind of seedless sweet grape mostly eaten and served to guests; *yunči üzüm* '*vinis vinifera*' (lit. bud grape) is mainly used for medicinal purposes and is sold at a rather high price; *bilγi* '*bilγi* grape' is a sort of sweet, long-shaped grape with seeds and is mainly produced in the southern parts of Turfan.

Raisins are generally called *quruγ üzüm*, including two main sorts: *jišil üzüm* (lit. green grape) and *qara üzüm* (lit. black grape). The first one is generally used to cover raisins dried in *čünčä* (for *čünčä* see below), with the latter referring to raisins dried in places other than the *čünčä*. Usually, green raisins are sold, leaving black raisins for personal consumption during the winter. Black raisins might also be sold, but at an extremely low price. In the traditional grape growing techniques used in Turfan, no chemicals are allowed in the drying grapes.

There is a delicious kind of grape which is not completely dried, and it is called *pükän* or *pükän üzüm*. It is favoured by local people due to its special taste – between a grape and raisin – and is mostly consumed in the winter. It is only served to highly respected guests and close friends.

Several important viticulture terms found in DLT, e.g. *talqa* 'sour grapes', *mašič* 'black grapes' and *üskäbäč* 'raisins' (DLT III 253) can not be found in the Turfan dialect.

143 Shi 2001 introduces *yunči üzüm* as independent grape variety: medicine grape, cf. Shi 2001: 227.



4.2.1.4 Lexemes for grape drying objects

Grapes are dried in autumn by the desert wind in *čünčä*, which is a kind of special shady and well-ventilated building specifically used for drying grapes. Grapes are hung on *čaqqa* in *čünčä* before being dried. *čaqqa* is a general term for a hanger specifically used for grape drying. It comprises many small branches which are called *tikän*. Dried oleaster trees can be used as *čaqqa*, and are called *tikän čaqa* or *tikän čaqqa*. Hangers may also be made of wood, and they are called *jayaš čaqqa* 'wooden-hanger'. Note that the latter is becoming most popular in recent years because of increased vine cultivation.

4.2.1.5 Main verbs used for grapes

Several verbs are specifically used for grapes in the Turfan region. Generally, *mivilä-* signifies 'to give fruits' in Standard Uyghur and in other Uyghur dialects, but it means 'to give grape (fruit)' in the Turfan dialect. *puraqqa kïř-* is a verb specifically used in the meaning 'to become green (of grapes)', and *čikilä-* is only used to refer 'to be close to ripe, nearly ripe'.

Certain verbs are connected to vine cultivation activities, e.g. *šuj tařat-* signifies 'to put vine stalks in order', and *täk köm-* means 'to cover a vine stalk (with earth)'. Additional earth can be used to cover a vine in order to protect it from frostbite in a cold winter, calling it *zeyiřla-*. As the opposite term of *täk köm-*, another verb *täk ač-* is used in the meaning 'to uncover a buried vine'. Vines are trellised around late April, and this is called *täk kötüř-*. Wild vine branches can be cut down during a specific season, and it is called *täk ota-*.

In the Turfan dialect *üzüm pařla-* does not mean to select grapes as one may guess from both elements – *üzüm* 'grape' and *pařla-* 'to select' – of this compound, but it specifically signifies 'to eat raisins'.

4.2.1.6 Classifiers specifically used for vines and grapes

Certain classifiers are only used to qualify grapevines and grapes. The term *qïn* refers to 'a row line' in the vineyard. Generally *sapaq* (most often pronounced as *savaq*) is used in the meaning of 'a bunch' as in Standard Uyghur and other dialects. However, the specific term, *čilïŋ*, is used only in the Turfan region for a smaller bunch of grapes than *sapaq*.

Probably, *ijin* originates from the Old Turkic *evin* 'seed', mostly used in the meaning 'a piece of grape', also signifying 'small pieces' in certain circumstances.

The quantity of raisins is calculated by local people with *tikän* 'hanger', consulting the amount of grapes carriable with a hanger. For instance, in the speech of the Uyghurs in Turfan *ikki tikän üzüm* 'two hangers of grapes', *on tikän üzüm* 'ten hangers of grapes' refer to an amount of raisins, which is expressed by the number of hangers used when the grapes are dried.

### 4.2.2 Kin terms

Modern Uyghur kinship terminology is poorly investigated. Thus far no systematic investigations on Standard Uyghur kinship terminology have been made from the perspective of classificatory type. Systematic description and classification of dialect kinship terms never has been the object of anthropological and linguistic investigations though different Uyghur dialect areas, sometimes even some villages in the same dialect, display fairly different kinship terminology. In the case of the Turfan dialect, the quantity of such differences is comparatively great, especially in contrast to Standard Uyghur and the southern dialects of Uyghur.

Needless to say, kinship terms represent cultural categories, varying in their specific application cross-culturally, and certainly need to be investigated as a system. The system and property of the Turfan dialect kin terms should also be described and explained as a whole, taking historical traditions, cultural contact, social and regional elements into full consideration. In this part, first we present a description of the kin terms in the Turfan dialect, comparing them with the materials from Standard Uyghur and related Uyghur dialects, and then present a primary componential analysis on the kinship terminology of this local dialect. Regional variations observed in the kin terms in the different parts of Turfan will be only briefly mentioned.

#### 4.2.2.1 A comparative kin lexicon

Table 4-1 below is a list of the Turfan dialect kin terms along with their Standard Uyghur and Kashghar dialect counterparts. In this table the following standard acronyms of kin terms are used: F = father, M = mother, B = brother, Z = sister, S = son, D = daughter, H = husband, W = wife, C = child, O = older, and Y = younger. Composite kin types are combinations of elementary kin types, e.g. FF = grandfather, MB = mother's brother, SCS = son's children's son, and so on.

Table 4-1 Turfan dialect kin terms

| Turfan dialect | Standard Uyghur | Kashghar dialect | Description |
|---|---|---|---|
| hăzriti bowa | - | - | FFFFF / MFFFF |
| hăzriti moma | - | - | FFFFM / MFFFM |
| uluɣ bowa | (uluɣ bowa) | - | FFFF / MFFF |
| uluɣ moma | (uluɣ moma) | - | FFFM / MFFM |
| bowa / čoŋ dada | bowa / čoŋ dada | čoŋ dada | FFF / MFF, FMF / MMF |
| moma / čoŋ ana | moma / čoŋ ana | čoŋ ana | FFM / MFM, FMM / MMM |
| dada | čoŋ dada / bowa | čoŋ dada / | FF / MF |

144 *dadaka* and *anaka* are restricted to some regions in the Kashghar dialect speaking area.



| | | dada:ka[144] | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ana[145] | čoŋ apa / moma | čoŋna /ana:ka | FM / MM |
| ata / äkä[146] / aka | dada / ata | dada | F |
| apa | apa / ana | ana | M |
| čoŋ ata / ala:ka[147] | taɣa | taɣa | FOB / MOB |
| čoŋ apa | hamma | hamma / hammača | FOZ / MOZ |
| kičigata | taɣa | taɣa | FYB / MYZ |
| kičigapa | hamma | hamma/hammača | FYZ / MYZ |
| malka[148]/ aɣa / aka | aka | aka | OB |
| ajla[149]/ äkä[150]/ igičä | ača / hädä | a:ča | OZ |
| ǰiǰän oɣul | ǰiǰän oɣul | akəniŋ oɣlï / ačəniŋ oɣlï, ininiŋ oɣlï / siŋilniŋ oɣlï | OBS / OZS, YBS / YZS |
| ǰiǰän qïz | ǰiǰän qïz | akamniŋ qïzï / ačəniŋ qïzï, ininiŋ qïzï / siŋilniŋ qïzï | OBD / OZD, YBD / YZD |
| ini / ükä | ini | ini / uka | YB |
| siŋil / ükä | siŋil | siŋil / uka | YZ |
| nävrä aka[151]/ nävrä ini[152] | nävrä aka / nävrä ini | nävrä aka / nävrä ini | FBS / FZS, MBS / MZS |
| nävrä ača / nävrä siŋil[153] | nävrä aka / nävrä ini | nävrä aka/ nävrä ini | FBD / FZD, MBD / MZD |
| qi:nata | qejni ata | qejnata | HF / WF |
| qi:nana | qejni ana | qejnana | HM / WM |
| qi:naka | qejini aka | qejnaka | HOB / WOB |
| qi:nača | qejni a:ča | qejna:ča | HOZ / WOZ |
| qi:nini | qejni ini | qejnini | HYB / WYB |
| qi:ni siŋil | qejni siŋil | qejni siŋil | HYZ / WYZ |

145 Say Kariz also displays *čoŋ ana* for FM / MM.

146 *äkä* refers to father (F) as well as older sister (OZ). Clauson argues the first word should be a homophonous with the latter; see ED 100b.

147 *ala:ka* is specific to the Lükchün, Murtuq, Say Kariz, Singgim and YangheYanghe regions.

148 Qara Ghoja displays mala:ka.

149 Say Kariz displays gender-differentiated terms *čoŋ ajla* 'older aunt, older sister' and *kičik ajla* 'younger aunt, younger sister'; In some other regions *ajla* occurs in the form of *äjla*.

150 *äkä* only survives in two regions, Lükchün and Say Kariz, in this meaning.

151 Tuyuq displays *nävrä malika*.

152 *nävrä aka*, most often occurs as *bir nävrä aka*, referring to the son of FB or FZ, occasionally also referring to MB and MZ older than ego; *nävrä ini*, most often occurs as bir nävrä ini, referring to the son of FB or FZ, occasionally also to MB and MZ younger than ego.

153 *nävrä a:ča*, most often appears as *bir nävrä a:ča*, referring to the daughter of FB or FZ, also referring to MB and MZ older than ego; *nävrä siŋil* (most often occurs as *bir nävrä siŋil*) refers to the daughter of FB and FZ, also using to refer to MB and MZ younger than ego.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| kŭjŏ aka / kŭjŏ:ka | ačınıŋ joldiši | a:čənĭŋ ırı | OZH |
| kılına:ča | kelın a:ča | χana:ča | BW |
| oγul / uγul | oγul | uγal | S |
| qız | qız | qïz | D |
| oγul nävrä | oγul nävrä | uγal nävrä | SS / DS |
| qız nävrä | qız nävrä | qïz nävrä | SD / DD |
| oγul ävrä | oγul nävrä | uγal pej nävrä | SCS / DCS |
| qız ävrä | qïz ävrä | qïz pej nävrä | SCD / DCD |
| čävrä | čävrä | čävrä | SCCC / DCCC |
| kökün nävrä | - | - | SCCCC / DCCCC |

As seen from table 4-1, aside from many common elements, kinship terms for the older generations (until OZ) in the Turfan dialect significantly diverge from their counterparts in Standard Uyghur as well as in the Kashghar dialect. The main difference might be outlined briefly into the following points:

(a) Standard Uyghur and the Kashghar dialect have no specific terms for FFFF / MFFF and FFFM / MFFM, while the Turfan dialect displays *häzriti bowa / häzriti moma* and *uluγ bowa / uluγ moma* for them, respectively;

(b) Turfan dialect terms for grandfather (FF / MF) and grandmother (FM / MM) are phonetically identical with the terms for father (F) and mother (M) in the Kashghar dialect, but semantically distinct. The kin terms for grandfather and grandmother in Standard Uyghur and in the Kashghar dialect are descriptive, and are basically modified by *čoŋ* 'big, great'. The elementary terms *bowa* and *moma* found in Standard Uyghur supposedly are loans from the Qomul sub-dialect. Rather archaic terms *dada:ka* and *ana:ka* found in the Kashghar dialect are mostly used in some rural regions.

(c) Both Standard Uyghur and the Kashghar dialect do not distinguish fathers older brother (FOB) or mother's older brother (MOB) from father's younger brother (FYB) or mother's younger brother (MYB), using only *taγa* for all of them, whereas the Turfan dialect displays two different terms *čoŋ ata* (lit. big father) and *kičik ata* (lit. little father) to cover these kin relations.

(d) The Turfan dialect exhibits several terms both for older brother (OB) and older sister (OZ), but there are only two terms for OB and OZ in the Kashghar dialect.

(e) The Turfan dialect and Standard Uyghur possess specific terms for brother's and sister's son (BS / ZS) as well as for brother's and sister's daughter (BD / ZD), however, such concepts are expressed in a descriptive way in the Kashghar dialect. Presumably, Standard Uyghur terms were adopted from the Turfan dialect.

(f) Basically identical terms show slight differences in their phonetic shape, e.g. the term for father-in-law (HF / WF) is *qi:nata* in the Turfan dialect, while the Kashghar dialect displays *qejnata* and Standard Uyghur use *qejni ata*.



(g) Both Standard Uyghur and the Kasghar dialect have no specific terms for grand grand-grand children (SCCCC / DCCCC), using descriptive terms to represent these kin relations, whereas these kin relations are represented with specific terms in the Turfan dialect.

More interestingly, Standard Uyghur kinship terms exhibit multi-dialect-based features. This is true especially for the terms for grandfather (FF / MF), grandmother (FM / MM), father (F), mother (M) and older sister (OZ). Probably, *čoŋ dada* comes from the Kashghar dialect or other southern dialects, while *bowa* and *moma* are certainly transferred from the Qomul dialect. The further term *hädä* for OZ seems to be introduced from the Ili dialect, because it is not understood in other dialect regions.

Generally speaking, in the Turfan dialect kinship system contrastive points such as descent, collaterality, generation, sex and relative age, are rather systematically used to define the meaning of kin terms. A fairly similar kinship system, but a linguistically distinct kinship lexicon, is observed in the neighboring Qomul area. The kinship terminological system exhibited in these two regions reflects their long historical tradition, social status as well as cultural contact with neighbouring nationalities during the last 500 years.

#### 4.2.2.2 Componential analysis

It is argued that the Kök Türk kinship terminology has been identified as an Omaha type (lineal variant). It is also claimed that the kinship terminology of all early Turco-Mongol peoples was Omaha (Baştuğ 1993: 16). Extensive discussions have been put forth on some Turkic and Mongolian dialects by Bacon (1958) and Krader (1963), and linguistic analysis of kinship terms in most Turkic languages is presented in the works of Pokrovskaya (1961) and Li (1999). The kin terms found in Kashghari's dictionary were investigated by Dankoff (1972) and Kelly (DLT III pp. 260-261 index). It is difficult to identify the Turfan dialect kin terms with the four well-known types of elementary kinship systems, since certain key terms, especially the term for MMBDD, which are necessary for identifying these systems (Fox 1967: 249-250) are lacking in the Turfan dialect. Needless to say, the so-called Omaha terminology is also an overall framework, and individual terms diverge in different subsystems.

The Omaha type is usually defined as MF = MB = MBS = MBSS, and M or MZ = MBD = MBSD (Lounsbury 1964). However, the kin terminology of the Turfan dialect obviously does not fit into this category. Basically, in the Turfan dialect kin terminological system BC = SC, but never BC / SC = FBC or FBSC, if we consider the Turfan dialect kinship system as a lineal variant of Omaha (Romney 1965). Most importantly, in the Omaha kinship terminological system the members of ego's mother's patrilineage are merged across generations, and clearly differentiated from the members of ego's patrilineage (Bodley 1993: 434). However, such distinctiveness is not systematically observable in Turfan dialect kinship terminology. Obviously, Turfan

dialect kinship terminology cannot be simply classified into the Omaha system, and certainly requires more detailed and systematic investigations.

Turfan dialect kin terms significantly differ from the Orkhun Turkic system. In the Turfan dialect *jijän* only refers to a brother's child (BC) and sister's child (ZC), but is never used to address a daughter's child (DC) and a father's sister's child (FZC) like the Old Turkic *yegen*, because there are separate terms *nävrä* 'grand-child' for a daughter's child (DC) and the descriptive terms *nävrä aka*, *nävrä ača*, *nävrä ini*, *nävrä sinjil* etc. for a father's sister's children (FZC) in the Turfan dialect.

Many important Old Uyghur kin terms such as *ög* 'mother', *qaŋ* 'father' have been replaced by *ata* and *ana* in the Turfan dialect. Evidently, such a replacing process already took place in late Uyghur texts (Shōgaito 1982 I 25). In Kashghari's dictionary these terms only occur as a part of other terms, e.g. *qaŋdaš qadaš* 'sons of the same father and different mothers' and *ögdäš* 'sons of the same mother' (Dankoff 1972: 38-40). The Classified Chinese-Uyghur bilingual vocabularies *Gaochangguan Yiyu* and *Weiwuerguan Yiyu* also include quite similar kin terms as in Kashghari's dictionary, displaying many kin terms in the same or close phonetic shape to the one found in Kashghari's dictionary, see Ligeti 1966, Shōgaito 1983.

Most systematical and very complex kin terms are listed in the *Wuti Qingwenjian*. Perhaps these kin terms were the basis for Turfan dialect kin terminology, because we found a very similar status in the kin terminological system of the *Wuti Qingwenjian* to the one observed in the Turfan dialect. Presumably, the Turfan dialect terms *uluγ bowa*, *uluγ moma* and *kükün nävrä* are developments of the terms *uluγ baba* 'great grandfather', *uluγ mama* 'great grandmother' and *kükü näbrä* 'grand- grand- grand-children', which are known from the *Wuti Qingwenjian*. Such terms were not recorded in Old Turkic, even in the afore-mentioned bilingual lexical works of the Ming period. It is very likely that the kin terms listed in the *Wuti Qingwenjian* were not fully made use of by Uyghur community of that period. Since the terms *zat baba* 'great great grandfather' (FFF) and *yat baba* 'mother's father' (MF) found in the *Wuti Qingwenjian*, do not exist either in Standard Uyghur or in any Uyghur dialects, including the Turfan dialect.

Vamberi reports on the Kirghiz concern about seven fathers-ancestors (*yeti ata*, Vambery 1864: 369). A similar tradition should have existed amongst many other Turkic peoples, since similar descriptive terms such as Turkmen *büyük baba* 'grandfather', Azari *ulu baba* 'grandfather's or grandmother's grandfather' refer to rather older generations (Li 1999: 95-96). Genealogical lists of rather big families have been discovered in many parts of present Xinjiang. Notably, such differentiation of a mother's generations from the fathers side as indicated by *yat baba* found in *Wuti Qingwenjian* is not known from previous Turkic literature though Turks had a basic contrast between relatives and strangers (Dankoff 1972: 37-38).

In Chinese kin terminology, relatives of the father's and mother's sides are strictly



defined with different terms (McCoy 1970). Very probably, extremely complex kinship terminology found in the *Wuti Qingwenjian* is directly or indirectly Chinese-influenced, and some of it obviously was created for translation purposes. Interestingly, these created kin terms seem to have become dominant amongst the local Uyghurs in Turfan and Qomul. It is likely that a new, mixed kinship terminological system was established in the Turfan region based both on traditional and created kin terms. Presumably, this is why the Turfan dialect kinship terminology is so divergent from those in other Uyghur dialects where the cultural and linguistic contact with Chinese, Mongolian and Manchurians was not as extensive as in the Turfan and Qomul region during the Qing period.

However, not all kin terms in the Turfan dialect are identical with the ones listed in the *Wuti Qingwenjian*, though the Turfan dialect kin terms are principally inherited from the system exhibited in the *Wuti Qingwenjian*. At least, two important processes seem to have taken place in the Turfan dialect. First of all, several kin terms registered in the *Wuti Qingwenjian* were replaced by other terms, e.g. *yeznä ana* 'mother's sister' were replaced by *čoŋ apa* and *kičik apa*, and some of them even fell out of usage, e.g. *yat baba* 'mothers father'. Secondly, certain terms have made a semantic shift, for instance, *apa* 'sister' registered in the *Wuti Qingwenjian* shifted to refer to 'mother' in the present Turfan dialect. Furthermore, several new kin terms emerge in the Turfan dialect, e.g. *ma:lka* (presumably originates from *mala* < *bola* ~ *bula* 'children of two sisters'[154] + *aka* 'older brother') and *kilinača* (< *kälin* 'bride' + *ača* 'elder sister'), although we can not exclude the possibility that they existed before the period when the *Wuti Qingwenjian* was compiled.

#### 4.2.2.3 Regional- and gender-specific forms of some kin terms

As we have seen in the previous section, the Turfan dialect displays two or more than two terms for father, father's older brother, older brother and older sister, though some of them are latent in some regions, and some of them are even specific to certain regions and specific genders. Out of the three terms *ata*, *aka* and *äkä* for father, only *ata* is uniform in all regions of Turfan, while *aka* is only used in Say Kariz, and another term *äkä* (often confused with *aka* due to their phonetic similarity) is dominant in the Lükchün region. Again, the Turfan dialect term *čoŋ ata* for a father's older brother is understood in all regions of Turfan, whereas *ala:ka* is more active than *čoŋ ata* in the lower part of Qizil Tagh excluding Murtuq. All three terms for older brother listed in table 4-1 are understood throughout the Turfan region, but *malka* (in Qaraghoja it was pronounced as *ma:lka*) is most frequently used, though younger generations and educated speakers mostly prefer *aka*.

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154 For its semantics and forms in other Turkic languages see Tenishev et al. 1997: 293-294, Li 1999: 182-183.

A similar case is observed in the distribution of the kin terms for older sister. The term *ajla* is generally used to refer to an 'older sister' in the whole Turfan area, however, the Old Turkic term *äkä* is still used in Lükchün and the Say Kariz regions, also referring to 'older sister'. Another term, *igičä*, also refers to 'older sister', but it is mostly observable in the speech of the rather older generations. There seems to be a mostly observable in the speech of the rather older generations. If two or more than two terms are used to refer to the same kin, only one of them is generally known in all regions, while the others are specific to certain regions or mostly used by specific generations. Table 4-2 illustrates the region and gender-specific forms of some frequent kin terms used in the Turfan dialect (OG = older generation, YG = younger generation).

Table 4-2 Regional- and gender distribution of some kin terms

| Kin types | General term | Region-specific forms | Gender-varied forms |
|---|---|---|---|
| F | *ata* | *äkä* (Lük), *aka* (SayK) | |
| FOB / MOB | *čoŋ ata* | *ala:ka* (Lük, Mur, SayK, Siŋ, Yaŋ) | |
| OB | *malka* | *ma:lka* (QaraGh), *ma:la:ka* (Lük, Yaŋ) | *aγa* (OG), *aka* (YG) |
| OZ | *ajla* | *äjlä* (Yaŋ), *äkä* (Lük, SK) | *igičä* (older generation) |

## 4.3 Lexical copies

Ancient Turfan was an important convergence area of very different cultures, languages and religions on the ancient Silk Road. For a rather long period, different ethnic groups and languages, including Chinese, Indo-European (mainly Sogdian and Tocharian), Mongolian, Tibetan and Uyghur coexisted in this region. Large numbers of religious texts on Buddhism, Manichaeism, Nestorianism were translated, introduced and even created in Uyghur by native Uyghurs, though some bilingual foreign missionaries may have also been involved in these translation activities. Middle Parthian and Sogdian should have served as important sources for Uyghur Manichean texts, though thus far we do not have so much [German nicht so viel] Uyghur texts proved to be translated from afore-mentioned Iranian languages (Gabain 1974: 59). Early Buddhist texts, including the famous Uyghur Buddhist text Maitrisimit of the Maitreya tradition, were translated from Tocharian, although the main body of Uyghur Buddhist texts was translated later from Chinese. A sizable amount of texts were also translated from Tibetan after the introduction of Tantric Buddhism (Zieme 1992: 40-42).

Old Turkic texts of the early period exhibit some lexical copies from Middle Parthian and Sogdian, and Mongolian and Persian copies also began to appear in late Uyghur



texts, while the copies from Chinese and Sanskrit are observable in all three important phases of Old Turkic. Strong evidence tell us that Chinese influence on Uyghur was not only restricted to lexicon. Chinese-imitated word order and sentence structures were also used fairly commonly in some Uyghur Buddhist texts translated from Chinese (Shōgaito 1982, I: 112-115; Shōgaito 1991, 16-17). On the other hand, Uyghur has also influenced other ancient languages. In the Sogdian letters unearthed in Turfan, we found many Uyghur titles, lexemes and expressions copied from Uyghur,[155] including some grammatical forms based on Uyghur.[156] Large numbers of Uyghur Buddhist terms were copied into early Mongolian (see Shōgaito 1991), although a considerable number of Uyghur loanwords also exist in Mongolian civil documents.[157] Certain Chinese texts also include expressions that were created based on Uyghur (Nishiwaki 2002: 77).

Large numbers of Arabic- and Persian lexemes and grammatical units certainly were adopted rather late after the Islamization of the region. Elements copied from Arabic and Persian massively increased due to the Chaghatay literary tradition. Both *Gaochangguan Yiyu* and *Weiwuerguan Yiyu* contain a considerable number of copies from Arabic and Persian. At a rather late time, more exactly, after the 17th century, Manchurian came into contact with Uyghur, and a certain number of Manchurian copies, mainly at the level of lexicon, began to appear in some documents and lexicographical works. A Turfan dialect text from the beginning of 18th century contains *xebe amban* 'governor, military governor' (<< Manchurian *chebei amban*, see Temir 1961: 198, note 18). A Manchu-Uyghur bilingual text brought by Le Coq from Turfan displays *küyümä* 'official gown of Manchurians' (<< Man. *Kurume*, see Haenisch 1951: 259, 23) and *olamγilap* 'by turn'. The latter apparently was formed by adding the Uyghur adverbial suffix *–γilap* to the Manchurian nominal stem *olam* 'turn'. However, Chinese was still the most effective donor language during the Qing period due to the important role of Tungans (Muslim Chinese) and Chinese merchants in the commercial activities of this region. According to some sources, communal interaction of Chinese speaking nationalities with the local people of Turfan was frequent during this period (Millward 1998: 129-130).

In present-day Turfan, as well as in other parts of XUAR, Chinese, including both Mandarin and some local Chinese dialects, is still the most important donor language. Aside from a sizable amount of lexical copies, global and semantic copies from Chinese also began to appear, e.g. *čoŋ säkräp ilgiriläš* 'big jumping progress' (<< Chinese 大躍

155 Yutaka Yoshida, Studies on the Sogdian texts, In: Turfan Antiquarian Bureau (ed.), Studies in the new Manichean texts recovered from Turfan, Cultural Relics Publishing House, pp. 5, 65 (note 58:1), 134 (note 17-18), 135 (note 24:1), 136 (notes 26, 28), etc; See also Sims-Williams et Hamilton 1990.

156 Yoshida ibid. pp. 82 (note 104), 123-124 (note 1:5), 126 (note 6:1), etc.

157 T. Matsukawa, Some Uighur elements surviving in the Mongolian Buddhist sūtra of the Great Bear, In: Durkin-Meiterernst et al. (ed.) 2004, pp. 203-207.

进 *da-yue-jin* 'big jumping progress'), *tilpun uř-* 'to make a telephone call' ( << Chin 打電話 lit. beat a telephone). Combinational patterns as seen in *čoŋ jäp čoŋ ič-* 'waste by eating and drinking' (lit. big eating big drinking, << Chinese 大吃大喝 *da-chi da-he*) were also copied. Influence from Russian and other languages are mostly via the other dialects of Uyghur, namely the Ili and Urumchi dialects and most recently also via the intermediary of Standard Uyghur. Here we only deal with the lexical copies, leaving morphological and syntactic copies for separate papers.[158]

4.3.1 Copies from Chinese

Turfan dialect displays a considerable number of unique lexical items copied from Chinese. More than 90 global and mixed lexical copies from Chinese are listed in the dialect vocabulary presented in this book, and most of them exist neither in Standard Uyghur nor in other Uyghur dialects. The quantity of lexical elements copied from Chinese into this dialect will be enlarged, if the Chinese-copied lexical units (e.g. *šaŋjo* 'Shangye, official of a rural district', *ǰa* 'false', etc.) common to Standard Uyghur and other dialects are also be taken into consideration. Evidently, Chinese copies in the Turfan dialect are from very different time ranges, and were adopted from different Chinese dialects. The most significant donor dialect is the local Chinese spoken by Chinese Muslims in Xinjiang, which is heavily influenced by Uyghur.

4.3.1.1 Types of code-copying

4.3.1.1.1 Global copies

In global copying, the original, whose material shape is copied, can be morphemically simple or complex, free or bound, and can encompass one or more words (Johanson 2002: 11). In the Turfan dialect, most nominals copied from Chinese are global copies, e.g. *faŋčän* 'rent' (<< Chinese 房錢 *fang-qian* 'rent'), *gänzä* 'restaurant' (<< Chinese 館子 *guan-zi* 'restaurant'), *lobišiŋ* 'common people' (<< Chinese 老百姓 *lao-bai-xing* 'common people') and *ja:ba* 'mute' (<< Chinese 哑巴 *ya-ba* 'mute'), etc.

A certain number of classifiers are also copied from Chinese in their original function but through a slight phonetic adaptation, e.g. *do* 'kilowatt' (<< Chinese 度 *du* 'kilowatt'), as found in *b#ř do tok* 'one kilowatt of electricity' (57: 46).

Some complex Chinese blocks are treated only as simple, unanalyzed units in the Turfan dialect like some copies in other Turkic languages (Johanson 2002: 12). A representative example of this type is *balaŋza* 'child' adopted from the Muslim Chinese *ba*$^{1}$*-lang*$^{3}$*-zi*. Originally, the Muslim Chinese item itself is a copy of Uyghur *balaŋ* 'your child' (< *bala* + 2 sg POSS *-ŋ*), in which *balaŋ* was also considered as a simple unit, and

158 For linguistic terms and framework used in this part see Lars Johanson's publications on language contact (1993, 1998c, 1999, 2000c and 2002).



reshaped by adding a Chinese denominal nominal suffix *zi*, giving specific tones to every syllable, which do not exist in Uyghur. In the case of the Turfan dialect, the whole word form was copied as a phrasal unit, and all the tonic elements were eliminated. Interesting enough, *balaŋza* was favoured by young Uyghur speakers living in the Turfan and Urumchi regions, and they produced many new lexemes, imitating the structure of *balaŋza*, e.g. *dadaŋza* 'father' (< *dada* 'father' + *-ŋza*), *apaŋza* 'mother' (< *apa* 'mother' + *-ŋza*), *ukaŋza* 'younger brother' (< *uka* 'brother' + *-ŋza*), etc. These newly created lexemes mostly bear a clear arrogant and haughty hue in contrast to the lexemes *dada* 'father', *apa* 'mother' and *uka* 'younger brother'. More interestingly, such created lexemes are only used without possessive suffixes, alone or together, with the first person plural possessive pronoun *biznin* 'our', e.g. *biznin dadaŋza* 'our father/my father'. On the other hand, a new subjective suffix *–ŋza* has emerged, in which *ŋ* has clearly lost its second person possessive meaning.

4.3.1.1.2 Selective copies

Selective copies from Chinese are mostly semantic. Combinational and frequential copies are also observable, e.g. *χätni tämi* 'meaning of the letters' ( << Chin 字味 *zi-yi* 'meaning of the characters', lit. taste of the characters). The rather frequently used compound *čoŋ kör* - 'respect, value' (lit. see big) in the Turfan dialect is most likely a copy of the Chinese compound 看重 *kan-zhong* 'regard as important, value' (lit. see important). However, *čoŋ* is not a copy of the second element *zhong* 'heavy, important' of the Chinese *kan-zhong* as once argued by some scholars, because its phonetic shape speaks against its Chinese origin explanation, differing both from Middle Chinese and Mandarin pronunciations of 重. Even if it is of Chinese origin, it does not seem to be a direct copy from Chinese.

As a classifier, *danä* was originally used to qualify small, special items in the Turfan dialect. However, recently it is also used frequently to qualify other objects, i.e. person, character etc, e.g. *ikki danä χät* 'two characters' (3: 12), *ottuz danä äskär* '30 soldiers' (19: 103). Obviously, the combinational features of the Chinese classifier 個 *ge* was copied in both cases.

Frequently used classifiers such as *tal*, *danä* and *tümän* 'ten thousand' observed in the phrases *ikki tal müŋüz* 'two horns' (41: 9), *iki danä qoj* 'two sheep' (21: 175), *bir tümän kej* 'ten thousand *kuai*' (59: 133), *jetti danä kala* 'seven cows' (17: 302)[159] in the Turfan dialect, presumably are affected by Chinese. Since *ikki müŋüz*, *iki qoj* (or *qojdin ikki(ni)*) and *on miŋ* are the most preferred in Standard Uyghur as well as in other Uyghur dialects when used in the same phrases.

159 Previous lines of the same text also display *jetti kala* (17: 312).

4.3.1.1.3 Mixed copies

In the mixed copies from Chinese combinational copies contain at least one global copy. A very unique copy in the Turfan dialect is *bendi ädäm* 'local people', in which the first element is the global copy of *bendi* 'local' from the Chinese original *ben-di ren* 'local people', and the second element *ädäm* 'person, people' is a semantic copy of the second element *ren* 'person' of *ben-di ren*. Interestingly, such compounds seem to have served as models in the creation of some new lexemes in the Turfan dialect. For instance, in a text recorded in Lukchun we found *qäšqä ädimi* 'an inhabitant of Kashghar, Kashgharian' (14: 1) instead of the most usual word *qäšqärliq*. Another text from Murtuq displays a very similar phrase *murtuqnu ädimi* 'a person from Murtuq, Murtuqian' (56: 40), where normally *murtuqluq* would be expected. Similarly, once in a text recorded in Yanghe we found *jaŋχi χäχ* (28: 66) 'a person from Yanghe' instead of the common word *jaŋχiliq*.

Generally, in the case of mixed copied compounds from Chinese, first the whole original is globally copied, and then the last element that represents the categorical meaning is copied once again semantically. For instance, *dašun jip* 'cord' (Urumchi displays a similar mixed copy *tošuŋ jip* for this lexeme, while Kasghar and the other southern dialects use the global copy *tošuŋ*), can be considered as a mixed copy. In which, the *dašun* is a global copy of Chin. 大線 *da-sheng* 'rope' (lit. big string), whereas the *jip* 'string' is the semantic copy of the second element *sheng* 'string, rope'. The other word *šaŋpaŋ öj* 'outer room, big room' is certainly copied in the same method, in which *šaŋpaŋ* is a global copy of Chin. 上房 *shang-fang* 'upper room, outer room', while *öj* 'room, house' is a semantic copy of Chin. *fang* 'room', the second element of *shang-fang*.

In some cases, denominal nominal suffixes are added to the global copies in order to specify the semantic meaning of global copies, e.g. *sejpuŋčiliq* 'job of tailor'. In this word, *sejpuŋ* is a global copy of Chin. 裁縫 *cai-feng* 'tailor', and the denominal nominal suffix *–čIIIq* (adds the meaning 'job of') was simply added to it. Interestingly, the latter seems to have served as a model for the creation of another new lexeme *tikkučilik*, formed from the native *tikkü* 'sewing' by adding *–čilik*, an equivalent of *sejpuŋčiliq*. However, the mixed copied *sejpuŋčiliq* is still more frequent than *tikkučilik* in the Turfan dialect.

4.3.1.2 Material restructuring

4.3.1.2.1 Phonic adaptation

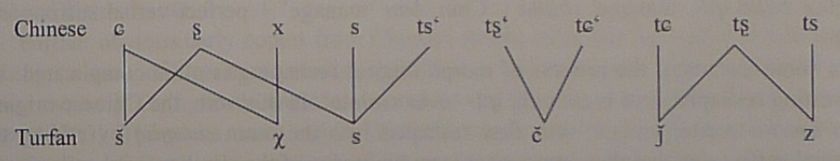
Needles to say, the phonological systems of Chinese and Uyghur exhibit considerable divergence. The Chinese vowel system includes rather complex diphthongs, and normal short vowels occur mostly as a part of finals. Stops have an opposition of [± aspirated] in Chinese, while [± voiced] are characteristic of Uyghur stops. In Chinese every



syllable takes a specific tone characterized by voice pitch (Norman 1988: 139), whereas Uyghur words take pitch accent like other Turkic languages in the last syllable of native lexical items (Johanson 1998a: 34). Retroflexes found in Chinese do not exist in Uyghur, while the uvulars [ɣ], [q] and the glottal [h] found in Uyghur are not observable in Mandarin, and so on. Such deviations existing in the phonological system of both languages require Uyghur to undertake a strong phonic reshaping of Chinese-copied lexemes in order to accommodate Chinese copies to the Uyghur phonological system. The process and technique of this phonic adaptation requires systematic descriptions. Here we try to present the main picture of the phonic adaptation reflected in 'late copies'.

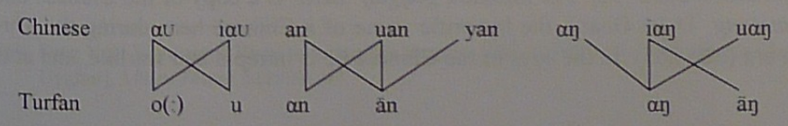
With regard to Chinese initials, principally [-aspirated] labials, alveolars and gutturals were replaced by voiced labials, alveolars and velars in the Turfan dialect, while their [+aspirated] counterparts were replaced by voiceless labials, alveolars and velars. Chinese nasals and continuants are also replaced with corresponding nasals and continuants with the exceptions unaspirated [p]. In the case of the unaspirated [p], it is represented by the voiceless /p/ in certain cases as found in *pän* 'wooden plate' (<< Chin. 板 *ban* [pän]), represented also by a voiced /b/ as found in *benčän* 'a fund' (<< Chin. 本錢 *ben-qian* [pen tɕʻiän]). The Chinese labial approximant [w] is mostly replaced by the velar /g/ in a word-initial position as found in *gaŋ* [gaŋ] 'ruler' < Chin. 王 *wang* [waŋ]). However, the situation is more complicated in the case of dental sibilants, retroflexes, palatals and fricatives as presented in figure 4.1 (Mandarin is taken as representative of Chinese).

Figure 4.1 Turfan dialect representation of Mandarin initials (fricatives and some stops)




Basically, diphthongs are replaced with normal short vowels in the Turfan dialect, mainly representing the vowels in the peak position. Figure 4.2 displays the main features of the Turfan dialect representation of open Chinese finals that rather frequently appear in the Chinese-copied lexemes.

Figure 4.2 Turfan dialect representations of Mandarin open finals



In some extreme phonic adaptations, even the numbers of syllables are decreased due to the dropping of vowels or shortening of some phonetically long lexemes, e.g. *ǰuj* 'idea' (<< Chin. 注意 *zhu-yi*), *ǰefaŋ* 'Liberation Army' found in *ǰefaŋ čiχti* 'Liberation Army came' (58: 57) can be regarded as a shortened adaptation of Chin. 解放軍 *jie-fang-jun* 'Liberation Army'.

4.3.1.2.2 Semantic restructuring

Semantic restructuring is also apparent. For instance, in *ǰasüji buzuq* 'bad heart, evil' (lit. one whose offal is broken), the semantics of *ǰasüj* 'offal' (<< Chin. 雜碎 *za-sui* 'offal') is obviously expanded. Similar semantic restructuring is also noticeable in the case of *gaŋguŋ* 'hero' (see below).

4.3.1.2.3 Morphological reshaping

Copies of Chinese verbs are reshaped into verbal stems by adding denominal verb suffix *–lA*, e.g. *ǰejlä-* 'borrow' (*ǰej* < Chin. 借 *jie* 'to borrow' + *-lä*), *ǰola-* 'submit' (*ǰo* < Chin. 交 *jiao* 'submit' + *-la*). Similar copies are already documented in the Qing period documents produced in Turfan (Hori 1999: 79), e.g. *gola-* 'accuse' (*go* < Chin. 告 *gao* 'accuse' + *-la*), *bändlä-* 'manage' (<< Chin. *ban* 'to do' + *-lA*,).

Chinese perfect verbs (Verb stem + perfect suffix) are also reshaped into verbal stems by means of the auxiliary verb *qïl-* 'do'. For instance, *sällä qïl-* 'give up' is formed by adding *qïl-* to *sällä* (<< Chin. 算了 *suan-le* 'forget it', < *suan* 'count' + perfect verb suffix *-le* ), and *tuǰula qïl-* 'wait on' is from *tuǰule* (< Chin. 特招 *te-zhao* 'wait on' + perfect verbal suffix *–le*) + *qïl-*. However, such ways of reshaping are not unique to the Turfan dialect. The same device can also be observed in the colloquial Uyghur *bällä qïl-* 'manage' (*bällä* < Chin. *ban* 'manage' + perfect verbal suffix *–le* + *qïl-*).

In some instances, the process of morphological reshaping is quite complicated. An interesting reshaped verb is *zotaŋliq qïl-* 'over violate'. In this verb, the Chinese original verb *zao-ta* 'waste, violate' was first reshaped into the noun *zotaŋliq* by adding the nominal suffix *–liq*, and then into verbal stem by means of the auxiliary verb *qïl-*.

Basically, Chinese nouns and adjectives are copied with their original word class features. For instance, *šiŋni* 'baggage' functions as a noun in the Turfan dialect just like its Chinese original 行李 *xing-li* 'baggage, luggage', and directly receives case markers just like native Uyghur nouns, e.g. *šiŋnïya* 'baggage + DIR' (19: 8); *guŋdo* 'just' receives adjective suffixes as found in *guŋdoraq* (*adäm*) 'just + COMPAR (person)', functioning as an adjective as does its original Chin. 公道 *gong-dao* 'just'.

In certain cases, combinational and semantic features of some blocks have also been altered (Johanson 2002: 12). For instance, *gaŋguŋ* 'hero' is a copy of the Chinese noun 関公 *Guangong* 'Duke Guan', the honorific name of a Chinese hero during the Three Kingdom era (220-265). In the eyes of the Chinese he is intrepid and warlike, and at the same time is a symbol of courage. In the Turfan dialect *gaŋguŋ* denotes 'hero, brave' functioning as an adjective, e.g. *gaŋguŋ mäzim* 'brave lady'. Its adjective word class feature is also observable in the complex verb *gaŋguŋluq qïl-* 'to act as hero' and also 'to behave like a hooligan', in which it was the basis for the noun *gaŋguŋluq* 'way of a hero, behaviour of a hooligan' which was formed by adding the denominal nominal suffix *–luq* to *gaŋguŋ*.



4.3.1.3 Chronological aspects

Only an approximate chronology of some late Chinese copies is determinable mainly based on the phonetic shape. Records in written texts and lexicographical works also provide some valuable background information.

4.3.1.3.1 Early copies

The number of early copies from Chinese is limited. The very popular word *lim* 'pillar' used in the Turfan region is probably inherited from Old Uyghur, and seems to be an early copy. This word occurs in Old Uyghur texts in the same form (cf. TT I, HT III, VII, X), and can be traced back to the Middle Chinese *liĕm* (Shōgaito 1986: 139). The final ending consonant *m* in this word was replaced by *–n* or *–ŋ* in the later period, more specifically the Ming period (Shōgaito 1983: 81). Mandarin displays the advanced final ending *-ŋ* in this word. Such a developed new form was already reflected in some late Uyghur texts in the pronunciation of some Chinese-copied words in the same rhyme group (Shōgaito 1986: 65). Menges notes that the first element of *limtaq* (see word list) is identical with this *lim* (Menges 1976, 111b). If Menges's analysis is proved, *limtaq* may also be an early copy, though we still have no convincing explanation on the second element, *taq*.

Further obvious early copies from Chinese are the classifier *šiŋ* ~ *šïŋ* (<< Chinese 升 *sheng* 'a unit of dry measure for grain') and the noun *saŋ* (<< Chinese 倉 *cang* 'storehouse'). Both words are documented in Old Uyghur texts (U II 77, Zieme 1975, text I: 100). The place name *sükčü* 'Suzhou', the ancient name of the present Jiuquan Prefecture of Gansu Province, should also be an early copy. The same place name occurs also in the Qomul dialect of Uyghur in the form of *sükči*. Clearly, it is not a derivative of *sük* (<< Chin. 肅 *sịuk* ) and the Uyghur agent noun derival suffix *–či* as someone has analyzed,[160] but originates from the Middle Chinese 肅洲 **sịuk cịu* (Hamilton 1986: 118 note 21.8). This place name rather frequently occurs in Old Uyghur, especially in civil documents in the form of *sükčü* or *sügču* (Hamilton 1986, Nr. 21: 8, 34: 16), and the Turfan-Qomul dialect form certainly goes back to this old form because the final consonant *–k* in the final ending *sịuk* was dropped in a rather early

160 Peng Yan, Weiwueryu Hami tuyuzhongde Hanyuci [Chinese lexemes in the Qomul sub-dialect of Uyghur], *Minzu Yuwen* 5 (1999): 43.

period in Chinese, excluding the Kejia (Hakka) and Yue (Cantonese) dialects (Hirayama 1967: 166, Norman 1988: 211-216). In Mandarin and adjacent Chinese dialects this place name appears as Suzhou or was replaced by the other name Jiuquan. The Standard Uyghur *suǰu* and *ǰǰučüän* are exact copies from the newly developed form as well as the new name, respectively.

Existence of such early Chinese-copied lexical elements in the Turfan dialect clearly reflect long-lasting cultural and linguistic contact between Chinese and Uyghur in this region, and also seems to indicate the existence of internal relations between this dialect and Old Uyghur.

#### 4.3.1.3.2 Late copies

The date of most lexical units copied from Chinese is rather late. Henceforth we use "late copies" in contrast to "early copies". The latter basically refers to the copies presumably adopted up to the 14th century. From the beginning of 11th century *–t* and *–k* in the Rusheng rhyme group merged and weakened to □, and the number of finals decreased. Around the 14th century, Peking became the Chinese capital, and the main features of northern Guanhua dialects began to be rather systematically reflected in the Chinese phonological system (Hirayama 1967: 166). A little later, the Old Uyghur literary language also began to be replaced step by step by Chaghatay, a Central Asian Islamic literary language, in the eastern regions where Old Uyghur dominated.

The status of Chinese-copied lexical units of the late period is quite complex. Generally, their relative chronology might be decided mainly relying on available cultural and historical background materials. Certainly, the chronology of datable written sources and recorded language data also serve as a valuable reference.

The Turfan dialect word for tea is *ča* (<< Chin. 茶 *cha* 'tea'), and it apparently diverges from Standard Uyghur *čaj* (<< Chin. 茶葉 *cha-ye* 'tea, tea leaves'). Early records of this word of the Turfan dialect can be found in the *Gaochangguan Yiyu* (Ligeti 1966: 148). Therefore, its date of copy should not be later than the 17th century. The WQWJ form *čaj* is presumably influenced by the written language, and probably goes back to the Chaghatay *čay*. Another word, *čādžoš* 'tea pot', found in Kathanov's records is certainly the copy of the Persian *čāyǰoš*. Clearly, the final *y* in *ča:y* was eliminated in the Turfan dialect, while its copied forms in other languages are identical with its Persian original.[161] In the Turfan dialect, *čaj* is mostly used by some educated people in urban areas, while *ča* still dominates in most parts of the Turfan region, especially in the rural areas.[162]

Adoption of *puǰuŋ* 'wife of the Jasak Prince' (<< Chinese 福晋 *Fu-jin* 'royal wife, madam'), *tāǰǰi* 'Taiji' (<< Chinese 台吉 *Tai-ji* 'Taiji, an official title') was certainly

161 In Le Coq's word list we also found an unreshaped *čāǰgōš* 'Teekanne'. Cf. Le Coq 1911: 90a.
162 For analysis of *ča* see Shōgaito 2003: 124-126.



around the second half of the 17th century but not later than the first half of the 18th century. Since background materials tell us that exactly around this time the ruling families of Turfan and Qomul began to receive such official titles from the Qing dynasty (Su/Huang 185-196).

The monetary name *jubur* certainly was adopted at the beginning of the 19th century, because the currency of this name began to be used from the beginning of 19th century, and became invalid around the 1930s.

Several copies such as *muǰaŋ* 'carpenter' (<< Chin. *mu-jiang* 'carpenter'), *pigaza* 'sleeveless short coat' (<< Chin. 皮褂子 *pi-ga-zi*) are not registered in the WTQW, but documented in Kathanov's records (see Menges 1976: 113a, 115a). Therefore the adoption time of both words probably is not earlier than the end of the 19th century, but not later than the beginning of the 19th century.

The date of some recent copies is very certain. For instance, *guŋši* (55: 4) 'commune', *dädij* 'brigade' (55: 2), *šodüj* 'small brigade', *kej* 'basic unit of Chinese currency', were obviously adopted after the second half of the 19th century, more exactly, after the establishment of the People's Republic, because such administrative units and currency were introduced in China around the 1950-60s.

#### 4.3.1.4 Source dialects

As we have repeatedly stated, Chinese loanwords in the Turfan dialect are adopted from very different dialects, some of them via intermediary of other neighbouring languages. The most frequently used word *kanto* ~ *kantu* 'thief' originates from the northern Chinese dialect 亢頭 *kan-tou* (Menges 1954: 63), since in Mandarin 小偷 *xiao-tou* or 賊 *zei* is used instead of *kan-tou*. Even in the Chinese Muslim dialect, *zei-wa-zi* (some Uyghur dialects display *ziwazi* originated from this *zei-wa-zi*), a reshaped form of *zei*, is used.

There are two forms *beŋdi* and *ben-di* for 'local', and both of them go back to the Chinese 本地 *ben-di*. However, the former most likely is a copy from the Muslim Chinese spoken in Xinjiang, and the latter from Mandarin. Since as far as we know, the final alveolar nasal [n] is pronounced as a velar nasal in the Muslim Chinese dialect spoken in Xinjiang (see Liu 1994, Zhang 1996: 105-106).

The term *ǰägän* 'joiner (chariot object)' probably is not a direct copy from the Chinese 加板 *jia-ban*, but appeared via intermediary Uyghur dialects into which *jia-ban* was copied in the form of *ǰa:bän*. And in this dialect the copied word *ǰa:bän* has developed into *ǰawän* or *ǰä:wän* as we found in the Kashghar (*ǰawän*), and Kucha (*ǰä:wän*), and then this *ǰa:wän* or *ǰäwän* became *ǰägän* as a result of the strengthening of [w] in an intervocalic position. Other the other hand, the adaptation of the Chinese [b] to [g] in the Turfan dialect is unexplainable.

The other word *xıza* 'small street' found in urban areas such as Turfan and Pichan, was also certainly adopted from the local Chinese dialect spoken by Muslim Chinese or

early Chinese settlers. Since clear documentation tells us that the uvular [χ] of the Muslim Chinese dialects stands for the Mandarin alveolo-palatal fricative [ɕ] in Mandarin. By the way, *ǰasüj* 'offal' and *muřǰaŋ* also came from the Muslim Chinese dialect, because their phonetical shape is closer to the Muslim Chinese pronounciations *tʂa-sɣ́* and * *muᵀ-jiᵅŋ* than the Mandarin forms *za-sui* and *mu-jiang*.[163]

Certain lexemes apparently were copied via other languages. The most obvious example is *bäčäj* 'Chinese cabbage' adopted via Mongolian *bäčäj*, which phonetically differs from its Chinese pronunciation *bai-cai*, though *bäsäj* in other Uyghur dialects is certainly a direct copy of the Chinese word. Some other words, e.g. *maxol* 'stable' (馬号 *ma-hao*), *jamul* 'Yamen' (<< Chin. 役門 *ya-men*) should also have been introduced via another language, because the phonetical shape of these words obviously differs from the pronunciations of their Chinese originals. Especially the final *–l* found in both words does not exist in the Mandarin and Muslim Chinese spoken in Xinjiang.

4.3.1.5 Social and linguistic status of the region

Here one may ask some very natural questions: Why so many lexical units were copied from Chinese into a local Uyghur dialect? What was the social and linguistic situation during recent centuries in this region?

As it is well known, Uyghur Buddhists in the Turfan region have been actively involved in Chinese study. Song envoy Wang Yande writes: "In Qocho city were more than fifty monasteries, all titles of which are granted by the emperors of the Tang dynasty, which keep many Buddhist texts as *Tripiṭaka*, *Tangyun* 唐韻, Yupian 玉篇, *Jingyin* 経音 etc."[164] Aside from a large number of Buddhist Chinese texts, some fragments of *Qieyun* discovered in the Turfan region are from the hand of local Uyghurs.[165] Several Uyghur fragments of the Chinese elementary book *Qianziwen* were also discovered in the Turfan region (see Shōgaito & Yakup 2001). Two important Chinese-Uyghur bilingual vocabularies were compiled during the Ming period, certainly partly with the involvement of local Uyghurs. Administrative and commercial contact between Chinese people in China proper and the Uyghur settlements in Turfan was extensive during the Ming period. Coming to the Qing period, such administrative, cultural and commercial contact became more extensive than the previous centuries. Especially, around the 17th and 18th centuries several massive Uyghur migrations from the Turfan and Qomul regions to the neighbouring Gansu province took place (Temir

163 *muǰaŋ* used in Pichan and YangheYanghe and apparently originates from another Chinese dialect, presumably from Mandarin speaking regions.
164 Rong Xinjiang. Buddhist Tripitaka and other literature in the Gaochang Uighur Kingdom seen by Wang Yande [In Chinese]. In: Qingzhu Deng Guangming jiaoshou jiushi huadan lunwenji. Shijiazhuang 1997. pp. 267-272.
165 Takata Tokio. On the Chinese language in Turfan with a special focus on the Qieyun fragments. In: Durkin-Meisterernst et al. (eds.) 2004. pp. 333-340.



1961, Saguchi 1980: 1-31). After that, the Uyghur settlements in the Turfan region kept extensive contact with the Chinese-speaking peoples living in adjacent regions (Su / Huang 1993: 158-159). There are no records, but certainly at least some Uyghurs from Turfan became familiar with Chinese when they returned to Turfan. Later, several modern schools were built in Qomul and Turfan, teaching *Sishu* 四書 and *Wujing* 五経 in Chinese (Su/Huang 1993:107). According to some sources, most interpreters at the government officers were Uyghurs from Qomul and Turfan at the early stage of Qing rule of the Xinjiang region.[166] This demonstrates that Chinese was fairly popular in the Qomul and Turfan regions at that time. On the other hand, early Chinese settlers and Chinese Muslims also learned the local Uyghur dialect spoken in the Turfan region, and kept close interaction with local Uyghurs (Millward 1998: 129-130). The Chinese learned by local Uyghurs is certainly the Muslim Chinese dialect spoken in the Xinjiang region. Presumably, in Chinese-Uyghur communications, local Chinese speakers tried to speak in a manner closer to the Chinese spoken by the local Uyghurs. As a result, a two-tonic local Chinese dialect spoken in present-day Xinjiang gradually came to exist, developing a unique word order having been affected a good deal by local Uyghur. The following song, widespread in the Turfan and Qomul regions around the 17th century reflects some aspects of the early convergence of the Chinese and Uyghur languages.[167]

nalıj läjdi lo:toke ej jarimäj?
tuřpan läjdi lo:toke šäř χumari.
lotoɣičə todə sa ej jarimäj?
χaǰu, χuǰu, ǰaŋpiza šäř χumari.
χaǰu, χuǰu ša ǰačän ej jarimäj?
ärǰlaŋ ärčän ärfuŋ bän šäř χumari.

Translation:
-"Oh, the camel rider, my lover, where are you from?"
-"The camel rider comes from Turfan, oh city lover."
-"What do you transport by the camel, oh my lover?"
-"Pepper seed, pepper and ginger, oh city lover."
-"How much are the pepper seed and pepper, oh my lover?"
-"One hundred grams is two *qian* two and half *fen*, oh city lover."

As one can judge from the structure, originally it was a dialog between a Chinese or a Muslim Chinese tradesman and a local Uyghur settler. All unfamiliar words and phrases in this song are of Chinese origin, as we shall see from the word list below (words are listed after the order in the song).

166 Qi Yunshi (Qing), *Banbu yaolue* 蕃部要略 (vol. 18).
167 For a very similar version recorded from the Qomul region see Ahmad 1993: 148.

nalij 'where' (< Chin. 哪里 *na-li*)
läj- 'come' (< Chin. 来 *lai*)
dı ~ də PART (< Chin. 的 *de*)
lotoke 'camel rider' (< Chin. 駱駝客 *luo-tuo-ke*)
to- 'to transport' (< Chin. 駝 *tuo*)
sa 'what' (< Chin. 口＋舍 *sha*)
χaǰu 'pepper seed' (< Chin. 花椒 *hua-jiao*)
χuǰu 'pepper' (< Chin. 胡椒 *hu-jiao*)
ǰaŋpıza 'ginger' (< Chin. 姜皮子 *jiang-pi-zi*)
ǰačän 'price' (< Chin. 価錢 *jia-qian* = Uyghur *qančä pul*)
är 'two' (< Chin. 二 *er*)
*ärljaŋ* 'two liang' (< Chin. 二两 *er-liang*),
liang 'traditional unit of weight, equivalent to 0.05 kilo or liter' (< Chin. 两 *liang*)
čän 'money' (< Chin. 錢 *qian*)
*ärčän* 'two *qian*' (< Chin. 二錢 *er-qian*)
fuŋ 'fen (of money) (< Chin. 分 *fen*)
*ärfuŋ* 'two fen' (< Chin. 二分 *er-fen*)
bän 'half' (< Chin. 半 *ban*)
*ärfuŋbän* 'two and a half *fen*' (< Chin. 二分半 *er-fen-ban*)

Almost all Chinese lexemes and expressions were accommodated into the Uyghur phonology. Some constructions, e.g. *to de sa* 'what do you transport' (lit. transported + what) is very likely a copy of Uyghur **tošuyıniŋ nemä* 'what is that you transport' (lit. your have transported + what). Intrestingly, sometimes Uyghur suffixes are directly added to the Chinese words, e.g. *loto-yıčä*, in which the Uyghur suffix *–yıčä* was added to *loto* 'camel' of Chinese origin. Notably, here *loto-yıčä* does not signify 'up to the camel' as one expects, but denotes 'by camel', though such a meaning of *-yıčä* is not known in Uyghur.

More interestingly, in *nali läjde* 'where (are you) from' and *turpan läjdi* '(I) come from Turfan', neither case suffixes nor prepositions are used after the pronoun *nali* and place name *turpan*, in which one normally expects the forms of **nalidin* (*nali* + ablative case marker *–dIn*) and **turpandin* (*turpan* + ablative case marker *–dIn*). Put differently, both expressions occur in normal Uyghur and Chinese as follows, respectively.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| A. | Uyghur: | *nä-din* | *käl-gän* |
| | | what ABL | come PTPple |
| | | *turpan-din* | *käl-gän* |
| | | Turfan ABL | come PTPple |



| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| B. | Chinese: | *Shi* | *cong* | *nali* | *lai de* | */ cong* | *nali* | *lai* |
| | | COP | from | where | come PART | / from | where | come |
| | | *Shi* | *cong* | *tulufan lai* | *de* | */ cong* | *tulufan* | *lai* |
| | | COP | from | Turfan come | PART / | from | Turfan | come |

As demonstrated in the text discussed above, the grammar of this colloquial language is mainly Uyghur-based, while most words are of Chinese origin. Interestingly, the same grammar was normalized in the local Chinese dialect spoken in some parts of present-day Xinjiang and became most common in the speech of a considerable number of speakers, at least they use similar grammar when they talk with Uyghurs.

Judging from the case of this song (conversation) it is very likely that a heavily Uyghur-influenced Chinese dialect was spoken in the Turfan-Qomul area both by local Uyghurs and Chinese (or Muslim Chinese) tradesman in their commercial exchange around 17th and 18th century. If our assumption is correct, this would signify that two interesting Chinese-related dialects, a Chinese Pidgin English and a Uyghur-influenced Chinese, were spoken in two different parts of China: Chinese Pidgin English in southeast China, and the Uyghur-influenced Chinese in northwest China around 17th and 18th century, though the structural features and social function of the latter desire further investigation.

### 4.3.2 Copies from Mongolian

At the beginning of the 13th century, Uyghur Idiquts, the ruling family of Turfan, officially recognized the control of Mongolians (Saguchi 1943: 19), the Western Uyghur Kingdom ceased to exist. As a part of the Mongolian empire, all Turfan area, including other parts of the present XUAR, functioned as an important military base for Mongolian control of the vast area from north China to Semirechia (Saguchi 1943: 32). After the 1330s, Turfan gradually became one of the important centers of the Eastern Chaghatay Kaghanate until Oirat Mongol's control of this region (Su/Huang 1993: 154). According to some scholars, the ruling families of Turfan were descendents of the Mongolian ruler Chaghatay Khan (Saguchi 1980: 241), though the ruling families were completely assimilated by Uyghurs around the 17th century.

Rather strong Mongolian influence on Old Uyghur is clearly reflected in many civil documents as well as late Uyghur Buddhist texts unearthed in Turfan. Both the *Gaochangguan Yiyu* and the *Weiwuerguan Yiyu* also display a considerable number of Mongolian lexemes, reflecting a continuous Mongolian effect on the Uyghur language. The number of Mongolian loanwords in Chaghatay is also considerable (Sertkaya 1987, Nagy 1997). It is also well known that modern Standard Uyghur also displays many Mongolian loanwords, e.g. *manǰlaj* 'forehead' (<< Mong. *manglai*), *qora* 'yard in front or behind the dwelling' (<< Mong. *qoriya*), *ajmaq* 'province' (<< Mong. *ajmay*, Kajdarov 1988: 10-12), *saŋqa-* 'to pass the dung' (<< Mong. *saŋga-* 'to evacuate the

bowels (of animals, birds and files)', Lessing 672b), *mata-* 'to bind' (<< Mong. *mata-* 'to curve or bend', Lessing 530a), etc.

However, different dialect regions exhibit a rather different figure with regard to copies from Mongolian. The Kashghar dialect displays *gejigä* 'back of the neck' (<< Mong. *gejige*, TMEN Nr. 357) and Qomul has a very unique copy *χačir* (<< Mong. *xačar* 'cheek, a flat side of an object', Lessing 901a), whereas Turfan uses *igiče* 'older sister' (<< Mong. *igičä* 'older sister'), and so on. It is not investigated yet when and how these Mongolian words were adopted by different Uyghur dialects, however, we have enough evidence to prove that the Turfan and Qomul regions use more, and unique, Mongolian-copied lexical units than Standard Uyghur and the other Uyghur dialects. Presumably, some copies from Mongolian were transferred from the languages of the older period, e.g. *josun* 'rule' occurs in Old Uyghur civil documents as well as in many Chaghatay texts (Sertkaya 1987, Nagy 1997), Some words probably come via other languages. However, certain words were certainly copied due to the extensive contact of the Turfan and Qomul Uyghurs with Mongolians. Some taxonomies, for instance *örtäŋ* 'name of a place near Qarchuqta in Pichan County' (<< Khalxa Mongolian *örtäŋ*, see Menges 1976: 114b), *jaŋxi* 'name of a village between Lükchün and Tuyuq' (< *jaŋ* 'new' + Mong. *xiy* 'village') clearly originate from Mongolian or contain Mongolian elements. However, Mongolian-copied lexical units in the Turfan dialect seem to constitute a rather archaic layer because no new lexemes were copied after the 17th century due to a decrease of Mongolian influence in this region.

#### 4.3.2.1 Lexemes directly adopted from Mongolian

Mongolian-copied lexemes in the Turfan dialect cover rather rich semantic fields, e.g. kinship terminology, garment, house objects, etc. The lexemes listed below seem to have been directly copied from Mongolian into the Turfan dialect.[168]

(1) Kinship terms: *aya* 'older brother' (<< Mong. *aqa*),[169] *igičä* 'older sister' (<< Mong. *igiče*, cf. TMEN I: 191, Nr. 67),[170] *kökän (nävrä)* 'son or daughter's children's children's children's children's-children's children', namely SCCCCC / DCCCCC (<< Mong. *keüken* 'child, infant, girl, virgin, maiden, young girl lady', Lessing 461b).

(2) Garment: *čamča* 'shirt' (<< Mong. *čamča* 'shirt', Lessing 164a), *topča* 'button' (<< Mong. *topči* 'button, nipple, teat, ullet', Lessing 810b).

(3) Animals, birds and other relating objects: *adä* 'horse' (<< Mong. *adū* 'herd of horses, horse', Lessing 11b, VEWT 6b), *χičir* 'mole' (<< Mong. *qačir* 'mole', VWET 217b), *saŋqar* 'falcon' (<< Mong. *singxur* 'falcon, gerfalcon', Lessing 712b; cf. TMEN I: 360 ff. Nr. 237; Schönig 2000: 166), *nuχta* 'bridle' (<< Mong. *nogtu* 'halter', Lessing 588a; cf. VEWT 354b, TMEN I: 517 f., Nr. 384 and Schönig 2000: 140).

(4) Parts of the body: *teqïm* 'buttocks' (<< Mong. *taqi-m* 'the ham, the hollow behind the knee joint; ham, hock', Lessing 770b), *qo:řya* 'rib' (<< Mong. *xabirg-a(n)* 'rib; side, flank…', Lessing 898a). The other word *kököjlä* 'braid, pigtail'[171] might go back to Persian *kākul* 'braid' as discussed by Doerfer and Menges (see TMEN I: 452ff., Nr. 320, IV 395 and Menges 1976: 111a), but might also be a direct copy from or via Mongolian *kökül*, because the Turfan dialect form *kököjlä* phonetically diverges both from the Persian original *kākul* and the Standard Uyghur *kokula*.

(5) Features and qualities: *manan* 'mist, steam' (<< Mong. *manan ~ manang* 'mist, steam, Lessing 525b), *belän* 'many, good, plentiful' (<< Mong. *belen* 'prepared, ready, in readiness, available', Lessing 97b), *čequl-čuqul* 'irregular' (< Mong. *čaqil* 'sand, small stone' + *čuqul* 'anger'), *čoqur* 'spotted, speckle' (<< Mong. *čooqur ~ čoqor* 'spotted, speckled', Lessing 199a,b), *pořtaŋči* 'boaster, braggart' (<< Mong. *bardamči* 'boaster, arrogant', Lessing 85a), *šadaga* 'without trousers' (<< Mong. *šaldang* 'nude, naked, bare', Lessing 750a).

(6) Human activities: *ǰamdu-* to prepare (<< Mong. *zabdu-* 'to have or find time or leisure for; to be in time; to be about to do something; to prepare for …', Lessing 1018-1019),[172] *ǰuyla-* 'to gather' (<< Mong. *čugla-* 'to gather, assemble', Lessing 205b), *ǰuva-* 'to worry' (<< Mong. *zoba-* 'to be in trouble', Lessing 1065b), *ǰüdä-* 'to become thin' (< Mong. *züde-* 'to be tired, fatigued, or exhausted from work or pressure; to suffer hardship; to have difficulty in doing something', Lessing 1082a), *sipa-* 'to rub, smooth out' (<< Mong. *siba-* 'to plaster, stucco; to apply mud …', Lessing 693b), *topčəla-* 'to button up' (<< Mong. *tobčila-* 'to button up', Lessing 811a), *čaŋqa-* 'to be thirsty' (<< Mong. *čaŋxa-* 'to be[come] thirsty; to be[come] dried out', Lessing 164b).

Moreover, there are also some derived verbs from Mongolian nouns, *učuřla-* 'to inform' (<< Mong. *učir* 'cause, reason; circumstance; motive, principle, affair…abstract', Lessing 859 + *-la*), *qaramla-* 'to become jealous' (<< Mong. *xaram* 'jealous; possessive, stingy, greedy; jealousy; stinginess; regret, Lessing 934a + *-la*).

(7) Society: *bartava ~ bartu* 'manager' (<< Mong. *bari-mta* 'basis, proof, argument, evidence, fact, data, certificate; bill, invoice, receipt', Lessing 88a),[173] *jusun* 'rule, custom' (<< Mong. *yosu(n)* 'generally accepted rule, traditional custom, habit or usage…', Lessing 435a; cf. TMEN I: 555ff. Nr. 408, IV 402, Schönig 2000: 185-186).

168 Mongolian forms are basically quoted from written Mongolian, mostly from Lessing 1960, occasionally also from other dialects. The Mongolian-copies existing in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects are basically excluded from this list unless they are phonetically distinct from those in Standard Uyghur and the other Uyghur dialects.

169 May also be a common Altaic term as Ramstedt pointed out, see Tenishev et al. 1997: 292.

170 Kajdarov claims that this is a common Manchurian word in Mongolian and Uyghur. See Kajdarov 1988: 22.

171 This word occurs as *kökülä* in Kathanov's texts, see Menges 1976: 111a.

172 Probably goes back to Middle Mongolian *jabdu-* 'Gelegenheit haben (etwas zu tun), sich an eine Tätigkeit begeben' (BTT XIV, p. 213). Dr. Volker Rybatzki kindly reminded me of this word.

173 The semantics don't really fit. For the suffix *-mtA* cf. Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian*, 1954, p. 49. Dr. Volker Rybatzki kindly reminded me of this word.

(8) Housing and furnishing: *kürä* 'yard' (<< Mong. *küriy-e(n)* 'anything girding, encircling, or enclosed: fence, enclosure, yard', Lessing 506a; cf. TMEN I: 477ff., Nr. 341, TMEN IV: 396 and Schönig 2000: 131), *haša* 'fence, enclosure' (<< Mong. *qasi-ya*, *qasi-ga* 'fence, wooden enclosure', VEWT 240a, b), *širä* 'table' (<< Mong. *širee*, VEWT 448a), *döšä* 'chopping block' (<< Mong. *dösi* 'anvil, metal bar for wetting scythes', Lessing 269b).

(9) Instruments: *suryul ~ siryol* (*qamča*) 'a kind of whip with an iron stem' (<< Mong. *soruul < soruyul* 'tube, syringe, drinking straw; suction cup', Lessing 730a, see Menges 1954: 115).

(10) Function words: *qamta* 'together' (<< Mong. *xamtu* 'together, along with, jointly, simultaneously', Lessing 925a), *saj* 'very soon' (<< Mong. *say ~ sayi* 'just before, recently, a moment ago', Lessing 660a, 662a).

#### 4.3.2.2 Lexemes copied via the intermediary of Mongolian

Some lexemes clearly are not of Mongolian origin. However, we can assume from the phonetic shape that these words very probably were copied via the intermediary of Mongolian. Aside from *bäčäj* 'Chinese cabbage' discussed in 4.3.1.4 of this chapter,[174] *günjüt* 'sesame' seems to be also a copy of the Mongolian *günjid*, since its phonetic shape differs from the Old Turkic *küncüt* (< Toch. *kuñcut*, see ED 727b, 728a) as well as from *künjüt* in other Uyghur dialects, displaying a close phonetic form to the Mongolian form. As mentioned by Menges, *täjji* 'Wang's senior official', clearly is a copy of the Chinese 太吉 *tai-ji*, but comes via the intermediary of Mongolian *tajji* (Menges 1954: 122). Existence of a certain number of such lexical copies in the Turfan dialect indicates that Mongolian not only served as a donor language, but also functioned as an intermediary language between the Turfan dialect and other languages.

### 4.3.3 Copies from Arabic and Persian

According to Nadjip, Arabic and Persian loan words in Uyghur constitute 41% of total 3000 words selected from a newspaper (15,000 occurrences), of which 33.5 % are of Arabic origin, and 7.5 % of Persian origin, the remaining 49% are of Uyghur origin (Nadjip 1971: 32). Our list of dialect vocabulary also contains around 180 words of Arabic and Persian origin. It is thus clear that massive Arabic and Persian-copied lexical units exist in Uyghur, including the Turfan dialect.

Early copied lexical items from Arabic and Persian are observable in Old Uyghur texts, mostly in the Uyghur texts of the late period. However, massive copying of Arabic and Persian lexemes into Central Asian Turkic languages and dialects took place after the establishment of the Chaghatay Khaganate in Central Asia. As it is well known,

174 The other form *bisäj* found in some parts of Turfan seems also be a copy via Mongolian (Qalmuq) *bisäj*.



the complete Islamization of the Turfan-Qomul region was fairly late. Both regions were not under the rule of the Chaghatay Khanate until the 1330s (Saguchi 2000: 219). Ming dynasty envoy Chen Cheng who visited the Turfan region writes in his famous *Xiyu fanguozhi* 西域番国志: "In Lükchün … there are Muslims. Men shave their heads, wear embroidered caps; women cover their heads with white cloths. There are some who decorate themselves in the Uyghur way; Men leave their hair long and women cover their (heads) with a piece of cloth (zaojin), allowing the hair to fall to the forehead. All wear Barbarian's clothes and speak in the Uyghur language." (Chen Cheng 2000: 111). This proves that Muslims and non-Muslims used to live in the same city in the Lükchün area around the 16th century. *Xianbinglu* 賓録 of the same period also records: "In Lükchün …live two kinds of people: Muslims (Huihui) and Uyghurs".[175] Nevertheless, the amount of Arabic and Persian-copied words in the Turfan dialect is also fairly large. Basically, the Arabic-copied lexemes in the Turfan dialect denote rather abstract and religious concepts, including personal names, while the Persian loan words cover comparatively concrete items dealing with everyday life.

#### 4.3.3.1 Phonetic divergence and main devices of adaptation

The phonetic shape of a limited number of lexical units copied from Arabic and Persian into the Turfan dialect show similarities to those in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects. For instance, the word for 'meat' is *göš* (< Per. *gošt*) in the Turfan dialect, and identical to Standard Uyghur *göš*, while the Kashghar dialect displays a rather different form, *goš*. Another copied word *γora ~ γura* 'unripened apricot' in the Turfan dialect (< Per. *γūra*) also displays the same phonetic shape to the Standard Uyghur *γora* (the Kashghar dialect displays *γura*). However, most lexical copies from Arabic and Persian in the Turfan dialect, including personal names, diverge a great deal from the forms found in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects in their phonetic shape as shown below in table 4-3.

Table 4-3 Phonetic divergence of the Arabic/Persian-copied lexemes

| Turfan | SU | Kashghar | Original | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| adagät | adawät | adawät | Ar. ʿadāwat | contradiction |
| agal | awal | äwwäl | Ar. awwal | first |
| bajna | bahanä | ba:na | Per. bahāna | excuse |
| γalvïř | γälvïr | γälvï: | Per. γalbīr | sieve |
| ǰanuř | ǰanvar | ǰänva | Per. cānvar | birds |

Apparently, in most cases, Standard Uyghur forms are close to the Arabic or Persian originals, as are the Kashghar dialect forms. This does not mean that the lexemes listed in table 4-3 were adopted without any phonic adaptation into Standard Uyghur and

175 Larigeng, *Xianbinglu*, Beijing 2000, p. 71.

Kashghar dialect. At the very least, Persian long vowels were replaced with short vowels as seen in the words for 'contradiction' and 'excuse'; in the Kashghar dialect even the second syllable of Persian *bahāna* 'excuse' was dropped. However, more extensive phonic adaptation has taken place in the Turfan dialect, in which the Arabic and Persian labio-dental fricative [v] was altered with a voiced velar stop [g] in the words for 'contradiction' and 'first', and the glottal [h] in Persian was replaced with the palatal approximate [j] in the word for 'excuse', and so on. In a word, in the Turfan dialect devices of phonic adaptation of Arabic and Persian-copied lexical units diverge from Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects.

Generally speaking, in the Turfan dialect, Arabic and Persian lexemes are accommodated in the following ways.

(1) As we have repeatedly stated, Arabic and Persian labio-dental fricative [v] was altered with the voiced velar stop [g] in syllable initial and inter-vocalic positions, e.g. *gaχ* 'time' (<< Arabic *waqt*), *güzür* 'vezir' (<< Ar./Per. *wazīr*), *därgüš* 'Darwish' (<< Per. *darvīš*), *haga* 'air, weather' (<< Ar. *hawā'* ), see also phonology 2.3.2.

Interestingly, ayn in some Arabic words also alternates with [g] in the Turfan dialect as observed in *duga* 'prayer' (<< Ar. *du'ā*). Certainly, the Turfan dialect form comes via an intermediary form [duwa] as found in the Kashghar and most other southern dialects of Uyghur.

(2) The labial voiced stop [b] in syllable ending and inter-vocalic positions in Arabic and Persian originals was altered with the labio-dental approximate [v] in the Turfan dialect, while in Standard Uyghur this [b] was principally left unchanged, e.g. *avuj* 'honour' (<< Per. **āb-rūy*, SU *abruj*), *arava ~ harava* 'chariot' (<< Ar./Per. *araba*, SU *harva*).

The same adaptation process takes place in personal names in the Turfan dialect, e.g. *avlimit* (<< Ar. *Abdulhamīd*, SU *Ablimit*), *qurvan* (<< Ar. *Qurbān*, SU *qurban*). By the way, *taguz* 'water melon' in the Turfan dialect certainly is not a direct copy from the Persian *tarbūza* as stated by some scholars, but comes via the intermediary form **tavuz* as we found in Standard Uyghur.

(3) In most instances, vowels in word initial position preceded by ayn in Arabic and Persian originals are altered with [h] in the Turfan dialect, while the vowels are represented with more open front vowels in Standard Uyghur, e.g. *heqī* 'wisdom' (<< Ar. *'aql*, SU *äqil*), *humur* 'life' (<< Ar. *'umr*, SU *ömür*).

(4) The intervocalic *h* in Arabic and Persian originals is mostly altered with [j] in the Turfan dialect, and the *y* in syllable ending position is deleted. In the case of Standard Uyghur, such *h* and *y* are rather faithfully represented as seen below in Table 4-4.



Table 4-4 Turfan dialect presentation of Arabic/Persian *h*

| Turfan | SU | Originals | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| mäjlä | mähällä | Ar. mahalla | village |
| mejman | mehman | Per. mehmān | guest |
| härän | häjran | Ar. hayran | surprise |
| medan | mäjdan | Ar./Per. maydān | public place |

(5) In certain lexemes long vowels in Arabic and Persian originals are represented with short vowel + *j* strings in the Turfan dialect, e.g. *amajnät* 'healthy' (<< Ar. *amānat*), *qijmät* 'expensive' (<< Ar. *qīmat*). However, long vowels were simply replaced with short vowels in most cases, e.g. *ǰamat* 'relatives' (<< Ar. *camā'at* 'public'), *ǰarat* 'wound' (<< Ar. *carāhat*). The vowel length is faithfully reflected only in the low vowels in open syllables, e.g. *a:hu* 'small goat' (<< Per. *āhu*), *ka:riz* 'karez, irrigation canal' (<< Per. *kārīz*).[176]

There are also some extreme adaptations as observed in *mä:bät* 'love' (<< Ar. *muhābbat*), *mäzim* 'married old woman' << Ar. *mazlum* 'oppressed', *sulö* 'peace, reconciliation' (<< Ar. *ṣulh*) and *güsij* 'last words' (<< Ar. *waṣīyat*), etc.

#### 4.3.3.2 Unique copies

The Turfan dialect exhibits a certain number of unique lexical units copied from Arabic/Persian, which are not observable in Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects. These lexical units comprise nominals, e.g. *ajla* 'elder sister, aunt' (<< Ar./Per. *hāla* 'aunt'), *dästah* 'a kind of hat worn by Turfan boys as a symbol of a youth of marriage-age' (<< Per. *dastār*), *kipiš* 'shoes' (<< Per. *kafš*), also including some adjectives, e.g. *gatar* 'stupid' (<< Ar. *ǰaddār*), *häpif* 'weak' (<< Ar./Per. *hafīf*), *kardan* 'silly, crafty' (<< Per. *kardan*), *läŋ* 'lame' (<< Per. *lang*).

#### 4.3.4 Copies from other languages

A limited number of copies in the Turfan dialect are from other languages. Some of them certainly are from Russian, e.g. *ädigal* 'blanket cover' (<< Rus. *odejalo*, SU *ädijal*), *čötkä* 'brush' (<< Rus. *šotka*, SU *čotka*) and *soŋka* 'bag' (<< Rus. *sumka*). Presumably, copied lexemes from Russian were introduced to the Turfan dialect by intellectuals who studied in the former Soviet Union during the first half of the 20th century (see text 11), and some of them also from other Uyghur regions, probably from Ili and Urumchi.

A fairly interesting copied word in the Turfan dialect is *käšmir*, denoting 'magician'. Probably, it originates from the geographical name Kashmir. In Jarring's texts there is an interesting poem concerning contact between Uyghurs and Kashmiris (see Jarring 1948, 122-126, Nr. 106). It was recorded from a barber from Kashghar, and its content

176 For an interesting discussion of the etymology of kariz see Toxti 2003.

clearly demonstrates that the Uyghurs from Kashghar had rather extensive contact with Kashmiris at the beginning of the 20th century. The same or similar contact might also have taken place between the Uyghurs in Turfan and Kashmiris. According to some sources, Uyghur merchants frequently transported Indian goods to the Qomul and Turfan areas exchanging them for local products (Su/Huang 1993: 57). It is very likely that Kashmiris also came to Turfan, and some of them might also have acted as magicians. The semantics of *käšmir* presumably reflects such a historical contact.

## 4.4 Old Turkic words preserved in the Turfan dialect

### 4.4.1 The case of the "Erntesegen" texts

One of the important features of the Turfan-Qomul dialect, in contrast to Standard Uyghur and the other dialects of Uyghur, is its preservation of a considerable number of Old Uyghur words. Some important factors of the Old Uyghur words preserved in the Turfan-Qomul dialect have been discussed in Yakup 2002, based on the fieldwork materials collected in four villages, namely Lükchün, Murtuq, Say Kariz and Tuyuq. The afore-mentioned paper mainly deals with a word list extracted from two agricultural texts known as the "Erntesegen" texts. Various words documented in Old Uyghur, especially some rare lexemes found in the "Erntesegen" texts, are still active in the Turfan and Qomul areas in the same or close semantics to the Old Uyghur originals, e.g. *täškü̈t* 'exchange, labor exchange, labor exchanger' (Zieme 1975, *täšgü̈t*), *tepin* 'threshing, threshing objects' (Zieme 1975, *täpin*),[177] *gäräm* or *geräm* 'underground storehouse used to take protection from the high temperature in the summer' (Zieme 1975, *käräm*), *käŋgä* 'remainder after threshed *çar*' (Molnár / Zieme 1989, *käŋä* or *käŋgä*). As far as we know, such lexemes exist neither in the other Uyghur dialects nor in the other Turkic languages, at least a documentation of these lexemes from other Uyghur dialects or other Turkic languages, is still missing. Most importantly, exactly such lexemes were found to be helpful in interpreting some questioned words in the "Erntesegen" texts (see Yakup 2002).

Not too surprisingly, four villages where the fieldwork was carried out, display clear regional differences with regard to preservation of the "Erntesegen" vocabulary. Lükchün and Say Kariz exhibit more words than the other two villages, where about 64.2% and 64.1% of the total "Erntesegen" vocabulary are still in use, respectively. Tuyuq also exhibits 62.4% of the total vocabulary, a little less than Lükchün and Say Kariz, whereas Murtuq only exhibits 59.8%. Obviously, Tuyuq lost more words than the other three villages. The situation of Standard Uyghur diverges considerably from that

177 As far as we know, Kirghiz exhibits *temin* (Judaxin 722b), which certainly has the same origin as *täpin* found in Zieme 1975. See Molnár & Zieme 1989, p. 149), though it phonetically diverges from *täpin*.



of any villages in the Turfan dialect area. SU preserves exactly 51.6% of the total "Erntesegen" vocabulary, where about the half of the total vocabulary is lost. Apparently, any village in the Turfan dialect area still preserves more "Erntesegen" lexemes than Standard Uyghur.

Compared with nominals, verbs are mostly preserved. Say Kariz exhibits 74.9% of the total verbs used in the "Erntesegen" texts. Lükchün's total is a little less than Say Kariz, but still very close to the percentage of Say Kariz. Tuyuq displays more than 70% of verbs, while the percentage of the preserved verbs in Murtuq is also fairly high. Standard Uyghur lost nearly 40 percents of the "Erntesegen" verbs, though it still exhibits more than 60 percents of the verbs.

Nearly 40 percent of the nominals died out even in the most conservative regions like Lükchün and Say Kariz. Most interestingly, only about 40 percent of the function words used in the "Erntesegen" texts survived in all interviewees. Note that, with regard to the preservation of function words there is not any difference between Standard Uyghur and the remaining three regions in the Turfan dialect; see below Table 4-5.

Table 4-5 Turfan dialect preservation of the "Erntesegen" lexemes

| | Lükchün | Say Kariz | Tuyuq | Murtuq | SU |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total (453) | 293 (64.2%) | 291 (64.1%) | 280 (62.4%) | 274 (59.8%) | 237 (51.6%) |
| Nominals (277) | 172 (62%) | 170 (61.5%)) | 164 (59%) | 159 (57.5%) | 136 (49.5%) |
| Verbs (151) | 110 (74.7%) | 111 (74.9%) | 106 (71%) | 104 (69%) | 91 (61.8%) |
| Function words (25) | 11 (44%) | 10 (40%) | 10 (40%) | 10 (40%) | 10 (40%) |

The regions preserving a high number of the "Erntesegen"-lexemes are outside the urban areas and located in the most southern part of Turfan. From south to north, coming close to the urban area, the number of preserved "Erntesegen" lexemes decreases. This proves the other point that the southern regions are the major linguistic focal area of the Turfan region. Interestingly, Lükchün and Say Kariz, located on south, display one important phonetical feature, i.e. alternation of *r* with *j*, namely *kiř-* 'to enter' is *kij-*. As a transition area, Tuyuq only occasionally displays this phonetic alternation. Coming closer to the north, Murtuq and the urban areas of Turfan do not exhibit this phonetic feature (see 2.3.8).

### 4.4.2 A selected list of Old Turkic words preserved in the Turfan dialect

It is difficult to discuss here in detail all of the Old Turkic words preserved in the Turfan dialect. The following lines present a selected list of the Old Turkic words retained in the Turfan dialect. Note that for all words only very brief notes are provided, with no detailed etymological explanations. Most lexemes listed below are not observable in Standard Uyghur or in the other dialects of Uyghur or they at least display a different phonetic shape and semantics. Those words that do not display a sharp semantic

difference from the Old Turkic originals are left unnoted. Most of the words discussed, or listed in Yakup 2002, are excluded from this list.[178]

*ayna-* 'to roll on one's back'. This word goes back to Old Turkic *agna-* 'to roll on one's back, especially of a horse or other animal' (ED 87b). It occurs in SU and other Uyghur dialects as *eyna-*.

*alčuq* 'hut, tent', specifically refers to the hut built at melon fields. This word originates from OT *alaču / alačuk* 'large tent' (DLT 80, UW 91a), presumably having experienced Chagatay *alčuq*. Standard Uyghur mostly use *käːpä* for 'hut', while the southern dialects of Uyghur display *kappa* (for other forms see Jarring 1964: 167). Note that some regions of Turfan use *satma* or *seritma* for 'hut, tent'. For analysis see 4.5 of this chapter.

*ařdaq* 'corrupt, corrupted', is only used for melon, e.g. *ardaq qoyun* 'corrupted melon' OT *artak* 'spoiled, decayed, corrupt' (OTWF 228, UW 207b). The Kashghar dialect displays the verb *a(r)da- ~ aːda-* 'to corrupt', but does not display the adjective *ardaq* derived from *arda-*.

*asiy* 'profit, benefit', goes back to OT *asıg* 'profit' (ED 244b-245a, UW 227-9). This is an active lexeme in the Qomul region, but in Turfan can only be counted as latent. It survives in some rural regions, mostly being used by aged speakers.

*ajpaŋ* 'shiny, shiny head', only qualifies *baš* 'head', e.g. *ajpaŋ baš* 'shiny head'. It originates from OT *aypaŋ* 'shiny' (Yakup 2000, IX 37). Standard Uyghur also displays *ajpaŋ*, which might be a recent copy from the Turfan dialect. The southern dialects of Uyghur mostly use *ajduŋ (baš)* for 'shiny'.

*ärřn* 'lip', also exists in the Qomul region. It goes back to OT *ärın* 'lip' (ED 232b-233a). This word is not frequently used in the Turfan region, and mostly was replaced by *kälpik*.

*bäk* 'firm, full, good', originates from OT *bäk ~ bärk* 'firm, solid, stable' (ED 361b). In Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects *bäk* functions as adverb, signifying 'very, extremely'. However, it is still used as adjective in the Turfan dialect, e.g. *bu išik bäkkä* 'Clearly, this door is firm'.

*beyiřsaq* 'kind, good, compassionate', originates from OT *bagırsak* 'kindly,

178 For Old Turkic words principally the page numbers in DLT, ED, OTWF and UW are given.



compassionate' (ED 319b). As far as I know this word does not exist in other Uyghur dialects.

*čapča ~ čäpčä* 'spike-toothed metal harrow, wooden or iron pitchfork', certainly originates from OT *čapča* 'pitchfork' (Worfelgabel, E2 48).

*čaj qïl-* 'to hold a banquet, offer food', seems to go back to OT *čay kıl-* 'to prepare a meal'. Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects use Chinese-copied *čaj* (originates from Chin. 茶葉 *cha-ye* 'tea; tea-leaves', may also be via intermediary of another language) for 'tea'. However, the word for "tea" is not *čaj*, but *ča* in the Turfan dialect, clearly is a direct copy from Chinese 茶 *cha* 'tea' and is identical to GYY *ča* (Ligeti 1966: 148). *čaj* found in *čaj qïl-* originates from Chinese 齋 '(meatless) meal for monks' as its OT original (Röhrborn 1996a, p. 239 note 1432). For a documentation of *čay* and *čay kıl-* in the Uyghur texts and analysis on its etymology see Shōgaito 2003, pp. 124-126.

*čümäːli* 'ant', identical to OT *čümäːli* 'an ant' (ED 423b). Standard Uyghur and other dialects display rather developed forms *čümölä or čümülä*.

*eriy* 'pure, clean', goes back to OT *arıg* 'clean, pure' (ED 213b). This word is mostly used by older generations in the Turfan dialect, but is still understood by younger generations.

*esällïk* 'well-being', originates from OT *esänlik* 'well-being' (OTWF 126). Sometimes it occurs as a part of *esällïk sora-* 'to greet'. Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects mostly prefer *tenčliq / tečliq*.

*ičïk-* 'to enter, be amiable', goes back to OT *ičik-* 'to submit, enter, capitulate' (ED 25a, OTWF 495). The Kashghar dialect of Uyghur also displays *ičik-*, but it denotes 'to get along well, to accustom'.

*ijin* 'a piece of grape, small pieces, seeds', mostly used for grapes (see 4.1 of this chapter). Presumably, it goes back to OT *evin* 'seed, grain' (ED 12a).

*kämäldürük* 'breast-strap of a saddle'. We are not sure whether *kämäldürük* reflects a rather old pronunciation. Anyway, its etymological connection to OT *kömüldürük* 'breast-strap of a saddle' (ED 722b-723a, OTWF 104) is certain. Other dialects of Uyghur do not display this word, mostly using *töšlük* for 'breast-strap of a saddle'.

*käŋgä* 'remainder after the threshed *çar*' (*çar* 'the ear of e.g. wheat, after it has been

threshed', see Jarring 1964: 62), identical to OT *käŋä / käŋgä* (E2 50, see notes in Yakup 2002).

*kölmän* 'pond', goes back to OT *kölmän* 'pond' (OTWF 73). In the Kashghar dialect this word only occurs as a part of *kölmänčäk* 'very small pond'.

*küsötkä* 'gecko, big rat', has same origin with OT *küskü / kösürgä* 'a type of rat' (*jırdān*, DLT 245, ED 752a), though it diverges from the Old Turkic word in its phonetic shape. Standard Uyghhur and other Uyghur dialects use *kelä ~ kilä* for 'gecko', and *mo:yu čašqan ~ moyu sačqan* for 'big rat'.

*köt* 'buttocks', goes back to OT *köt* 'posterior, buttocks' (DLT 161, ED 700b). In other Uyghur dialects for 'buttocks' *qoŋ* is used. Standard Uyghur and some northern dialects also display *köt*, but only use it in the meaning 'gay'.

*kültük* 'dangerous snow on the ground, whose inside is vacant and deep'. Presumably, it goes back to OT *(öŋ) kürtük* 'snowdrift, deep snow' (ED 739a).[179] Note that, r/l alternation is rather frequent in the Turfan dialect as found in *qařayač ~ qalayač* (for *qarayač ~ qalayač* see below).

*küri* 'dry measure for grain, equals 10 kilogram', it goes back to OT *küri* 'a measure of capacity, or weight for dry goods like grain' (ED 737a). This word exists in the northern dialects of Uyghur and was also documented by Kathanov from the Turfan dialect (Menges 1976, XXXII). Standard Uyghur *kürä* probably is a copy of the Turfan dialect *küri*.

*lim* 'pillar', should be an early copy from Chinese 楞 *lièm* (Shōgaito 1986: 139) as discussed in 4.1.3 of this chapter. OT *lim* mostly refers to 'pillar', occasionally also corresponding to other Chinese characters (see Ölmez & Röhrborn 2001, p. 161-162 note 536-538). Standard Uyghur *lim* is a fairly new copy from the Turfan dialect, while the southern Uyghur dialects mostly use *xa:* for 'pillar'.

*mïdïq* 'lifeless, weak', often qualifies words such as *adām* 'man, person', *mä:zim* 'lady' and *bïřmä* 'thing', e.g. *mïdïq χotun* 'weak woman', *mïdïq bïřmä* 'lifeless guy'. In the last example, *bïřmä* ironically refers to 'man, person'. This word presumably goes back to OT *mitik* (< Sogd. *myδ'k* 'layman, layer, stupid', ED 765b).

179 Ölmez and Röhrborn suggest new interpretation 'Wildnis' based on a case in Suvarṇaprabhāsa where it parallels to Chinese 野 *ye* 'Wildnis'. Cf. Ölmez / Röhrborn 2001, p. 173 note 731.



*ořdu* 'hole for bee', goes back to OT *ordu* 'hole for flying animals' (ED 235b). Standard Uyghur *orda* and the Kashghar dialect *o:da* seems to be relatively newly developed forms.

*oza* 'last, previous, last year', certainly goes back to OT *oza* 'formerly' (ED 280ab). This word mostly appears as a part of *oza kün ~ ozo kün* 'a day before yesterday', being also frequently used independently, e.g. *oza kägä(n)* 'He came last year'.

*ozaqï* 'last, previous', goes back to OT *ozakı* 'previous, of old time' (ED 284a). It is mostly used with *jil* 'year' as seen in *ozaqï jil* 'last year' in the Turfan dialect.

*öksü-* 'to be lacking', become lacking, originates from OT *äksü-* (ED 117a). In the other Uyghur dialects *kemi-* 'to become less' or *tügä-* 'to come to an end' are used in this meaning.

*öksük* 'lacking, missing', goes back to OT *ägsük* 'deficient, defective, lacking, defect' (ED 116b, OTWF 232), probably via the intermediary of Chaghatay *öksük* 'less'.

*öläŋ* 'wheat meadow ready to threshing', goes back to OT *öläŋ* 'grass', especially fresh growing grass, hence by extension 'a grassy meadow' (ED 147b, see also OTWF 160). In the Kashghar dialect this word exists in the form *üläŋ*.

*ömkän* 'sternum', mostly used for animals, goes back to OT *ömgen* 'an anatomical term' (ED 159b).

*öšün* 'shoulder', identical with OT *öšün* 'shoulder' (ED 263b). Standard Uyghur and the Kashghar dialect *öšnä* probably is a methathesized form of OT *öšün*.

*pa:(l)čïq* 'mud', it only exists in the Turfan and Qomul region amongst the Uyghur dialects, and goes back to OT *balčïq* 'mud' (DLT 235, ED 333a). Probably, it has experienced Chaghatay *balčïq* 'mud, clay' (Ekmann 1966: 282).

*qalayač ~ qarayač* 'pine tree', goes back to OT *qara qač* 'pine tree' (Arat 1930: 26).[180] Standard Uyghur displays *qariyaj* for 'pine tree'.

*qančuq* 'bitch', goes back to OT *qančık* 'bitch (DLT 239, ED 634b-5a). The Kashghar

180 Gaochangguan Yiyu displays *qaryač*, see Ligeti 1966: 163). Turfan dialect form is identical with *qarayač* registered from Taranchi (see Radloff 1893-1911, II: 151) and Ottoman *qaragač*. For further notes see Ligeti 1966: 163.

dialect displays *qanǰıq*, in which the vowel of the second syllable is left un-changed, though the syllable-initial consonant *č* of the second syllable is voiced between two sonorants. Kashghari notes that this word is "used to curse out a woman" (DLT 239). It is also the case for the Turfan dialect *qančuq*.

*qapčuq* 'small sack' (< *qap* 'sack' + diminitive *–čuq*), goes back to OT *qapčuq* 'small bag or sack, pocket' (ED 581b, see also Ligeti 1966: 161-162).

*qaravaš* 'slave', mostly appears as part of a phrase *qaravaš qul* 'slave', originates from OT *qarabaš* 'slave' (DLT 543, ED 643b-644ab).

*qiznaq* 'a small storehouse', goes back to OT *qaznaq* 'treasury' (ED 684b). Malov records the completely same word (Malov 1954: 162) from the Qomul region. Standard Uyghur and the Kashghar dialect display *qaznaq*, which is phonetically closer to the OT word.

*quruɣ üzüm* 'raisin', goes back to OT *kurug üzüm* 'raisin' (Arat 1930: 83, and several times in Arat 1932, see also Hamilton 1986, Nr. 29: 7). The southern Uyghur dialects use *jimiš* for 'raisin'. Standard Uyghur *quruq üzüm* obviously is a copy from the Turfan dialect.

*säpgil* 'freckle', identical with OT *säpgil* 'freckle' (DLT 242). Some regions of Turfan also exhibit *säpgül*, while the Kashghar dialect displays a rather developed *säpkül*, in which the voiced consonant *g* of the second syllable is clearly assimilated by the preceding voiceless bilabial consonant. Standard Uyghur *säpkün* seems to be a hyper-corrected form of *säpkül* or *säpgül*.

*sevit* / *sivit* 'good news', mostly used for giving birth of a child, presumably goes back to OT

*sevit* 'one who causes love, Venus' (ED 785b).

*sïrtïq* 'information, trace', goes back to OT *sırtıg* 'trace of a story' (DLT 233; ED 846b) Mostly used in the phrases *sïrtïyini al-* 'to get information about him/her', *sïrtïyï joq* 'has no trace'.

*sola-* to lock, presumably goes back to OT *sola-* 'to fasten with chains, interlock' (ED 825a, OTWF 445)



*solan-* 'to lock oneself, be locked', originates from OT *solan-* 'to lock oneself' (OTWF 615). The Kashghar dialect displays *sulan-*.

*sögän* / *sügän* 'saddle-basket, special basket or hopper used for loading fruits'. This word goes back to OT *sögän* 'basket' (DLT 203, ED 821b).[181]
*sükčü* 'Suzhou', ancient name of present Jiuquan near Qomul and Dunhuang', certainly goes back to OT *sükčü* or *sügčü* 'Su-zhou' as discussed in 4.1.3.

*sürük* 'a flock, group', goes back to OT *sürüg* 'a flock, herd' (DLT 196, ED 850b). This word only survives in the Turfan-Qomul region amongst the Uyghur dialect, while the other Uyghur dialects mostly use *top* 'group' or *pada* ~ *pata* for 'a flock'.

*süs-* 'to butt', identical to OT *süs-* 'to butt' (ED 855, DLT 412) both in its phonetic shape and semantics. Standard Uyghur and many dialects of Uyghur display *üs-*, in which the word-initial *s* is dropped.

*šük tuř-* 'to keep silent, be silent', presumably goes back to OT *šük tur-* 'to be silent' (ED 867, < Sogd. *šwk* + *tur-*). The Kashghar dialect also displays the similar verb *šuk tu(r)-* of same semantics.

*taŋsuq* 'unusual, fantastic', only used for foods and drinks. Presumably it originates from OT *taŋsuk* / *taŋısuk* 'marvelous' (ED 525b).

*täpin* 'threshing, threshing objects, threshing animals', so far is only known from the Turfan dialect amongst the Uyghur dialects. Obviously, it goes back to OT *täpin* 'threshing' (Zieme 1975, text l. 74). For further notes see Yakup 2002.

*täškät* 'exchange, labor exchange, labor exchanger', only survives in the Turfan dialect amongst the Uyghur dialects. This word probably goes back to OT *täšgüt* 'exchange, labor exchanger (Zieme 1975, text l. 56, Molnár / Zieme 1989, text l. 17). For further notes see Yakup 2002.

*tigin-* 'to receive, obtain', mostly used for receiving contributions and presents, especially foods, money etc. Certainly goes back to OT *tägin-* 'to receive' (OTW 617, QZW A3).

181 This word exists in the form *sükän* in the Kashghar dialect of Uyghur. By the way, *sökin* found in Hamilton 1986: 25.12 does not connect to this word as supposed, but seems to be of Chinese origin.

*tögi ~ tügä* 'millet ', originates from OT *tügi* 'millet seeds' (DLT 547, ED 478b). Standard Uyghur and most other Uyghur dialects use *teriq* for 'millet'.

*tuřma* 'radish', goes back to OT *turma* 'radish' (ED 549b). Standard Uyghur and most Uyghur dialects use Chinese originated *lobo ~ lobu* (< Chin. *luo-bu*) for 'radish'.

*umun-* 'to hope, desire', goes back to OT *umun-* 'to desire, request, or pray for (something *Dat.*, from someone *Abl.*)'. Cf. ED 162a, OTWF 623-624. Interestingly, the Kashghar dialect of Uyghur also displays *umun-*, but it means 'to frustrate'.

*toli* 'hail', goes back to OT *toli* 'hail' (DLT 548, ED 491b). Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects mostly use Mongolian originated *möldür*.

*üčögä* 'intestine, internal organs', certainly goes back to OT *ičägü* 'internal organs' (ED 25b, OTWF 96). Standard Uyghur and most dialects of Uyghur display a rather developed form *üčäj*.

*ügit* 'grinding of grain, grain prepared for grinding', goes back to OT *ögit* 'grinding of grain' (DLT 37, ED 102a). The Kashghar dialect displays a relatively developed *ügüt*. Standard Uyghur *ügüt* certainly is a copy from the Kashghar dialect, signifying 'seeds, e.g. the seeds of melon, sunflower, etc. used for taking oil'.

*jalaŋ* 'naked, undressed', originates from OT *jalaŋ* 'naked' (ED 929b). Standard Uyghur and most dialects of Uyghur display a fairly new form *jeliŋ*.

*jařma* 'groats', goes back to OT *yarma* groats (ED 969a, OTWF 319). Some other Uyghur dialects also display this word, but in which the syllable-final *r* of the first syllable is dropped, occuring in the form *ja:ma*.

*jajqa-* 'to rinse, wash', mostly used for the washing of grapes and fruits. It goes back to OT *yayka-* 'to rinse' (ED 981a, b). Standard Uyghur and other Uyghur dialects do not display *jajqa-*, using *čajqa-* for 'to rinse'.

*jesi* 'flat', mostly qualifies 'nose', e.g. *jesi burun / jesi vurun* 'flat nose'. It often occurs in the phrase *jesi qil-* 'to make flat'. *jesi* originates from OT *yasï* 'flat, level' (ED 973b-974a).

*joril-* 'to tire', goes back to OT *yoril-* 'to tire' (QZW A13). This word also exists in Turkish (see QZW p. 8 note 13), but not in other dialects of Uyghur.



*jörgäj* 'dodder', goes back to OT *yörgäy* 'dodder', which is known from medical texts (Arat 1930: 105). This word exists in most Uyghur dialects in the form *jö:gäj*.

## 4.5 Some lexical isoglosses

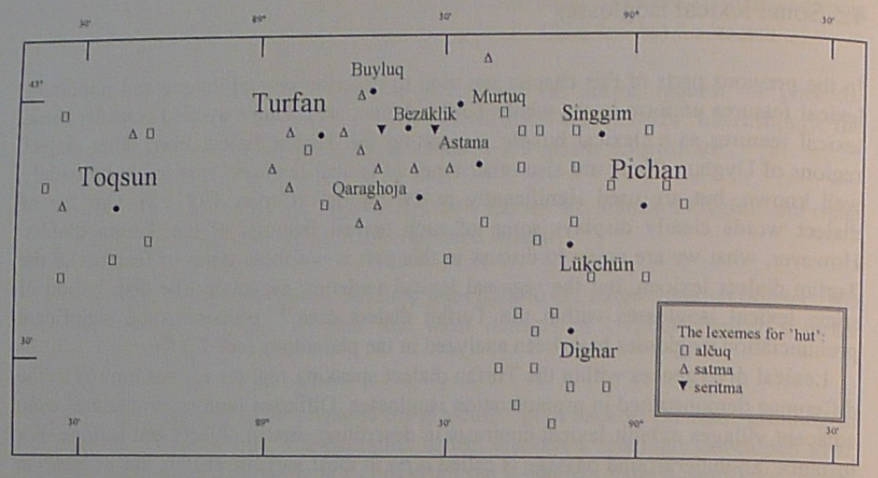
In the previous parts of this chapter we tried to describe several unique and important lexical features uniform in the whole Turfan dialect area. One may also consider these lexical features as a 'lexical bundle' separating the Turfan dialect from other dialect regions of Uyghur. There are also other types of lexical features "that might be widely well known, but are used significantly in the region" (Carver 1987: 6). Our list of dialect words clearly displays some of such lexical features of the Turfan dialect. However, what we are going to discuss in this part is not these types of features of the Turfan dialect lexicon, but the regional lexical varieties, especially the distribution of some lexical isoglosses within the Turfan dialect area,[182] because some significant pronunciation isoglosses have been analyzed in the phonology (see 2.3.8).

Lexical divergences within the Turfan dialect speaking regions are not limited to the difference demonstrated in pronunciation isoglosses. Different regions, sometimes even adjacent villages exhibit lexical contrasts in describing certain objects and actions. For instance, an underground passage is called *o:pa* in most parts of Turfan, but as *gämä* in Bezäklik instead of *o:pa*. Again, in most regions of Turfan excluding Toxsun *boyaz bol-* 'to be pregnant' is only used for animals, bearing a strong derogatory meaning when it is used for human beings. However, in the Toxsun region it is applied both human beings and animals as a normal verb. Some obvious lexical differences are examined in 4.2.2 of this chapter. Similar regional lexical difference within the Turfan dialect speaking area is also observable from the distribution of the lexemes for 'hunt' as shown in map 4-1.

Map 4-1 illustrates that three different lexemes are used for 'hut' in the Turfan region: *alčuq*, *satma* and *seritma*. Out of these, *alčuq* is mainly distributed to the rural regions of Turfan, namely to the broad regions from Murtuq on the north to Yormung on the south, including some parts of the Turfan city and whole regions of Pichan, while *satma* is mainly distributed to the urban regions near to Turfan city, including Astana, Avat and Qaraghoja. Another word *seritma*, probably a hypercorrection of *satma*, is only used in the Bezäklik region. Interestingly, *alčuq* is also understood in all regions

182 Chambers and Trudgil classify isogloss types into lexical (lexical, pronunciation), phonological (phonetic, phonemic), grammatical (morphological, syntactic). Cf. Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 99. According to them, "lexical isoglosses describe contrasts in the words used by different speakers to characterise the same object or action", involving "a difference in formatives from one dialect to the other while the pronunciation isoglosses "involves a contrast in the phonemic representation of the same formative" (Chambers and Trudgil 1998: 97).

where *satma* is distributed, though most speakers of the regions where *alčuq* is distributed do not know what *satma* refers to.




Map 4-1 The lexemes for "hut" in the Turfan dialect

Both the *Gangchanguan Yiyu* and *Weiwuerguan Yiyu* display neither *alčuq* nor *satma*. The *WTQW* only registers *alačuq* (12751). Clearly, both *alčuq* and *satma* can be traced back to the Old Turkic *alčuq* 'large tent' and *satma* 'a small platform (*raff*) which a night-watchman fastens in a tree to sit on at night' (ED 801b), respectively. It is very likely that *alačuq* ~ *alčuq* was dominant in the early Turfan dialect, since we do not have documentation of *satma* from previous periods. Presumably, some urban regions near Turfan, including the Turfan city proper, have lost *alčuq* and shifted to *satma*. A possible explanation for such shifting is the influence of Standard Uyghur, in which the northern dialects oriented *satma* is dominant. However, available materials at present are not enough to prove such an assumption. Both words are not registered in Kathanov and Le Coq's materials, the process of Standard Uyghur adoption of *satma* is also not clear, though we cannot deny *satma* might also have spread from Turfan to the northern dialects having been introduced by immigrants.

Once more, it is well known that some regions of Turfan use the Persian originated *kepiš* for 'shoes', while most regions display a rather developed *kipiš*. Certain regions also use *käš* together with *kipiš*, whereas other regions display *ajaq* of Turkic origin. As far as I know, *kepiš* is only used in this form in the Toxsun region, but co-exists in most regions of Turfan together with its developed form *kipiš*, whereas another word *ajaq* is



only distributed to some urban regions like Astana, Avat, Bezäklik and the Turfan city proper. We don't know when *kepiš* was introduced into the Turfan dialect. In *Gaochangguan Yiyu* (I 26a, Ligeti 1966: 125) *adaq* refers to 'foot' like in the Old Turkic texts. The *WTQW* only displays *ayaq*, which signifies 'foot'. The term *kepiš* can be found in Kathanov's materials (Menges 1976: 110a), and were also registered by Le Coq (Le Coq 1911: 82c). Note that, Le Coq translates it as 'overshoes of Mohammedans' (Überschuh der Muhammedaner), while in his word list *ayaq* signifies 'foot' and 'thigh', but doesn't refer to 'shoes'. Judging from this fact, we may conclude that the semantic expansion of *ajaq* 'foot' to 'shoes' should be rather late, at least such expansion did not take place until the beginning of the 20th century. Anyway, *ajaq* was semantically expanded to refer to 'shoes' in Turfan city as well as some urban regions just like in Standard Uyghur and most southern Uyghur dialects, whereas in other regions of Turfan such a semantical expansion as *ajaq* did not take place until this day, using Persian originated *kepiš* or *kipiš* for 'shoes'.

It is not very sure, but the regions where *ajaq* is used for 'shoes', probably made such a semantic expansion under the influence of Standard Uyghur, though such a natural semantic extension might also be internal.

Clearly, distribution of lexical isoglosses in the Turfan dialect does not completely coincide with the distribution of pronunciation isoglosses. Distribution of individual lexical isoglosses also diverges a great deal.

# 5 TEXTS

## 5.1 Texts from Lükchün

### 1 lüxčündä ba bay

(1) lüxčündä ba bay qarisıla / järlik näšpütä / änǰiř / anař / ǰüǰölä // (2) ǰüǰölä digä / qišta jidiγan[183] bir mögümiz va // (3) seriγ üřǰän / qizil üřǰän / jazliγ üřǰän / a:mut / jemiš / (4) jemiš däp birsi vařdı / u jumšaq piššidiγan / (5) mušu / bešinči ajnï aχïrï piši tügä kitidiγan // (6) qařmuq däp bařdi / üzäni bir qismisï u // (7) äjnola bu jädä ba / (8) u / üřǰänni bir qismisï bu / ämdi // (9) hazïř / juγuřsaq birřmikän / bu sürüštä qï paχsam // (10) äjnola ǰüǰäm a'ilisidikilärni ǰüǰämla demiz // (11) qïznaq ǰüǰäm / aχ ǰüǰäm / qara ǰüǰäm / qara qïznaq / (12) käptař ǰüǰimi uššaχ bułdu / na:jti tatlïq / mušu ǰägänlärni mä:lisidä ba // (13) ǰägän däp šu χäχlärni läqimikä // (14) ǰägän däp / atnï buγunu üstügä saldïγan jïγaš / (15) mäxsos bir a'ilä ulamu / (16) nuřyun χäqidi // (17) andïn / šatut ǰüǰäm digämmu ba / (18) mušu künlädä pišidu / u // (19) dašu nä:silä ba / bu jädä //

### 2 arava ǰabduγïnï gippi

(1) arava ǰabduγïnï gippimu / (2) arava ǰabduqleri / belveγi / unu astïnï qujdïγïnimiz ïŋγïrčaq / boγa / ǰägän / nuχta veγï / jügän / qušqunluq / töšlük // (3) dawu ildïγan tasmisïnï ǰägän beγi demiz / qulaq demiz // (4) mindïγan atnï / nuχta / ǰüǰän / jügännï ikki tal tatidïγan tasmisïnï čulvuř demiz / (5) igärni tuqumi / igär / qüšqun / tö:šlük / tö:š veγi / quřsaχ veγi / kämäldürük // (6) kämäldürük digini / aldidin ta:tidïγini[184] // (7) qüšqun digini / qujruqqa ildïγini // (8) mujädin[185] tatidïγïnnï / biz bijädä tö:šlükla dä qumiz // (9) quřsaχtïn jen birni ta:timiz // (10) bu igärni iši šunu vilä tügedu // (11) jał / qujruq / taqqa / tuwaq dijildu[186] // (12) kalniki muŋuz / burun almïs // (13) burunγa saldïγïnnï atčïγi dä qumiz // (14) atčï qïp ta:ti qudïγan bir iš va // (15) burunluqmu dä qujdu / (16) ǰüǰämni no:tisnï äkäp / manda igip / mandaqla qï qojmïs // (17) čiš dä qumïs / (18) tirkiš de:mis / uzun bir tal jïγïči va kala tatidïγan / (19) tirkišip ta:tidu digän mänidiki gäp boγandikin / tirkiš dä qujmis // (20) bissïγa mujdaχ bir tal jïγačni tuγra ötküzmis / bunï qaχsï dedu // (21) qaχsïγa bir tal čulwuřnï ötküzüp / üstüdiki jïγačqa čigimiz / (22) bujnuγa[187] sa:γannï / bujunturuq de:miz // (23) nimi nimi vilän qoš vułdu disä / šu nimilä vilä qoš vułdu //

183 *jidïγan* intraterminal participle of *jä-* 'to eat', SU *jä-j-dïγan*.
184 *tatïdïγïnnï* ← *tartïdïγïnïnï* < *tarta-dïγan-ï-nï 'the one to be put up'.
185 *mujädin* < *bu järdin* 'from this place'.
186 *dijildu* ← *dejilidu* 'to be said/called', the passive intraterminal form of *de-/dä-* 'to say'.
187 *bujnuγa* < *boγun-ï-γa* 'to the neck'.



### 1 Fruits of Lükchün

(1) You see, the fruits found in Lükchün are: local pear, fig, pomegranate and black pear (*ǰüǰölä*). (2) We have a variety of fruit called *ǰüǰölä*, which is eaten in the winter. (3) [Further varieties are:] yellow-*üřǰän*, red-*üřǰän*, summer-*üřǰän*, pear and *jimiš*-pear.[188] (4) We used to have a variety called *jimiš*-pear, which is soft when it ripens, (5) it ripens by the end of May. (6) There was a fruit called *qařmuq*, it belongs to a variety of *üzä*. (7) Here we grow plum, (8) it is a kind of black pear. (9) I tried to investigate it, and found it is a kind of hybrid. (10) We call the fruits in the plum and mulberry family simply mulberry. (11) [Mulberry has varieties such as] reddish-mulberry, white mulberry, black mulberry and black-reddish mulberry. (12) The pigeon's mulberry is normally small and very sweet; it can be found in the Jägän's village. (13) Reportedly, Jägän is the nickname of that people. (14) Jägän refers to the piece of wood put above the leather collar belt in a harness that is put against the horse's neck. (15) They are also a special family. (16) They used to have many members. (17) Then, there is also a kind of mulberry called *šatut*-mulberry,[189] (18) it ripens around this time. (19) Such fruits exist here.

### 2 Terms for chariot objects

(1) [Are you asking] the terms for chariot objects? (2) [The terms] for chariot objects are: The cloth belt, under it we put the patch-saddle, the leather collar belt, the joining-wood, the bridle belt, the (bridle) bit, the back belt and the forward girth. (3) That belt which is hung we call the joining-belt or ear. (4) A horse for riding has a bridle and a bit. We call the double belt used to control (the horse) a 'halter'. (5) [Others are:] saddle pad, saddle, back-belt, forward girth, chest-belt, belly-belt' and the breast-strap of the saddle (*kämäldürük*). (6) The breast-strap of the saddle refers to the part that is put on the front side, (7) and the back-belt is the one that is hung at the back of the saddle. (8) The part that is put on here[190] we just call the forward girth. (9) We put one other thing on the belly. (10) That is all of the saddle's parts. (11) [Further related terms] are: mane, tail, horseshoe and hoof. (12) We put things on the cow's nose and horns. (13) The thing laced through the nose we call *atčaq*. (14) There is a manner of putting it on called *atči*, (15) we also call it the 'nose controller'. (16) We take a mulberry bud, bend it like this, and then lace it like this. (17) [Further terms] we use are: tooth, (18) and *tirkiš*, [the latter] refers to a long piece of wood which is carried by the cow. (19) Since it is a word meaning 'carry by locking horns', we call it *tirkiš*. (20) We arrange one piece of wood on the (cow's) head, and call it *qaχsï*. (21) We lace *qaχsï* with the halter, and then bind it to the piece of wood above it. (22) We call the object put on the neck the 'ox yoke'. (23) If one asks what objects comprise a plow, [the answer is:] it will be a plow with these objects.

188 *jemiš* 'fruit', in some Uyghur dialects it mostly signifies 'raisin', but here it refers to a variety of pear.
189 *šatut-ǰüǰäm* usually refers to purple mulberry.
190 The informant points his belly.

3. lobišiŋ

(1) wunwaŋ[191] digän atəsï säxsän toχsaŋγa kägän mällädä qeri kittuču[192] / wunwaŋ digän // (2) baləsï ojjättä o sekkiz jaš varikän // (3) u waχta / kuŋzi[193] hajat waχtïda orduγa keptu / biǰiŋγičo[194] // (4) u kildiki[195] / näčči ajda bïř // (5) juχlap käp / wunwaŋ däptu / män čoŋ vo kettim / qerï qaldïm / (6) häř jïlda üč aj miniki mušo balamγa / bu χänsulaniki budda dinidiki töt kitap barikänγu / heliqï sunwukuŋ äkägän / töt kitapni ubdan uqutu qosaŋ / (7) ä mušo könä äqidatlani / dini örpi adatläni / hakimijät tutuš / dävlät tutuš / armijä tutuš / χälqni idarä qïliš digängä uχšaš nä siläni / obdan tälim tärbijä biri qosaŋ / däp wunwaŋ kuŋziγa šundaγ däptu // (8) digändikin / häř jïlda üč aj kildiki bu / wunwaŋni ordusuγa / biǰiŋγa / (9) kilip ügütüdu // (10) bu ädäm / unwaŋ[196] ülü kätkändikin / unuŋγa häř üč ajda bïř qetïm tälim tärbijä qïp tuřduγunikin[197]// (11) bïř küni / sorajdïγan nä siläni hämmini sorap / könä äχlaqlani / insallani äχlaqlirini / hämmini tälim tärbijä biri kätkändikin / andin änkizä buni kuŋzi soraptu // (12) bu lawbišiŋ[198] digän bu ikki danä χätni tä mi nimä? / (13) nimi digä gäp? / digïnikän // (14) lawbišiŋ digä ärnju täjgaŋ[199] / däp dihqallani bïř jüp kaləγa oχšatqənikän / na jti päs saniγïnikändä / šu waχtïda // (15) ärnju täjgaŋ digini / ikki kaləni mundaq jüplemizγu / (16) töpigä bïř tal tuχmaχni salmiz / (17) buni bujunturuχ dedu // (18) änkin / bijädä ikki tal jïγïči va / buni qaqsi dedu // (19) munu kalədiki ikki tal jïγač qačma du // (20) andin / tïřkiš digän bïř nimisi va / uni äkäp / jïγač sapanni üstügä ilmiz // (21) huš däp hajdisa / bu sapanni ta tidu // (22) iškiri disä / iškirigä maŋədu / tašqïri disä / tašqïriγa maŋidu // (23) lawbišiŋ digän mušundaχ vuldu / digïnikä // (24) dašnaχ hikajikä bu bïř // (25) kuŋzini bïř gipini / bijägä qïsturu quju paχtuq disina //

4. bäš äzani atalγuliri

(1) bijäni baʔšla demis / (2) mijäni gävdä / mürä viši / qol / qazan / quřsaq / kindixni astini kičik quřsaq / quřsaqni ičini üčögä / tal / böräk / su kičä dä paqïna / ämdi // (3) su kičäni bïřǰiŋgöšmu dä qujdu // (4) adämni jarlïšïda / bu tïznï astï pütö voγidäk / tüšüx vommïγidäk / bijädä // (5) bidällä qaγan jädä hämmistä tüšük va // (6) bu adïmizatnï mujdaχ bïř möǰiziskä[200] // (7) buni qaš / köz / burun / eγïz / kälpik / üstün kälpik / astïn kälpik / üz / qulaq / bu atalγula beš äzaniki // (8) bijädä üz / üzla dä qujdu / jüz digän mänïdikä[201] // (9) öpkini a qïnï dumbä de mis / (10) juquřřaγïnï düŋgej de mis /

191 *wunwaŋ* < Chin. 文王 *Wen-wang* (?), name of a ruler of Warring States period (475-221 B.C.).
192 *qeri kittuču* < *qerïp ketiptu-ču* 'He apparently became very old'.
193 *kuŋzi* < Chin. 孔子 *Kong-zi* 'Confucius'.
194 *biǰiŋ* < Chin. 北京 *Bei-jing* 'Beijing/Peking', name of the capital city of China.
195 *kildiki* ← *kelidikän* < *kelidu ikän* 'It is said that he came ...'
196 *unwaŋ* see *wunwaŋ*.
197 *tälim tärbijä qïp tuřduγunikin* < *tälim tärbijä qïlïp turidïγan ikän* 'It is told that this person continued teaching ...'
198 *lawbišiŋ* another form for *lobišiŋ* 'common people'. For *lobišiŋ* see vocabulary.
199 *ärnju täjgaŋ* < Chin. 二牛抬杠 *er-niu tai-gang* 'bonding of two cows; two cows in opposition'.
200 *möǰiziskä* < *möǰizisi ikän* 'was their miracle', *möǰizä* < Ar. *mu'jaza* 'wonder, miracle'.
201 *mänïdikä* < *mänidä ikän*, *mänä* < Ar. *ma'nī* 'meaning, sense'.



3. Common people

(1) Wenwang's father became very old, he was about eighty or ninety years old, (2) and his child was about seventeen or eighteen. (3) Reportedly, Confucius came to the palace, you know, to Beijing[202] when he was alive. (4) It is said that he came once every several months. (5) [Confucius] came to visit and Wenwang said: "I have become aged, become old. (6) Please teach the *Four Books*[203] to this my child for three months a year." Reportedly, the Chinese have *Four Books* of Buddhism that were brought by Sun Wukong.[204] (7) Wenwang said this to Confucius: "Please give him instructions on old traditions, religious customs, and teach him such subjects as government management, military management and the ways of citizen rule." (8) Since saying this, [Confucius] has been coming to Wenwang's palace in Beijing three times a year. (9) He comes and teaches. (10) It is told that this person continued teaching him once every three months after Wenwang's death. (11) One day, after having asked all the questions and completed giving all the instructions concerning the old traditions and human morality, Confucius asked [Wenwang's child] this question: (12) "What do the two characters *laobaixing* 'common people' signify?[205] (13) He asked: "What do they refer to?" (14) Then he answered himself: "These characters mean *er-niu tai-gang* 'carrying a plow with a pair of cows'". Obviously, he compared peasants to a pair of cows, having considered them very low. (15) *Er-niu taigang* refers to such a thing: you know, we join two cows together side by side, (16) then we put a stick on their (neck), (17) which is called an ox-yoke, (18) Then there are two pieces of wood which are called *qaχsï*, (19) These two pieces of wood on the cow's neck can never be parted. (20) Then there is a thing called *tirkiš*, we take and hang it on the upper side of a wooden plow. (21) Cows carry the plow when one drives them saying: 'Huš!' (22) They walk inside when one commands them saying: "Inside!" they walk outside when one commands them saying: "Outside!" (23) Apparently, he said: "*Laobaixing* is like this." (24) This is such a story. (25) You see, we tried to add a Confucius story here.

4. Terms for the five organs

(1) We just call this the head, (2) and this, stature, [then comes] the shoulder, the hand, the back, the belly, under the navel is the small belly, and inside it are the intestine, the spleen and the kidney. (3) There is also the thigh, the thigh is also called *biǰiŋgöš*. (4) Reportedly, when mankind was created the part under the knee was full, had no holes in it at all. (5) On the other parts of the body there are holes. (6) This is such a miracle of the human beings. (7) These parts are the eyebrow, the eye, the nose, the mouth, the lips, [the latter comprised of] the upper lip and the lower lip, the face and the ear; those are the names of the five organs. (8) For the face we use *üz* instead of *jüz*. (9) We call the

202 Beijing was not the capital city during this period, only since the 13th century.
203 *Four books* refers to the *Four Chinese Classics*, namely *Lun Yu* (Analects), *Daxue* (The Great Learning), *Zhong Yong* (The Dotrine of the Mean) and *Mencius* (Book of Mencius).
204 Sun Wukong is The Monkey King who accompanied Tang Xuanzang during his travel to India.
205 Actually, 老百姓 *lao-bai-xing* comprised of three characters in Chinese, not of two characters.

(11) taya kütürdüyan[206] jäni düŋgä dedu / (12) düŋgäjiŋgä al dä qujdu // (13) könä tepišmaχlada / üzi joχnu üzi joχ / däp bir gäp barkičü[207] / (14) qilin adämlägä qarttiɣan gäpikä //

5 eŋilvašni ismisi

(1) bökni könä ismimizdä šapaχ de:miz // (2) bunuŋ türi jïq / gül qïɣan duχava qïɣannï / düppa demiz / (3) äpändim kigänni šäpkä de:miz // (4) mandaχ bir ki:mimis[208] va / čamča dedu // (5) munuŋɣa oχšaš ištan biɣi tikkänni / ištan de:miz // (6) šalvuř degä kin peda voldï / u // (7) jiŋi joq / kalta kigänni jïlitkä demiz // (8) päšmät čapan demiz / (9) perije čapan de:mis / (10) χäs teridin kigänni juwa demiz / (11) tišširɣa latta ta:tqannï tašlïq juwa demis / (12) munda itivaldïɣannï qa:rima jaqqa de:miz // (13) putqa ki:dïɣannï ütük / mässä / käš / kipišmu de:mis / (14) bizä uquɣan adämlä kä š de:du / biz kipišla de:mis // (15) juŋ vilän qïɣannï kigiz ütük / jäntuŋmu de:mis / ujɣuřčä ismi kigiz ütük // (16) bijädä sočuŋka digä birsi va / nimi zuvallïɣïnï bilmemis // (17) sočuŋka digini / jantuŋɣa čäm bä:kitip / mäjägä χirimda tikkän kigiz ütük va / (18) bijädä unï köp kimedu // (19) čuŋ adämlä ki:dïɣan birsi va / perijä dä qumis // (20) da:ni pältä de:miz // (21) jip bilä munda qip ütkäzgänni ištanbaɣ de:mis / (22) boqučni ildïɣan tösükläni pistän dä qujmis // (23) bunï ajaq taqqisï de:mis / käš taqqisï disimu muwapïq vuldu // (24) hazir kalaš kipišni ořnïn[209] evaldï // (25) bunï pašna de:mis / (26) munusï til //

6 üzümni türi

(1) üzümni türi / birinči üzi kišmiš üzüm / sa:va üzüm / kök qašqïř / kičik qašqïř / uššaq bulduɣan igiřmu dä qujdu / beǰaqï / qarə üzüm / ɣunčə üzüm / aq üzüm / beliq üzüm däp / bäš on χil ma:jut bijädä // (2) beliq üzüm digä / qasqïřɣa oχša kitidu / bizä uzunaraq / amäšada ba / bu ičidä uruɣï joq / (3) qašqïřlanï sajvilanï iččidä uruɣï va // (4) na:jti joruq / iččidä bizä läštäx birmä köründu / biz bunï aq üzüm demiz // (5) bijädä bizni bilivatqinimiz on χil üzüm ba / bijädä // (6) qašqïřma iki χil / aq qašqïř kök qašqïř däp ba // (7) uzun sa:va / jumbulaχ sa:va / kaltaraq birsimi ba // (8) sa:vəmu üš xil vuldïɣinikä hä // (9) jalpaχ tilda abdulla qašqïri de:mis / (10) ula qäšqäliχkä / äsli abdulla qäšqiri digä gäp // (11) šunuɣa qarïɣanda / bijädä ombir / on iki χil üzüm ba // (12) özbäklä / tatarla vä bašqila üzümni tal dediɣinikä / (13) biz täx demiz // (14) qedimqi adämlä / bijäni adämlirmu tal dä gä qildïɣinikä / (15) ki:n ki:n / täx / täx vo qaldï // (16) täx paršcä zuvanikä u qarəsïla // (17) täx uzarma digä mä:ndikä // (18) bunuŋda bir ilmi va / (19) täk üstürmä[210] digä mä:nidä // (20) kä?smisä bumajdu üzümni // (21) bunï čarvəčila köp išlitidu / (22) qo vaqqa[211] čarvəčila / aldïɣa kätkän / ilgiřläp kitivatqannï täk disä toχta qaldu // (23) bu maŋma / ilgiřlimä digä mä?ndä // (24) äsli ujɣuřlanï atalɣusi tal digini durus / dašu //

206 *kütürdüyan* < *kötüridïyan*.
207 *barkičü* < *bar ikän* + Q PART *ču*.
208 *ki:mimis* ← *kejim-imiz* 'our clothe'.
209 *ořnïn* ← *ořnïnï* 'the place (ACC)'.
210 *üstürmä* ← *östürmä* 'do not grow', negation form of *östür-* 'to grow'.
211 *qo vaqqa* < *qoj baqqan* 'having tended the sheep'.



backside of the lung – back. (10) The little upper part of it, we call the upper back. (11) The place where a sack is carried is called the lower back. (12) People say, "Just load it onto your lower back." (13) There is an old riddle which goes: One who himself is not present has no face. (14) This refers to thick-skinned (= shameless) people.

5 Clothing terms

(1) We call hats *šapaχ* 'melon-peelings' in our old terminology. (2) There are many styles: The one that has flowers and is made of velvet is called *düppa*, (3) the one that the teacher is wearing,[212] we call *šäpkä*. (4) We have a garment called *čamča*. (5) The one with a belt we call *ištan*, (6) baggy trousers appeared later. (7) The short one without sleeves we call *jïlitkä*. (8) There is another one called *päšmät čapan*, (9) [another one] is the *perijä čapan*. (10) The one made of pure leather we call *juwa*, (11) and the one with a cloth-cover outside we call *tašlïq juwa*. (12) The one that is covered like this we call *qa:rïma jaqqa*.[213] (13) [Words for shoes are:] *ütük* 'boots', *mässä* 'soft leather-boots', and *käš* 'shoes', the latter we also call *kipiš*, all are worn on the feet. (14) Somewhat educated people use *käš*, but we just use *kipiš*. (15) We call the ones made of wool *kigiz ütük* 'felt boots', and also *jäntuŋ*, the Uyghur word for them is *kigiz ütük*. (16) There is a kind of felt boot called *sočuŋka*, we don't know from which language it originates. (17) *Sočuŋka* is a kind of felt boot with an under sole and leather sewn on some sides. (18) People don't wear it here often. (19) There is a garment worn by old people is called *perijä* 'a long coat'. (20) That one we call *pältä* 'a coat'. (21) A strap laced around the waist here is called *ištanbaɣ* 'a pants belt'. (22) The holes to lace string through we call – *pistan* 'shoe buckle'. (23) This one we call heel-plate (*ajaq taqqisï*), one may also call it *käš taqqisï* more properly. (24) Now the shoe has been replaced by galoshes. (25) This part we call *pašna* 'heel'. (26) This part is *til* 'tongue'.

6 Grape varieties

(1) Varieties of grapes: the first one is seedless grape, '*sava*-grape', 'blue *qašqir*', 'small *qašqir*', the latter is also called small *igir*, '*bäjaqi*-grape', 'black grape', '*ɣunčä*-grape', white grape, fish-grape etc, there are five or ten varieties of grapes. (2) *Beliq üzüm* resembles to *qašqir*, but a little longer, it grows in Amasha, and has no seed. (3) *Qašqir* and *sava* have seeds inside. (4) [There is a variety] which is very bright and one can see something like algae, we call it a white grape. (5) What we know here are ten kinds of grapes. (6) *Qašqir* also has two varieties: 'white *qašqir*' and 'blue *qašqir*'. (7) [*Sava*] has (two types:) long *sava* and round *sava*, the latter of which also has a shorter variety. (8) I found *sava* has also three types. (9) In the local language we call [a person] Abdullah Kashghari. (10) Originally they are from Kashghar, which correctly should be Abdullah Kashghari.[214] (11) It seems to be that there are about eleven or

212 Here 'teacher' refers to a local teacher, Rozi Akhun, who accompanied us during the fieldwork.
213 Lit. 'a turndown collar (coat)'.
214 Here the informant explains the difference between *qašqir* 'a kind of grape' and *qašqiri* 'Kashgharian, inhabitant of Kashghar'.

7. öj jabduqleri

(1) buni kɵrpä de mis / (2) dawular sanduq // (3) ujuχ / da lani ujuq de mis / (4) da jä dä utayinni limtaχ de mis // (5) biz quwuq de mis / išikni // (6) buni jim jepildiɣan qip / tumuŋ däp / χänsočä arlaštuřvalduq / biz buni // (7) šamal kiřsima jatalivirdiɣinikämmiz[215] biz / bijäni ädämliri // (8) äχiřdä / išikni jim jepildiɣan qilɣan nimä / (9) jim jepildiɣan išig joq idi / isimizni bilsäk bijädä // (10) milaŋzä dediɣan biř nimmiz va / tüppigä kigizdäk biřmidä milaŋzä qï qujmis // (11) qoš qu:q de mis / mundaχ jüplap jepildiɣannï // (12) ikkisi jüplap jipilɣannï qu:q de mis / (13) jalaŋ jipildiɣannï išik de mis // (14) buni lim de du / (15) ɣuljəda tana saldi de diɣinikä / biz bijäni jerlix zuwanïda lim saldi de mis // (16) čäŋzä digini inčikisi šu / (17) burunlada bijadä kimiř öj igidu / (18) haziř nečči miŋ jil wuɣan kimiř öjlä ba // (19) jiɣaš taš käm / quřɣaχčiliχ vuɣaŋkin / kimiř öj köp bulduɣinikä[216] // (20) andin / mundaχ qazaqnikidäx tö rüx öjlä / (21) haziř u tö rüx öj qa mədi / izi joχ vo kätti // (22) uni gumbazɣa oχša[217] saldiɣinikä / (23) jatidan biřnim bo məɣankin / täxtigä tö rüx qonaχ qip japqa[218] öjlä / (24) muŋɣol üjičo / mawu qazaqlani ujigä uχšaš / (25) dajnaχ öjlä bařdi mišädimu / tügä ketti // (26) mujundaɣ vosa / biz tü rüx qo di de miz // (27) a wu zilčä / (28) buni zädigal de du / köparaq / (29) biraz mädiniräkla zädiwal de du //

8. jařlix tilimis

(1) bizni jařlix tilimis šu ämdi / (2) biznin ujɣuřlani atalɣu til / qedimda bijädä χäs ujɣuř χäχ jašəɣənikä // (3) ta ki čälluŋ[219] biř miŋ jetti jüz jigirmi birinči jili / imin χallïq bijiŋgä ba ɣandikin / iškiřsi vilän munasiwät obdan inïq buɣandin kinki / šuniŋɣəčä buvatqa süzimis // (4) burunqi waqtta / bašqa biř dinlaɣa itiqat qip käganikä // (5) kijin islam dini bijägä eqip kiřgändin kin / burunqi muŋɣulči / ja ki vommisa tatařčä / özbäkčä tilla vilä arilašmaj kägä tilikä / bizni tilimiz // (6) kijin čälluŋ devridin kin / bizni tilimiz könä til vilälla atalɣu vup kä gän nimä // (7) kijin äräp tili kiřgändin kin / pařsčä zubanlamu arlišip / bizni gipimiz üzi muräkäpliši qaldi // (8) äsli bizni tilimis bizä käm // (9) tujuqta biraz saχlənï qaldï / jaŋχida bizä saχlənï qaldï // (10) u nimä disilä / tujuχta "huj / nigä varisä?" / "jizəɣa čiqïmä" / didu // (11) jizəɣa čiqïmiz digini / täkkä čiqïmiz / baqqa čiqïmiz digini // (12) "jizəɣa čiqip nimä qilisä?" / "bidä tirimä" // (13) "bidäni tirip nimä qilisä?" disä / "šäliqä mäliqä qïlimä" / didu[220] // (14) bu nimä disä / bidä ti miz / jo za[221] qïlimiz / šäliqä mäliqä qïlimiz / digini // (15) bu söz nimä disä /

215 *jatalivirdiɣinikämmiz* <* *jata ala beridiɣan ikänmiz*.
216 *buldurɣinikä* < *bolïdiɣan ikän*.
217 *oxša* ← *oxšaš* 'like, same as'.
218 *japqa* ← *japqan* 'having made'.
219 *čälluŋ* < Chin. 乾隆 *Qian-long* the fourth Emperor of the Qing dynasty (1664-1911), who ruled between 1736-1795.
220 For another version of this passage see Malov 1961: 78-79 Nr. 6.
221 *jo za* < Chin. 饺子 *jiao-zi* 'steamed dumpling'. The most popular term for dumpling in Turfan is *bänša*, see vocabulary.



twelve varieties of grape. (12) Uzbeks, Tatars and others call a grapevine *tal*, (13) but we use [the word] *täk*. (14) Reportedly, old people around here used to also call it *tal*. (15) Later it was replaced by *täk*. (16) You see, evidently *täk* is of Persian origin, (17) and means 'Don't grow longer'. (18) There is an explanation. (19) *Täk* means 'do not grow'. (20) A grapevine has to be cut. (21) Shepherds often use this word. (22) If shepherds say *täk*, the far-running sheep stops. (23) Here it means 'do not go, do not move forward'. (24) Actually the Uyghur term *tal* is correct.

7. House objects

(1) We call this [on which we are sitting] *kɵrpä* 'a cotton padded mattress'. (2) That is a *sanduq* 'chest'. (3) Those things we call *ujuq* 'wall-niche'. (4) That sitting over there we call *limtaχ*. (5) We call the door *quvuq*. (6) We make them to close tightly, calling them with the Chinese word *tumuŋ*. (7) Reportedly, we, the local people of this place, used to sleep without caring about the wind. (8) Later, we made doors that shut tightly. (9) Here there were no doors that shut tightly ever since we can remember. (10) We have something called a door curtain and we hang material such as felt as door curtains. (11) A door that shuts from both sides, we call *qoš qu:q* 'double door'. (12) A door with two panels, we call *qu:q*. (13) That one, which has only one panel, we call *išik*. (14) This is called *lim* 'a pillar'. (15) In Ghulja they say *tana saldi* for 'put the pillar', but here we use *lim saldi*' in our local accent. (16) The thin ones are called *čäŋzä*. (17) They used to build vaulted buildings, (18) there are vaulted buildings many thousands of years old. (19) Evidently, there used to be many vaulted buildings here because of a lack of building materials and the aridity. (20) Then (we had) the round houses also like Kazakh's. (21) Now there are no such roundhouses left, and their traces have disappeared. (22) Apparently, it is built like a cupola. (23) Since there was no place to sleep, houses were built, with a round base. (24) You know, that is a Mongolian house, it resembles Kazakh's house. (25) There were such houses here, but they have now disappeared. (26) If one does this, we say (one has) 'erected a pillar'. (27) That is a carpet. (28) This is usually called *zädigal* 'a wall hanging'. (29) Some educated people call it *zädiwal*.

8. Our local language

(1) Our local language is like this. (2) Concerning the terms and language of the Uyghurs, reportedly, in the old days only Uyghurs lived here. (3) We (used) this language until 1721 when Emin Khanate[222] went to Beijing and contact with Inner China became better and clearer. (4) Before that we used to believe in other religions. (5) Until Islam was introduced here, our language was not mixed with Mongolian or Tartar and Uzbek. (6) Later, after the Qianlong period, our language was established only with old terms. (7) Later, Arabic words were borrowed, Persian was also mixed, and then our language became complex. (8) Originally, our language didn't have

222 Presumably refers to Emin Khoja (?-1777), the first officially recognized ruler of the Lükchün Uyghur Dukedom by Qing dynasty.

nim qïmaxči disä / čöčürini didu // (16) äsli bedä küki vilä čöčürï qïlimiz / (17) eši qayan čöpni säp / purčaχni säp / arlašma qïvatqanni / šäliqä mäliqä didu // (18) könä türxčä šäliqä mäliqä süzikä // (19) misalän / mujnuŋγa uχšaš tilla // (20) bunuŋdun bašqa / bijädä dehqalla otturšuda e:tivatqan sözlädä / küri demiz a:šlïχ küzledïγan kürini / čälledïγa kürini // (21) arlašma bu kätkä nimä // (22) küpinčä nä:slädä[223] / tamni sipamis / la: qïlimiz digäŋ gäplä // (23) üguzni tüvä demiz / (24) mijädä tüŋnüx qujidïγan iši va / eni biz tüjnüx de:mis //

9. läqäm

(1) buruŋqï gaχlada / qebile qebile jašəγɨnikämmiz // (2) qazaqla qïzaj / suvaj digäŋgä uχšaš / biz ujγurlanïŋma qebilimiz varkä // (3) kijin / ujγuř digä söz buγandin kin / qebilivazliq tügä kitip / ujγuř vo qaγan nimä // (4) bunï buruŋqï sözdä / qebile waχtidiki gä?plä u // (5) qebile tüggändin kin / bara bara bejnisiγa jiŋi adämlä kägändin kin / u adämläni dadəsi ämälda voγan čiγi va // (6) doγa didikin[224] / palanči šaŋjunï balsi / jïsanï balsi / palanči so:ŋaŋni[225] balsi digändäk / helïqindäk vo qaγan nimikä // (7) läqäm bilä e:tmisa tapama:mïz // (8) häř bɨř adämdä / üzüg[226] čušluq läqäm vulidikä // (9) u läqamma kijin pejda vu qaγan nimä // (10) bizniki könä läqïmmïznï χitajla[227] dä qujdïγɨnikä // (11) nimišqa χitajdi disä / čänluŋni dävridä / bizniki abdimijit ka digän bowəmïz bu äräpčä pařsčä ilmi oqutqɨnikä // (13) andin / bïjin bilä / čänluŋ χam-bilä munasivät qïγandin kin / imin χan bizniki bowəmïz abdimijit ka digänni / äräpčä pařsčä zuban uqutup / (14) u gaχta χänzučä χät bildïγa ädäm bo:məγankin // (15) ujγuřla u jägä ba:sa / u ädäm äräpčä bilđu / χänsučä bilđu / šunoŋčün äräpčä gäp qïlip / pařsčä zuban bilä sözläp / χänsočɨγa ö:rüp / abdimijit ka digän bowəmïz čoŋ teřjiman bop bijinda on bäš jil tuřγɨnikä // (16) on bäš jil turup // (17) bu imin χanlïγïnïŋ guŋgän[228] didu / bu imin χanlïγïnï bijindä bɨř ořdəsi varkä / (18) bijiŋγa va:sa čüšidïγan / kirsä muhapizät qïldïγan / jatidïγa bɨř ořdusï varkä // (19) mušonï abdimijit ka bowəmïz salduřγənikä // (20) ö:linip berï qaγaŋkin u jägä / mušu čänluŋ χannï čoŋ χutunï / pujuŋču[229] / sini χutunuŋ va:mu? / (21) χutunum joq / (22) anda vosa sini ölap qujni bijädä / ombäš jilda pütidu bu imarät / däp / (23) bɨř qïzïγa četi qujdu bu // (24) bu bɨř manju qïzikä // (25) qïzïni četi qo:γaŋkin / sepä gaŋ[230] digä bowəmïz tuγulu qaldïγɨnikä // (26) u jädin / u imarät pütkändin kin qa:turamdu / (27) qajtqandikin / čänluŋ atanəliri u qïzini šinjaŋγa äčikitiškä[231] ruχsät qïmɨγandin kin / (28) kin sipä gaŋ

223 *nä:slädä* < *närsilärdä*.
224 *didikin* < * *dejdu* / *dädu ikän*.
225 *soŋaŋ* < Chin. 所长 *suo-zhang* 'head of station'.
226 *üzüg* ← *özigä* 'to herself / himself', DIR of *öz* 'self'.
227 *χitaj* 'Chinese' (< *qitan*), compare Rus. *xitaj*. In Modern Uyghur it has a deregatory sense, therefore it was gradually replaced by *χänsu* / *χänzu* < Chin. 漢族 *Han-zu* 'Chinese'.
228 *guŋgän* < Chin. 公館 *gong-guan* 'administrative office'.
229 *pujuŋ* < Chin. 福晋 *fu-jin* 'lady', see Menges 1954: 94.
230 *sepä gaŋ* consists of two elements *sepä* (< Ar. *Safar*) and *gaŋ* (< Chin. 王 *wang* 'ruler'). *gaŋ* is very often used after a man's name as a diminutive element in the Turfan, Qomul regions.
231 *äčikitiškä* < *alip čïqip ketiškä* < *alip čïqip ketiškä* 'for bringing back'.



enough (words). (9) Some (old elements) are preserved in Tuyuq, some are also in Yanghe. (10) If you ask, "What (is preserved)?" in Tuyuq they say:

-Hey, where are you going?

-I am going to the village.

(11) "We are going to the village" here means "We are going to the vineyard" or "We are going to the garden."

(12) -What are you going to do in the village?

-I am going to pick some red clover.

(13) -What are you going to do with the red clover?

-I am going to cook *šäliqä-mäliqä*.

(14) If one asks: "What does this mean?" it means: We pick red clover, cook dumplings, and then cook *šäliqä mäliqä*. (15) If one asks: "What does the [last] word mean? What do they actually want to cook?" it refers to dumpling soup. (16) [Actually, they want to say:] we cook dumpling soup with fresh red clover. (17) A kind of mixed food cooked with leftover dough-strips and beans, they call *šäliqä mäliqä*. (18) Reportedly, *šäliqä mäliqä* is an Old Turkic word. (19) For instance, (they use) such words like this. (20) Besides these, concerning the words used by farmers, we use *küri* for an instrument used for measuring grain. (21) You see, in most cases it is very much mixed. (22) [There are] the expressions such as "We plaster a wall, prepare plaster." (23) We call roof *tüvä*. (24) People here add a smoke-hole to a room, and we call it *tüjnüx*.

9. Nicknames

(1) Reportedly, in previous times we lived in tribes. (2) Just like the Kazakh tribes Qizay and Suvaj, we Uyghurs also used to have tribes. (3) After the word Uyghur appeared , (individual) tribes became less important, and 'Uyghur' became [our name]. (4) This is an old story of the tribal period. (5) Tribes have ceased to exist and new people have gradually come here; it is likely that their forefathers were officials. (6) They were called as Darugha, child of so-and-so Shangye, Jisa's child, so-and-so Sozhang's child etc.,[232] and then such titles evolved into (nicknames). (7) We cannot find anyone if we don't use her/his nickname. (8) Everybody has their own nickname. (9) The nickname appeared later. (10) Our old nickname was "Hitay". (11) If one were to ask: "Why was it "Hitay"?' (12) During the Qianlong period our grandfather Abdulhemit Ka[233] taught Arabic and Persian. (13) After having come into contact with Beijing and the Emperor Qianlong, the Jasak Prince Imin asked our grandfather Abdulhemit Ka to teach the Arabic and Persian languages; (14) You know, at that time nobody here had knowledge on Chinese characters. (15) Since he, our grandfather Abdulhemit, knew Arabic and Chinese, he became big translator; it is told that he spoke Arabic and Persian, and translated for Uyghurs when they went to Beijing, also that he stayed in Beijing for fifteen years. (16) He stayed there for fifteen years. (17) The Jasak

232 Shangye, Jisa and Sozhang are all titles of Chinese origin.
233 *Ka* one of the secondary titles given to the officials of the Lükchün Uyghur Dukedom, referring to the commander of Jasak Prince's adjutants.

digän bowəmïzni / bïř rawajätta on töt jïšida / bïř rawajätta ombäš jïšida jandurup ečïqqan nimikä // (29) ečïqqandïn kin / šu sipä gaŋ digänni bałłərï biz // (30) bijägä kägändin kin / u ijädä χänzučä obda uquγïnikä / bu lüxčün waŋniki bïǰin waŋ vilä qilidïγan alaqä χizmät išlïřni išligïnikä // (31) ka / ka däp jüridikä // (32) ka digä šu jädä kadir digä mä nidä // (33) šunda qïlip / sipä gaŋ buvəmiz töt χutun ep / töt χutundïn toqqus qiz / töt uγul ba vop / šunuŋdïn bïř uγulnu ävladi biz // (34) šunoŋ üčün / bizniki heliqi χänzodïn ö linip tuγulγan balәni eti säpiraχunikä // (35) säpärdä tuγulγan bala vuγaŋkin / säpïraχun digän nimä // (36) šunuŋ üčün / kijinki väχlïřda / bizni läqämni χitaj devaptu // (37) haziř dimidu ämdi / ismajil ha di didu mini // (38) ata bŭvlïrïmïzni qa li disä / qa sï qa li? / a χitaj qa li däp e tidikä // (39) bo mujdaγla gäpkä //

10. waŋlani parəŋï

(1) sulajman χan digä / imin waŋni uγli[234] šu // (2) sulajman waŋ munarïni / imin χan sulajma χanniki uγlïγa bädiř qïp / imin χan salduřγan nimä // (3) u ha kim bop tuřpanda tuřγan ädïmikä / u sulajma χan digä // (4) imin waŋniki birinči uγlikä šu // (5) bu imin χan digä hakimjät tutqandikin / bunuŋ sekkiz uγli varikä // (6) sekkiz uγulni šu sekkiz velajätkä ha kim qilγïnikä // (7) bu qäšqa dikimu šu / χotändikimu šu / (8) ili waŋma mušulani jäddi //

11. mini gipim

(1) män uzun muddät / bu χenso eγïnïlä vilä išlä kätkä nimä // (2) šiŋšisej šiŋǰaŋni on ikki jil sořdi // (3) u gaχlada biz uquγučiduq // (4) üš tö jil uquγandïn kinla / mäm-bizä aŋliqmidim / andïn bu šiŋšisej sevittin[235] mutäχäsis qubul qildï // (5) qubul qïlγandïn kin / šu uruslada uqujdanγa mini mišädin tejläp / dehqančïliq mexteptä uqudum // (6) sevittin mu'ällim qubul qildï / šiŋšisej šiŋǰaŋda // (7) se pidin äpändilәni šu jägä apa di // (8) kijin mu'ällimni u jädin bijägä ekäldi / tadan na jti eyïř vop kitidïγïnikä // (9) šiŋšisej a jïz kilip / bïř sahät däřs sözlïsä bïř sä altun töligidäk / digän gäplәni aŋnïγan // (10) kijin / mutäχäsisläni bijägä qubul qildï / andïn // (11) bijägä qubul qïlγanda / ürümčigä čiqïp uquduq / biz ämdi // (12) jazni küni tuřpaŋγa kilimis / diχančïliqni išlemis / qïšni küni uqujmis ürümčidä // (13) ikkinči derijïlik teχnik derijïgä jetken nimä / män // (14) ki n gomindaŋ šiŋǰaŋγa kä gändin kijin / sevitkä öčikin ula // (15) bizni aŋkit tolduruŋla digändin kin / bizgä öš vop qep / bašqa χizmätlägä almašturivätti // (16) at / toχuj / čošqa / ajγïr / buqqa / qošqa / uruq terijdïγan mašina / hämmïsini biz sevittin äkägän nimä / šu waχta // (17) sevittin äkirip / mušu dihqallaγa tarïtimis // (18) čigit / bïř jerim tonna šiŋǰaŋγa ekägän nimä // (19) gomindaŋ kä gändin kinla / munasivätni üzdi // (20) šunuŋda / bizma χař vu qaγan hisavi bu qalduq // (21) medinjät inqilavida / jigïřmï jil tüřmigä saldï / mini // (22) jigïřmi sekkiz jilda qajtip käldim // (23) on ikki jil on aj vuγanda / gunahsïz däp bušïtivätti mini // (24) dehqančïliq mäjdallada išlijmä / teχniklïq

234 *uγlï* ← *oγlï*, 3rd person POSS of *oγul* 'son'.
235 *sevit* < Rus. *soviet* 'Soviet'.



Prince Imin had a palace, actually an administrative office, in Beijing. (18) Reportedly, he had a palace to stay in and was protected when he went to Beijing. (19) It is told that our grandfather Abdulhemit Ka was responsible for building the palace. (20) Although he arrived there after he was already married, Qianlong Khan's Senior Lady asked him: "Do you have a wife?" (21) He said: "I have no wife." (22) Then she said: "If this is so, let's get you married, because this (palace) will be completed in fifteen years." (23) She fixed him up with one of her daughters. (24) She was a Manchurian girl. (25) After he was married to this girl, our grandfather named Sepägang was born. (26) Naturally, they returned to Turfan after the palace was built. (27) At the time of return, Qianlong and her parents didn't allow him to bring their daughter to Xinjiang. (28) Our grandfather Sepägang was brought back [to Turfan] when he was fourteen years old according to one story, and when he was fifteen years old according to another story. (29) We are the children of our grandfather Sepägang. (30) After his return (to Turfan), he conducted communication affairs between Jasak Prince Imin and Beijing Wang because he had learned good Chinese there. (31) He was called *Ka*. (32) *Ka*, here, refers to cadre. (33) Then our grandfather Sepägang married four ladies; nine daughters and four sons were born from those four ladies, and we are the descendants of one if his sons. (34) Therefore, the name of the child born from his Chinese wife was Säpirakhun. (35) He was called Säpirakhun since he was born during that trip. (36) Therefore, people later gave us the nickname "Hitay". (37) Now people don't use it, they call me Ismail Hadi. (38) Our father's name was Qali; It is told that if one asked: "Which Qali?" people used to answer: "that Hitay Qali." (39) This is such a story.

10. About Jasak Princes

(1) Sulayman Khan is the son of Jasak Prince Imin. (2) Jasak Prince Sulayman's tower was built by Imin Khan, and dedicated to the son of Sulayman Khan. (3) Reportedly, Sulayman Khan has spent time in Turfan as County Magistrate. (4) He is the oldest son of Jasak Prince Imin. (5) When Imin Khan came into power, he had eight sons. (6) He appointed his eight sons to eight prefectures. (7) The one who [ruled] Kashghar is his son, and the one who [ruled] Khotan is also his son. (8) The Jasak Prince of Ili is also their descendant.

11. About myself

(1) I worked for a long time with Chinese friends. (2) Sheng Shicai ruled Xinjiang for twelve years.[236] (3) At that time we were students. (4) After we had studied for three or four years, I suppose I was rather clever, Sheng Shicai accepted Soviet specialists. (5) After they accepted Russian (specialists), I was selected to study in Russia, and I studied at an agricultural school. (6) Sheng Shicai invited Soviet teachers to Xinjiang. (7) Mr. Säypidin[237] and others were sent there [to the Soviet Union]. (8) Later [Sheng

236 Sheng Shicai was Porvincial Commander-in-Chief (Duban) of Xinjiang from 1932 to 1944.
237 Refers to Säypidin Äzizi who later became the Party Secretary of XUAR, and later also was appointed to the Vice Chairmain of the China's People's Congress, etc.

qilimä / üzi // (25) mušu säjjuǰi[238] / moto / mušdaq nä:siläni rimunŭt qildïγa qabïljitim ba / qařsïla // (26) om bïř on ikki jïlda bušatti // (27) bijägä käpaχsam / bumajdïγɨnikä // (28) bijädä boǰaŋ[239] vuγan / ǰaǰaŋ[240] vuγan / ädämläni urup / söräv jürgändikin / bijägä kä:gili vommɨγïdäg ja däp / ašu nuŋčaŋlada[241] išlä kättim // (29) jätmiš toqquzïnči jili / ismajil sän kät dividi / män unŭmudum // (30) kä:sä bijädä jänä logejfenzi[242] däp qalpaq kiguzïdu // (31) šadä / qïriq alti kej ma'aš vïrdu // (32) šä:dä išläp / jätmiš toqquzïnči jili qajtsaŋ buldu däp abdan χät qïp birividi / qalpaqmu kigäzmɨdi // (33) gunahkař vop / om bïř jil qaγan vop / jigïřmɨ sekkiz jïlda qajtïp käldim // (34) bunï kijin u jädin qajtïp kägändin kin aldim // (35) buruŋqï mä:zimdin tuγulγan balam ba / (36) haziřqï mä:zimdin ikki balam ba // (37) buruŋqï mä:zimdin bïř balam ba / on danä näv̈räm ba //

12 mätnijaz kaxča

(1) män ällïx säkkiz jašqa kïřdim // (2) ämdi bizni bijädä / män šoq / (3) män mušu tapta nimɨla iš qïsam qïlïdïγan a:däm / (4) saqəlïm čoŋ voγam bilə̃ / sugap buldu quju qujuŋla digäŋkin / quju qoγalla bïřɨmä bu saqallanï // (5) qumulluχ bu äjal / (6) bu äjalniki atəsï bijälïx / (7) apəsï qumulluχ / (8) mišädä tuγulγan nimä // (9) čoŋ qinana[243] bijädä / (10) kičïx qinana[244] qumulda // (11) töt uγul töt qïz va / (12) ikki uγul va / to:qïldïγan bïř qïz va / (13) om bäš nevre va / üš qïzniki / (14) uγullanï joq // (15) čoŋ qïzniki sekkiz balәsi va / (16) bïřsïniŋ töt / bïřsïniŋ üš // (17) mäm mušu gomindaŋ waχtïda / dašu tŭtŭn sinipqačä uquγan nimä / (18) hazïř ämdi munda qarəγanda / učün sinip ballərəniki därsidäx qïldu / (19) hazïřɨčä χä?t' jazäməsaχ / (20) sizni atəŋəzla vile uquγan nimä // (21) nejqï bïř uč / (22) šamalči va / (23) dänši[245] va / (24) to?x joχ / digäm-ilä // (25) ürümčigɨmu čïqïm-män / (26) bizä elip seti qujdïγan išlanïmu qïp qu:mä / män / (27) tötinčajda čïqï kägänčä //

238 *sājjujī* < Chin. 柴油械 *chai-you-ji* 'diesel engine'.
239 *boǰaŋ* < Chin. 保長 *bao-zhang* 'the headman of a *bao*; a headborough'. It is a title of tithing-system, in which ten families make a *jia* and ten *jia* make *bao*. See also *ǰaǰaŋ*.
240 *ǰaǰaŋ* < Chin. 甲長 *jia-zhang* 'the headman of a tithing; a village elder'.
241 *nuŋčaŋ* < Chin. 農場 *nong-chang* 'farm'.
242 *logejfenzi* < Chin. 劳改分子 *lao-gai fen-zi* 'one who has to be reformed through labor'.
243 *čoŋ qinana* lit. 'older mother-in-law', here refers to grandmother.
244 *kičix qinana* lit. 'younger mother-in-law', here refers to 'mother-in-law' vs. *čoŋ qinana* 'grandmother of the wife'.
245 *dänši* < Chin. 電視 *dian-shi* 'television, TV'.



Shicai] invited teachers from there to here, although the cost is said to have been very high. (9) Sheng Shicai was poor, and we heard that he paid one ounce of gold[246] for every hour's lesson. (10) Later he invited specialists here. (11) We went to Urumchi and studied after the specialists were invited there. (12) We came back to Turfan in summer in order to farm, winters we studied in Urumchi. (13) I reached the second technical degree. (14) Later the Guomindang came to Xinjiang and they hated the Soviets. (15) They asked us to fill out applications, and began to hate us, and finally shifted us to other work. (16) At that time we imported horses, chickens, pigs, male horses, bulls and seed-planting machines etc. from the Soviet Union. (17) We imported them from the Soviet Union, and then distributed them to the farmers. (18) We imported one and half tons of cottonseed to Xinjiang. (19) Soon after the Guomindang came, they cut off this relationship. (20) Then we were mistreated. (21) During the Cultural Revolution they sent me to jail for twenty years. (22) I came back after 28 years had passed. (23) After twelve years and ten months, they have released me, saying I was blameless. (24) I worked on farms, doing technical work. (25) You see, I am able to repair diesel engines, etc. (26) They released me after eleven or twelve years. (27) I came here, but I found it not very good. (28) Since people here beat and maltreated those that used to be Baozhang and Jiazhang before, I considered it impossible to stay here, and then I worked unwillingly at farms. (29) In 1979, they said: "Ismail you may return", but I didn't accept the offer. (30) If I had come here, they would have put a label on my head, considering me *laogai fenzi*. (31) They pay a salary of 46 *yuan* there. (32) I worked there, and since they wrote a good recommendation, the people have not put any label on my head. (33) I have returned here after having stayed there eleven years and more as a convict – altogether 28 years. (34) I married after I returned from there. (35) I have a child from my previous wife. (36) I have two children from my present wife. (37) I have one child and ten grandchildren from my previous wife's side.

12. Mätniyaz Kaxcha

(1) I am 58 years old. (2) Now, at this place I am a happy-go-lucky man. (3) I may do anything now. (4) My beard is now long. I have grown my beard like this, because people say it brings a reward. (5) My wife is from Qomul. (6) Her father is from here, (7) her mother is from Qomul. (8) She was born here. (9) Our grandmother is here, (10) and my mother-in-law is in Qomul. (11) We have four sons and four daughters. (12) Two sons and one daughter are not yet married. (13) We have fifteen grandchildren from three daughters. (14) Our sons have no (children). (15) Our older daughter has eight children. (16) Another one has four (children), and another one has three. (17) I studied until fourth class during the Guomindang period. (18) If we do a comparison now, they seem to be the lessons of third class pupils. (19) You know, we still cannot write. (20) I learned with your father. (21) We have three rooms there. (22) We have an

246 Approximately 35 gram.

13. läqäm
(1) lüxčüllüx voγam-bilammo / läqïmi bommusa vomma du / (2) bizni kaxča dedu / (3) mini mätnijaz kaxča disä / mušu bütün mušu // (4) kaxča digänniki mä nɨsi mundaχ / (5) äsli bizniki atə bowəlaču / ämdi mušu čoŋ suγa[247] mäsolikʲ̃ / (6) su jitlidïγan[248] / jä suγurduγaŋkʲ̃ / (7) kük viši dedəγinikʲ̃ / u kämlädä ämdi // (8) gaŋla qïšqartïp gäʔp mäʔp surəsa / mujnaχ järgä qarap ïza ta tïp o tuřγanikin[249] / (9) äŋkizä / nəmdaχ ïza taʔqaχ kaxčidäx juqqa bɨřmä sän däp / (10) šundaχ däpla šunuŋ vilä kaxča siŋgənikän // (11) kaxča digän ïza tatqaχ / juqqa digälla gäʔp // (12) läqämni šu zamandəki gaŋla qujudïγanikän / (13) läqäm digän / mana mušu bizni da düdä jägän / šümäx / amäšada šümäx däʔp ba / (14) kültüx / si gäk / ləŋgərčaχ / dozaq / tuŋguz / to paq / boran / tüχmaχ / gö š / mana mųšnaq läqäm qujvatqan bɨřmä // (15) u kämlädä šundaχ qu qujduγan čeqi va / läqämläni / (16) paqəvaš däpmu ba / (17) ruzi äpändiläni ka wa dedu / / (18) ïrajim ka tïpïlani gö š de du hä // (19) bi jä gä vasa / jïřγalla / pöpäxlä / darilla[250] / / (18) ïrajim ka tïpïlani gö š de du hä // (19) bi jä gä vasa / jïřγalla / pöpäxlä / darilla[250] / sändalla / teqïla / čašqalla / (20) dïχansuda helïqï tiŋgɨřlanï mä lɨsidiču tuřsun čašqan däp ba // (21) ämdi ula hazɨř / nim üčün siläni čašqalla dedu / (22) silä mušnaq χalta däp ba // (21) ämdi ula hazɨř / nim üčün siläni čašqalla dedu / (22) silä mušnaq χalta tïšidïγan čašqammu nimä / disä / (23) bizni atanəla bajikänduq / (24) biz dunjani tïšidïγan čašqammu nimä / disä / (23) bizni atanəla bajikänduq / (24) biz dunjani čašqalla biz / däveptu // (25) tošqalla däp ba / (26) nimɨgä tošqan silä / disä / (27) biz čašqalla biz / däveptu // (25) tošqalla däp ba / (26) nimɨgä tošqan silä / disä / (27) biz dunjaya tošqan dedu // (28) sařtla digäm mušu jabïlaχta / (29) sařt digän ämdi / qazaq dunjaya tošqan dedu // (28) sařtla digäm mušu jabïlaχta / (29) sařt digän ämdi / qazaq bizni ujγurlani sařt dediγanikän // (30) läqämni šu zamandiki gaŋla qujduγankʲ̃ / (31) bizni ujγurlani sařt dediγanikän // (30) läqämni šu zamandiki gaŋla qujduγankʲ̃ / (31) nimɨla disä šulaniŋ bulduγan voγankin / χäχni közgilmaj qïγan iš vomamdu / (32) uχšaš nimɨla disä šulaniŋ bulduγan voγankin / χäχni közgilmaj qïγan iš vomamdu / (32) uχšaš ädämni sigäxmu dävatqan / külüxmu dävatqan / (33) balla sijdïγan qačəlani // (34) ädämni közgilmaslïχtin čïqqan läqämlä vomamdu u / (35) bizä gaŋguŋaraq čïqqïnni / sʲ̃ χorazkänsä digän / (36) bizä qoqančaχni / mikijankänsä digän / (37) hä / hamut mikijan däʔpmu ba / (38) dašnaq qïp qujvatqan nimä // (39) mana mušu bizni dadüdä / paqəvaš däʔpmu ba / (40) topaχ digän kala ämdi // (41) gaŋ šu kämdä nimɨla disä voγandikin / ädäm közgilmaj // (42) bizni dadəmlani imin utuγuš dedu / (43) utuγuš ämäskän / (44) waŋγə bɨř aʔt eptu / taj // (45) aγandikin / hiškim jiqiŋ kilamaj hütla jiγəlïptu / (46) mäsümči kildïγan boγankin // (47) ä kinzä / u buvəmiz käp / sïřtmaχni čaqqïla ävep / bɨř qulïγa čuqqulaχni äväp / ja lini tutuväp / ašo ma χonu[251] ičidä bɨřqančɨ pɨřqilitivätkä nimikän // (48) jerïm telip toχtuγankin / än gaŋ / waj ottuγuš nimikänsä divikänduq / (49) än χäχ ottuγuš / utuγuš / oʔt aldïγan utuγuš voptu // (50) hiškim jiqïm bara ma tuřγanikin / waŋ χäχ minamɨγanni säm mindiŋ / (51) ottuγušluq bɨřɨmikänsä / (52) ottäx tuγušuŋ va kän // (53) kijiŋki mällädä äŋkinzä / utuγuš däp / šunuŋγa a landuru qo γan bɨřïmä / (54) abdul qašqɨrini gipidäxlaču // (55)
jïšil üzümni danistäx uγul valəni / qašqïř üzümgä uχšatqan čänto[252]/

247 *čoŋ su* lit. 'big water', here it refers to 'big river'.
248 *su jitlidïγan* 'one who distributes water', *jitlidïγan* 'one who leads', SU *jetilä-j-diγan*.
249 *o tuřγanikin* < *olturγandɨn kejin*.
250 *darilla* ← *darïn-lar*, *darïn* < Chin. 大人 *daren* 'Your Excellency'.
251 *maχo* 'stable', see *maχol* in the vocabulary.
252 *čänto* < Chin. 纏頭 *Chan-tou* 'turban-head' (Jarring 1964, 65) or 'wrapped head'. It was used in Chinese sources from the mid-Qing until the Republican Era to refer to Muslims from Xinjiang. Cf. Millward 1998: 154. In some dialects it means 'stupid, foolish'.



electric fan, (23) we (also) have a TV, (24) but no electricity. (25) Sometimes I go to Urumchi. (26) I do a little business. (27) I was there in April the last time.

13. Nicknames
(1) Because one is from Lükchün she/he must have a nickname. (2) They call us *kaxča*. (3) If one says Mätniyaz Kaxča, all the (people of Lükchün know). (4) The meaning of *kaxča* is as follows: (5) Originally our ancestors were responsible for this big river, (6) they distributed water, and irrigated lands. (7) At that time, reportedly, such a person was called Green's Head'.[253] (8) Since they just sit looking at the ground and shy away when the Jasak Princes called them or asked something, (9) then (the Jasak Prince) said: "Why are you so shy and so thin like a thin piece of bread (*kaxča*)." (10) Since (the Jasak Prince) said that, *kaxča* became popular (as nickname). (11) *Kaxča* just means shy, thin. (12) Obviously, nicknames were given by rulers of that time. (13) Concerning nicknames, there are nicknames such as joiner and nightspot. In Amasha there are people called nightspot. (14) People have been given nicknames such as bedpan in a wooden cradle, bed-wetting, hell, pig, young ox, storm, club and meat, etc. (15) it is likely that they were given such nicknames at that time. (16) There is also a nickname frog head. (17) They call Mr. Rozi pumpkin. (18) If I am not wrong, they call Secretary Ibrajim meat. (19) If you go to some places, (you will hear nicknames such as) roses,[254] tassels, important persons, iron drills, *teqï*-hats and mice, etc. (20) In Dixansu, at Tingir's village,[255] there are people called Tursun mouse and Mamut mouse. (21) Now if one asks: "Why do they call you mice? (22) Are you like the mice that pierce holes in a sack?" (23) They explain themselves this way: "Reportedly, our parents were rich, (24) we are those who spread treasure."[256] (25) There are people called rabbits. (26) If one asks: "Why do they call you rabbit?"[257] (27) They answer: "We are full of treasure."[258] (28) People with the nickname Sarts are in this Yapilakh.[259] (29) Concerning the name *Sart*, the Kazaks call us, the Uyghurs, *Sart*. (30) Reportedly, previous Jasak Princes gave nicknames. (31) They did this not thinking much of people, since everything they said used to be accepted. (32) They called an equal person bed-wetting, also nightspot, (33) (you know, the latter refers to) a bedpan in a wooden cradle for children. (34) All of them are nicknames given without consideration of people. (35) They said to those who are rather heroic: "I found you are a cock", (36) and to those who are a little fearful: "I found you are a hen". (37) There is a person called Hen Hamut. (38) They have given (nicknames) this way. (39) In our brigade there is a

253 Original: *kük viši*, a title given to the person responsible for irrigation during the Qing period.
254 Original: *jïγalla* < *jïγan-lar*, *jïγan* 'a kind of rose'.
255 Original: *tingirla* < *tingir-lar*, *tingir* 'one who performs circumcisions'.
256 In the Turfan dialect *čašqalla* 'one who has spread' (< *čač-* 'to spread' + PPle *–qan* + pl. *–lar)* is homonym with *čašqalla* 'mice', pl. of *čašqan* 'mouse'.
257 Original: *nimigɨ tošqan silä* lit. 'Are you full of what?'
258 Original: *dunjaya tošqan* 'full of treasure', the second element *tošqan* 'having filled' (< *toš-* 'to be full' + PPle *–qan*) is a homounym with *tošqan* 'rabbit' in Uyghur.
259 Name of a village at Lükchün.

ürüxnü kattɨsini / tekinu pořdəγïγa uχšatqan čänto
(56) digändäx / oʔt tuγušluχ disä / utuγuš dävaγan nimä // (57) tuγušluχ digäŋ gäʔp hazïrmu ba / (58) čoŋ jürex / qoχma:du digälla gäʔp //

14. qäšqä ädɨmi
(1) qäšqä ädɨminiŋ[260] a:zan kala / ikär jüz kej čiqïm qïlïd qäšqä ädɨminiŋ // (2) qedimdiki bɨř temsili gäʔpkin buču // (3) ula helïqïndäk maŋa rähmi qïlγandikin / ändikin / (4) qalïγašni jijiŋgä[261] julatma / qašqalïχnï üjüŋgä julatma digän gäp ja:γä gäpkän bu / däp män unuŋγa ɪšänmɨdim // (5) qašqalïχ / altə šäni adɨmïmu amdanikin däp män // (6) qäšqä ädɨmi jïγïnčaχ gäʔ qïlïdïγan nimikä̃ / (7) qäšqälïχ vile eγinɨ män / (8) män qäšqäγä ba mədim / (9) jataχlada jassam te:kip qaldu / (10) gäʔpkä bäk // (11) ča:ni mujdaχ quj qujup / qursuγumuzγa šal terï qo:məγandikin / aχïrïdikini ečïqïni / däʔ qujdikin // (12) u jädä a:zan / bu jädä qïjmät //

15. gejsi gäʔp
(1) puštu digän täxču / ämdi / (2) bijä bɨř tal täk ämdi / (3) munu jä bɨř sol täx / (4) ikki tüp täxniŋ otturülüγï / puštüsi deqqujmiz[262] uni // (5) buγum sa:va digɨnimis / utturüsi buγmaq vuldu bunuŋ / (7) na:jti taʔlïχ vuldu / (8) kičɨsi tula tä rätkä čïqïdïγan adäm kün čüš voγɨčä uχlïdïγan vop kïtïdu // (9) gejsi gäʔp digän / ninčɨgä[263] tuřmadan gäʔp digändäk // (10) hemmɨ nimɨniki jüpi vile vuldu / disile / (11) ɪgizni pakɨrï va / (12) sätni čïrajlïγï va / (13) qaraŋγunu joruγu va / (14) häqäsizni heqïllïγï va / (15) amdannï äskisi va / (16) hä šu //

260 *qäšqä ädɨmi* 'Kashgarian', also occurs as *qašqalïχ* in the next lines, SU *qäšqärlik*.
261 *jijiŋgä* < *jär* 'land' + 2sg POSS *–iŋ* + DIR.
262 *deqqujmiz* < *däp qujmiz* < *däp qojimiz*.
263 *ninčɨ* 'order, number' < suffix *–Inčɨ*.



nickname frog head. (40) Young ox refers to a cow. (41) Since at that time whatever rulers said used to be accepted, they didn't think much of people. (42) My grandfather's clan is called Imin hoe. (43) Obviously it is not a hoe. (44) Reportedly, they bought a horse, actually a foal, for the Jasak Prince. (45) They bought it, but nobody dared to come close to it, crowding around each other frantically. (46) The horse was jumping. (47) Then our grandfather came and immediately held the loop up, grasped the halter with one hand, seized the horse's mane, and made (the horse) circle the horse stable many times. (48) He held one foot off the ground, and then the Jasak Prince said: "You are a courageous (*ottuγuš*) man!" (49) Then people changed *ottuγuš* to *utuγuš* 'hoe used for hoeing'. (50) Since nobody had dared to come close to (that horse), the Jasak Prince said: "You rode the (horse) which nobody dared to ride, (51) you are a courageous man, (52) you have courage like fire"[264] (53) Later people mistakenly said hoe, having changed it to that. (54) It is like the (following) words of Abdul Kashghari: (55)

You, Chanto, have compared a youth-like green grape's seed to a *qašqir*-grape,
You, Chanto have compared the best apricot to a billy goat's scrotum.

(56) Just like this, the Jasak Prince said *ot tuγušluq* 'courageous', but they changed it to *utuγuš* 'hoe' saying this. (57) The word *tuγušluχ* is still in use, (58) it means 'daring, courageous'.

14. About the Kashgharians
(1) Kashgharian's cows are cheap, you need to spend (only) about two hundred (*yuan*) for the Kashgharian's (cow). (2) This is an old proverb. (3) Since they have emphasized that so much to me, (4) I found the following words false and didn't believe them: "Don't allow a swallow to reach your land, don't allow a Kasgharian to reach your house." (5) I found Kashgharians, the people from the six cities[265] to be good. (6) I found that Kashgharians speak very concisely. (7) I made friends with Kashgharians. (8) I didn't go to Kashghar. (9) They would be upset if I stayed at guesthouses. (10) They are masters of speech. (11) They serve tea and say: "Please bring the next dish, since we didn't plant rice in our stomachs." (12) Things are cheap there, but expensive here.

15. Local words
(1) *puštu* refers to vine tree. (2) Here there is a row, (3) and there is also a row, (4) we call the space between two rows *puštu*. (5) *Buγum sava* has joints. (6) The middle part is a segment of the so-called *buγum sava*. (7) It is very sweet. (8) One, who goes to the toilet several times, will sleep until midday (if one has eaten it). (9) *gejsi gäʔp* refers to something like unordinary words. (10) Everything has its pair. (11) Short and tall are pairs, (12) beautiful and ugly are pairs, (13) light and dark are pairs, (14) clever and stupid are pairs, (15) and bad and good are pairs. (16) Well, like this.

264 Original: *ottuγuš* lit: 'one was born from the fire'.
265 'The six cities' is the old name for the southern part of the Tianshan Mountains.

16 amašanïŋ iši

(1) bizniki dujimiz čoŋ / (2) jăř zimimmu ǰïq / qa·ɣan dujlägä nisbätän / (3) jen bir birsi sujimis az / (4) ikkinči bir tărpi jăř šarajtimiz tätür (5) ikki pa·čä qï qojsaq / nizävaɣnï sujimis az / (4) ikkinči bir tărpi jăř šarajtimiz tätür (5) ikki pa čä qï qojsaq / nizävaɣnï bir pa·čä / ajaqnï bir pa·ča / (6) nizävaɣnï kuzligi čüšüd su / ätijaz wuɣam mä·llädä bijägä čüšüd su / (7) sunï iliš urunlaš išlaɣa äplik kildu disäm / (8) bašnï tatlap qulïnï ujan bujan qïp / (9) hej / heškim mušu amašada taχti körük däp bir mä·li va / (10) däšäni tikini buzmaŋla däp täštïχ sepämädu saŋɣa / (11) mawǰušimu öz waχtidaču / japuŋ qarši urušni sekkiz jil davamlašturup / ǰaŋkejšini äskär qušunnï juqutup / ǰuŋχa χälq ǰämurjitini quřɣan / (12) ušuz jigiřmi bäš soltak diχannï bašlap maŋamamsä sän? / disäm / (13) sän birim qïpaχsaŋ vumamdu däp / (14) sän aχ sarajni bika qïsaŋ / män dašägä čiqïp qïsam buldu / (15) sini čoŋ / mällini atäsï mušu däp saŋa gäp qïvatïmïz / (16) mäm birmi qildan iš vŭsa / saŋɣa mäslät sammaj qïvatïmä bunï / (17) šunuŋ villä tuřpaqquj ja / birmi qilïn disäk täk bika qalud däp / šunuŋ vilä qaldï (18) qaɣan dŭjläniŋ toχtamnï jezïp qollïřɣa ta qitïp ketti / (19) bizniŋ iminnijaz tošqan tirisimu ikki jil vusimu čidajdu / (20) birä tüp täk čepil kitidan iš vusimu siläniŋ su jol birmäŋlani ravan qïlmïz dividi / (21) osma kessä qaš qaldu / su kessä taš qałdu däp unumu jiqïtividi toχtidi šunuŋ vilä / (22) hazirqi bašlïɣïmiz mu'ällimläni čoŋ kürüp bultuř bajraqqa čïqti / vilajät bujčä / (23) ma·rïpčïlaɣa itivař qïliš däp äpändilägä ma·šni jüläp bä·gäŋkin / äpändilämu χoš /

17 nušuř gaŋ adil

(1) burun nušuř gaŋ adil däp bir patiša ötkinikin // (2) bu patišaniki oŋ qoł veziři däp bir veziři vařken / (3) qädimqi paraŋɣu bu / hazïřqï taplada nim dedu / ulanï? // (4) patiša nimi disä / šu oŋ qol vizïrni gipini aŋnajdïɣiniki[266] / (5) bu nušuř gaŋ adil digän / oŋ qol vizïrni gipi vilä iš tutïdiki // (6) bir ülüm jitim išla vusima / tügitivitipla hä patšajim / majda majda iš voldi disila / hä däpla ütüpla turïdïɣinikä // (7) bir künlädä / zalim nušuř gaŋ däp ataχ kütürüptu / bu ädäm / (8) häj / unï bu uχmajdu // (9) u zalim nušuř gaŋ däp bir ataχni kütürüp bir jägä kägändä / bu oŋ qol veziři haddidin ešip / mušu patišaliqni miniŋmu dunjajim ǰïχ vuɣan bŭsa tatvaluřdum[267] / bununǰun / (10) bu bir häpif[268] bir ädäm / bu / däp šu ojɣa keptu // (11) manda bir čoŋ vizïř vosəmu / eɣinliri vilän paraŋ selišmamdu / ötmüšlädiki išlanï // (12) paraŋ selïš·ip / dünja digän bašqa nimikin / (13) mušu nušuř gaŋmu / dünjaniŋ nimisidin gaŋ vop / a·lämni soravatïdu / (14) biz šunuŋɣa išlävatïmïz / (15) bizniŋmi dünjajimiz vosa / tatvasaχmu alïlurmïz / bunï / (16) mundaq bir adäm tuřsa / bumu / digäŋkin / (17) mejindikilä[269] / woj / qanda tatvalisä / bunï? / (18) äskiri ka·ri tuřsa bunuŋ / digäŋkin / (19) äskärni oŋaj äɣinilä / kältürivammaq / dijišip dünja pariŋïɣa tüšüptu // (20) birosi qupuptu / palani jädä bir molla varikä / üš jil tö jilda kildïɣan išni bildïɣan / (21) üš töt jilda kildïɣan bala qazanïmu bildïɣan bir ädäm barikän / (22) šu adäm / mušu ɣajip dünjalanəma biliši mümkin / däp paraŋ saptu // (23) andaχ vosa däp / özi asta istäp tepïptu / helïqi mollänï // (24) sän kim bulïsän? / digäŋkin

266 *aŋnajdïɣiniki* < *aŋlajdïɣan ikän*.
267 *tatvaluřdum* < *tartivalar edim* < * *tartip alar ärdim*.
268 *häpif* < Ar/Per. *hafïf* 'weak'.
269 *mejindikilä* < *bu jenidikilär*.



16 Matters of Amansha

(1) Our production brigade is big. (2) It possesses more land than other production brigades. (3) On the other hand, we have only a handful of water. (4) Another point is that our fields are strangely located. (5) If we divide (the village) into two pieces: Nizävagh and Ayaq, (6) water goes to Nizävagh in autumn and comes here in spring. (7) I said: "[If we do such-and-such] it would be helpful for getting water." (8) [The brigade-head] scratched his head and moved his hands around. (9) "Hey! Nobody approves of you stating: 'There is a village called Taxtikörük at Amansha, (10) please do not destroy the vineyards of that place.' (11) Chairman Mao has also continued the war against Japan for eight years, wiped out the troops of Jiang Kaishi and established the Peoples Republic of China. (12) Couldn't you lead 325 weak farmers?" I said. (13) "Why don't you do anything?" the brigade-head said. (14) "I will do it if you give me the power.[270] (15) We are telling you this, considering you are the father of this big village. (16) If it needs me to do something, I will do it without discussing it with you," (I said). (17) We said: "Let it stay there! The vineyard will remain useless unless we do something." Well, it has been left there. (18) Other production brigades completed distribution contracts. (19) Our Iminniyaz said: "The skin of the rabbit may stand for two years. (20) We will improve your canal even if we have to lose one or two vineyards." (21) Just as it was told: "Osma goes but the eye remains, the water goes but the bank remains". Unfortunately he was eliminated and (this project) also stopped. (22) Our present head respects teachers and was promoted to flag holder over the (Turfan) district last year. (23) Teachers are also happy, since salaries were raised for teachers in order to increase the importance of educators.

17 Fair-minded King Nushur

(1) Once upon a time, there was a king called fair-minded king Nushur. (2) This king had a right-hand vezir. (3) This is an old story, what do you call (vezir) today? (4) The king listened to that right-hand vezir's words, whatever he said. (5) Fair-minded King Nushur acted listening to his right-hand vezir. (6) The king approved very easily even death cases just listening to the right-hand vezir's simple explanations such as "it was so-and-so". (7) Once, this man got the name "cruel King Nushur". (8) Unfortunately, he didn't know this. (9) Some years had passed since he got the name cruel King Nushur, and his right-hand vezir exceeded the limit and thought: "Probably, I might have seized his throne if I also had many treasures, (10) apparently he is a weak man." (11) You know, one talks about the past with friends even if one is a big vezir. (12) [The vezir] talked like this when he talked with other people: "I found treasure to be a super thing. (13) King Nushur became ruler and has been dominating the country because of his treasure. (14) We are working for him. (15) Perhaps we can seize [his throne] if we also have treasure. (16) Since he is also such a (simple) person." (17) The others said: "How can you seize [the throne]? (18) You know, he has so many soldiers." (19) [He] said: "It

270 Lit. "if you make the White house free".

/ (25) män nušuř gaŋniki oŋ qol viziri män / sini härkitiŋ nim buldu? / (26) mini härkitim / män mušunda bɨřmɨläni qïp ǰam-baqïmä // (27) munu künnu parïŋïγa äkäsä / palčï dä qujdikä // (28) andaχ vŭsa / biz eγinɨ vulni biz siniŋ vilä / (29) bu dünja digän na·jti amdan nimikin / bu qandala qïsaŋ bulduγan / (30) dünjeriŋ[271] bo·məs / bɨřsigä paraŋ sa·saŋma / χäχlägä χošaχma dikä[272] / (31) dünjajiŋ ba vŭsa / χä?läni tilləsaŋmu / qïzïq ädäm bu däp χušal vop qalïdikä / (32) siniŋ vilä eγinɨ vulïni / (33) sän bɨř tapqaχ kišikänsä / män bŭsam bɨř viziř / (34) biz ükŏjlä eγinɨ vulni / digändikin / (35) buldu / digändikin / (36) undaχ vŭsa / mušu ujä bijädä γajip dünja va didu / χä·lägä küränmidïγan / (37) šu dünjalani bilgili bulamdu? / däp sorɨvidi / (38) mollam[273]/ u· asan gäp u / dünja tula / digɨnikänduq / (39) anda vŭsa / mušu dünjani tapïni / (40) mušu dünjanï tepip / (41) patšalïχni tatvalni / bu nušuř gaŋdin / (42) ikkimiz eγinä vop išlimemismu / (43) digändikin / eγinä vop / vädä qïlïšïp / qollïšïp χät qïlïšiptu / ämdi / (44) šunu töpisidä / ülü kässimu da·va qïmajdo // (45) šundaq qïp eγinä voptu // (46) andaχ vŭsa sän kitip tuřsaŋ / män üš kündin kin barɨmä / (47) üš küngɨčä / män dašu γajip dünja ba·jäni tapɨmä / mä / däp / (48) üš küngɨčä molla etkapta o·turupto // (49) bɨř jädä igiz bɨř döŋ varikä / jolnu otturɨsida / tüpɨgä čïχsa nä·lä küründïγan / (50) u jädä terilγu joχkä // (51) käp andin / waj patšajim / bu dünja öz ičimizdɨla na·jti kä·rikä / (52) bu išliti kitidïγa dünja ämäskä / digändikin / (53) hä / nä·dä varikän? / däptu // (54) majnaχ majnaχ / u jädä terilγumu joq / (55) töt ätrapi ǰaŋgalikä / uniki / (56) jurutnu otturusidiki bɨř jařkä / däptu // (57) anda vosa / bunï qanda qïlïš keräk? // (58) sän oŋ qol viziř vuγandikin / sän patšaγa kirip / palanï döŋni bä·säŋ / (59) män šu jägä säj mäj terip äkirip jimemizmu / (60) šu jäni maŋa bä·säŋ / (61) bikala turidikä / u jä / jaqɨsïdin sula utüp erïqladin / digändikin / (62) anda vosa teri / däp helqï jäni biri qo·di / unuŋγa // (63) bu dünja / dašu döŋnü astïndiki dünjajikän // (64) mušunuŋ vilä ütüp / hamanla ädämläni jïγip / u viziř ämäsmu / töt ätrapini / šu döŋni tüzläp / ujup tüp tüzla qïvittu / (65) kisek qujduruptu / öj saldaŋγa[274] // (66) helïqï molla bartava voldï / šu kisek qujdan ädämlägä // (67) sä qančɨnï qujduŋ? / sä qančɨnï qujduŋ? / (68) munčɨni qujsaŋ / munčɨ kümüř[275] / däp / (69) šunda qïp / bu qarajdu / u viziř özini iššini qïldu // (70) bɨř künï kisek näččɨ tümän bo·γan mällädä / helïqï dünja ba jägä / šunu töppɨsini tüzäp / bunï täjja qïldï // (71) dünja müšädä / digändinkin / (72) dünja müšädä vŭsa / dünjani töppisigä ö·ni salmïz / (73) bunu uzun ujup / astïndin bɨř gä·mä qïlmïz ämdi / (74) šunda qïlduřsaŋ / bu dünja uzaχ vo·kätkä dünjajikän / bunï dašägä jötkejni / däp ikköjlä mäslät qïlïšipto // (75) bijäni mušu arlïqtäk igiz ǰiraptu / (76) bijizgä bɨř öj čaptïrïptu / gä·mä // (77) öj čaptïrip täjjař qïptu / (78) tüppisigä öj säp / mäkkäm qïp / bu dünjanï jeŋi öjgä jötkedïγaŋγa pilaŋ qïp / (79) äŋkin kičɨsi jötkäptu // (80) üš kün jötkäp / bɨř künï tügäp

271 *dünjeriŋ* 2sg POSS of *dünja* < Ar. *dunyā* 'world', but occurs as *dünjajiŋ* in (31) of this text.
272 *χošaqma·dikä* 'I found (people) don't like (you)', *χošaq-* < *χoš jaq-* 'to be to one's liking'.
273 *mollam* 1sg POSS of *mulla* < Ar. *mullā*, but here it has no 1sg POSS meaning and only signifies 'mullah'. There are other such lexemes of the same structure, e.g. *äpändim* 'Mr.; teacher', but this is not unique to the Turfan dialect. In contrast to the forms without personal endings, such forms are used in a rather polite sense.
274 *öj saldaŋγa* ← *öj salidïγaŋγa*.
275 *kümüř* 'note, unit', its etymology is unclear, might be an error for *nomur* ~ *numur* 'note'.



is easy to control the soldiers", and then they began to talk about treasure. (20) One of them said: "I heard that somewhere else there is a mullah who knows what will happen in the next three or four years, (21) he also knows the disasters that will come in the (next) three or four years. (22) Probably, he knows about the secret treasures, too." (23) He (= vezir) said: "I see", and searched and found the mullah secretly. (24) [The mullah] asked: "Who are you?" (25) "I am the right-hand vezir of King Nushur, what do you do?" (26) "I live by doing such-and-such business." (27) His job was "fortune teller" if we use today's words. (28) [The vezir] said: "If so, let's be friends. (29) I found treasure is a good thing with which one can do everything. (30) Nobody likes your talk if you do not have treasure. (31) If you have treasure, people are happy even if you curse them, saying: "You are an interesting man". (32) Let's be friends. (33) Apparently, you are clever man, and I am a vezir. (34) Let's both of us be friends." (35) [The mullah] said: "All right." (36) [The vezir] asked: "I heard that somewhere else there are secret treasures that cannot be seen by normal people. (37) Is it possible to find them?" (38) The mullah said: "It is easy, there are many treasures." (39) [The vezir] said: "If so, let's find them. (40) Let's find those treasures, (41) and seize the throne from this King Nushur with these treasures. (42) We may work together as friends." (43) Then they became friends, made promises, held out their hands, and signed pledges. (44) Obviously, they would not file lawsuits even if they died when doing this work. (45) Doing this, they became friends. (46) [The mullah] said: "So be it, please return, and I will come to you three days later. (47) Within three days I will find the place where the secret treasure is." (48) Reportedly, saying this, he sat in meditation for three days. (49) There is a high slope somewhere else just at the middle of a road, and one could see faraway places from there, (50) but there are no crops. (51) The mullah came and said: "O my king, there are many treasures just around us. (52) There is so much that we can never spend it all." (53) [The vezir] asked: "I see, where is it then?" (54) [The mullah] said: "So-and-so, there are even no crops, (55) and its four sides are jungle. (56) It is a place just at the middle of the country." (57) "If so, what should we do now?" (58) "You should go to the king since you are the right-hand vezir, and ask him: "May I ask you to give me such-and-such slope. (59) If so, I may grow vegetables there and we can consume them." (60) Then [the vezir went to the king] and asked: "Please give me that place. (61) Apparently, that land lies free, and water always flows there from canals." (62) [The king] said: "If so, just cultivate that place", and gave the land to him (not knowing his purpose). (63) Reportedly, the treasure is just under the slope. (64) Soon after that, he gathered people, since he is a vezir, as you know, and made the slope flat by leveling and digging. (65) He had people make adobe bricks in order to build a house. (66) The mullah became foreman of those brick-makers. (67) [He] asked them: "How many brick have you made? And how many bricks have you made then? (68) [You will receive] such-and-such amount of notes, if you make such-and-such amount of bricks." (69) He controls the people by doing this, and the vezir does his own job. (70) One day, they had many thousands of bricks, and they flattened the upper side of the place where the treasure was hidden, making everything ready. (71) [The mullah] said: "The treasure is here." (72) [They discussed with each other]: "If the treasure is

qaptu / (81) šu tügä qaldïγan künï aχšïmï kätmämdu / u mollɨmu üjigä // (82) balәsï joq kišikänduq / u mollɨniki // (83) šu künlädä andikin äjali hamilda bo qaptu // (84) šu künï dünja tügijdu / bunï vizïř ötïřvatïdan gäpkä / (85) bu šundaχ pïlanikä vizïřniki / (86) u molla bilamɨdu / bilgäm-bilamma helïqï quřsaχta bala va ämäsmu / (87) šu bala jurutqa bïř karamät kö:küzidu digäm-bïř pïlan barikä / u molläda / (88) quřsaχta tuřγan bala / bu ädäm qïlamajdu / unï // (89) šunuŋ vilän / bu molla šu ä:tïsi äntikin bïř čoŋ pänšïřsini / öjniki da limni tüjini bïř kïsäxni ujup / kä:kidä qïrïp čiqïřvitip / helïqï čoŋ uluq kïtavïnï šu jägä tïqïp / bïř komoluč lajnï äčiqïp šijägä[276] čaplaptu // (90) šijädä lajni čaplap turup äjalïγa / män bügnätä[277] män müšägɨ[278] barɨmä / (91) ämdi mini kildïγɨnïmni kämäjdïγɨnïmni / mä bilamimä / (92) likin siniŋ quřsüγuŋdiki bala uγuł tuγułdu / (93) dašu bala bïř künï jïdäl qïsa / atam joqmɨdi däp / (94) sän mini nä:dä tapqan däp sini ka:nijiŋni äp / saŋa japa qïlγan künï / mišäni kö:siti qoj / (95) unuŋdïn bašqa bïřsigä e:tmajsä bijäni / däp helïqi ajalγa e:ti qujuptu // (96) hä maqul däpla / bilamajla qaptu / u äjalmu // (97) šu künï dünja tügäp / tügɨdi güzüř patšajim / digäŋkin / (98) bu jäni äm biz majnaχ itivatïmiz / bijäni / (99) išlätmimiz bijäni / (100) aldïnï majnaχ qupurup / bilamidan qïvatimiz / (101) sän kirip / bïř puŋmu bïřmä qa:misun / (102) a:γandikin / šundaq alïnï bunï / (103) sän jäŋgilvaštin bïř quř aχturup čïq / digändikin / (104) bu kirip kittu // (105) bu bïř qïlïšni biläp / čapanni ičigä jö:gäp quju qoγan nimikänduq // (106) u jäni silap / bijäni silap / woj vizïř patšajim / bïřnim qa:mapto / bïř puŋmu bïřnim qa:maptu / digäŋkin / (107) anda vüsa hen čïq / digäŋkin / bissïnïmu čïqařdï / karttïdɨla qojdɨdä bunï / (108) beššï bijniγa čüšüp / tinï nejnida qaldï / (109) beššïnïmu äp tinigä tirälivirip / lajnï čaplap itivätti / ijäni / (110) bu dünja hämmɨsi šunuŋ boldï / ämdi // (111) buγandikin / bu vizïř ämdi / bu dünjani nimi qïlmä ämdi däp / ijägä säj terijdu ädämläni säp / (112) silidäk miniŋdäk jaš jašla ädämläni kö:sila / (113) hoj / mekilä[279] / män qarəsam quluŋdïn iš kildandäk turřdu / siniki / (114) kä:ri bïřmäŋ joχtäk qïldu hä / seniŋki? // (115) hä / mini bïřmäm joq / güzüř patšajim // (116) häj / bunčännï[280] män čiqïřmä / sän sodigäčilik qïsaŋ vumamdu? / (117) iš qïmajla jürämsä? // (118) hä buldu /

276 *šijägä* < *šu järgä* 'to that place'.
277 *bügnätä* < *bügün ätä* 'this morning; these days'.
278 *müšägɨ* < *mušu järgä* 'to this place'.
279 *mekilä* 'come here', comprises *mäkäl-* 'to come here' + CLIT *ä*, *mäkäl-* is the lexicalized form of the imperative sentence *bu järgä käl* 'Come here!'.
280 *bunčän* < Chin. 本錢 *ben-qïan* 'capital', see *benčän* in the vocabulary.



here, we will build a house above the treasure. (73) Now, we dig a cave under them, making it long. (74) When you have done that, let's move the treasure there, clearly these treasures have been there for a long time." (75) They made a mark at a place as high as this yard, (76) and then they dug a house, a cave to its side. (77) They prepared by digging a cave-house. (78) Reportedly, they planned to build a house above it, making it firm first, and then moving the treasure to the new house. (79) Then they moved the treasure at night. (80) They worked for three days, and one day (the work moving the treasure) came to an end. (81) On the evening in which it was to be completed (moving), that mullah also returned to his home, as you know. (82) He had no children. (83) His wife became pregnant within those days. (84) Apparently, [the vezir planned] to kill him on the day when they completed the (moving) of the treasure. (85) This was the vezir's plan. (86) That mullah was not able to know it, even though he had known there is his child in the stomach, as you know. (87) The mullah has an idea: The child will certainly display his ability for the people in this country. (88) The child stayed in the stomach [can do that], but he himself cannot. (89) Well, reportedly that morning the mullah broke a hole with an axe at the window just under the main pillar, pulled out a brick, and put his big holy book there, and then filled the hole with a lump of plaster. (90) He said this to his wife when he had finished plastering: "Within the next few days I will go there. (91) I don't know whether I shall come back. (92) However, the child in your stomach will be born as a son. (93) One day, if the child makes trouble for you asking: "Had I no father?" (94) Show him this place when he makes trouble, seizing you by your throat and asking: "Where did you get me?" (95) Do not talk about this with any others besides him." (96) His wife replied: "Yes", but she did not know exactly what was to happen. (97) That day, the transport of the treasure was finished and [the mullah] said: "The treasure has been transported, my vezir king". (98) [The vezir] said: "Now we will close this place like this. (99) We won't use it anymore. (100) We will build [a house] in front of it, and make it so that nobody can find it. (101) Go there and don't leave a penny behind. (102) If we take anything we must take it all. (103) Check (the cave) once again and come back." (104) Then he went there. (105) Actually, he (= vezir) had honed a sword sharp and hidden it in his coat. (106) [The mullah] felt around here and there and said: "O, my king, there is nothing left, there is not a penny left." (107) [The vezir] said: "If this is so, come out", and he attacked immediately as [the mullah] stuck his head out of the cave. (108) His head fell here, and his body was left there. (109) [The vezir] immediately put the head back with the body, and then filled in the hole. (110) Now, all treasure became his property. (111) The vezir considered how to use the treasure, and ordered people to plant vegetables there. (112) Reportedly, when he saw young people like you and me, he greeted them and said: (113) "Hey, come here, I find you look like a capable person. (114) It is likely that you don't have much property, isn't it?" (115) "Yes, I have nothing, my vezir-king." (116) "I will provide capital, how about you do some business? (117) Do you stay always idle not doing anything?" (118) He gave money if they said: "Yes, you stay always idle not doing anything?" (118) He gave money if they said: "Yes, OK."

digändikin / unuŋγa pul virdikän / (119) u vezir uγul / išlätkän ädäm qïz // (120) šundaq qïp / bir jurutnu ädimini hämmisini sodigä qïvittu // (121) bu pul kimniŋ? / (122) hukumätniki // (123) buni χä?lä hukumätniki dedu / pulni kütürüp kirip / vizirni čiŋdadu / (124) bu pulni patša uqmajdu // (125) šunda qïp / bir jurutnu ädimini eriq sodigär qïvatqan // (126) bir künla voldi / helïqi qurśaχtiki bala tuγulmamdu / (127) tuγulγankin / tö jašqičä apəsi amdan beqïp / andin apəsi / bu bala ämdi tö jaš voldi / (128) tö jašqa kirgändä mäktäpkä epiri qosa asam-molla vuldu / digäm-bir gäp barikin / (129) bu balәni bünätä mäktäpkä äpiri qujaj däp / (130) helïqi balәni qulini jitilap mäktäpkä äpiri qujuptu // (131) šunuŋ vilä / šijädä uquptu / on üś jaš on tö jašlaγa qädäm qo γičä uquptu / (132) amdan mulla vuptu // (133) helïqi mä zim / tul mä zim bo qammamdu / küjösi ülü kätkändikin // (134) tul mäzim bajlanikigä verip / kirla vosa jup / nan peni vosa jeq pirip / ašnaχ birnimlärni qïp / helïqi balәni beqïp ütüptu // (135) bir küni mäktäptin čikilip / bir bala vilä suqušu qaptu / heliqi bala // (136) bu bizä čoŋaraγikän / neriqi bala kičigärägikä / (137) bu čoŋ vuγankin / neriqini uruvammamdu // (138) uruvaγandikin / neriqi jiγlap üjigä kiriptu // (139) helïqi balәni atəsi arlïγïda turγanikänduq / hoj / nim boldi? / jiγlajsänγu?/ digäŋkänduq / (140) da balaŋza mini uruvaldi // (141) woj / qasu? / digäŋkin / (142) da balaŋza / divikänduq / jügrüp čiqïp / woj toχta divikänduq / toχtaptu // (143) sän čop čoŋ turup nim qimaχči mini balamni urup? / (144) sän ataŋni tajni joχ ädäm / mini balamni urγili nimi käptu saŋγa? / (145) hu anaŋni sikäj däp / (146) ras qo γinikä mäšägä / kuzigä jaš ep qaptu // (147) umu bir šapilaq urup jaltijip qaptu // (148) helïqi balaŋza üjigä käptu / (149) hoj balam nim boldi? / (150) sän mini nädin tepïp tuqqan / sän mini? / (151) atam nä dä? / (152) mini attəsini tajni joq di diγu? // (153) atəsini tajni joq adäm ba ma / bu a lämdä? / (154) waj balam / siniŋ ataŋdäk adäm bu alämdä joq / (155) ülü kätkičä ataŋ majda ǰaka qïγan / (156) čïqïp kolap baq / (157) mišädä birnim qo dum digän / saŋγa // (158) jïdäl qïγan küni kö siti qujsä / undin bašqa kö sätmisä digän / (159) ämdi bügün sän jïdäl qildiŋ / ämdi män saŋγa kö sitip qujmä / dividi / (160) nä dä? / dividi / (161) da limni tüjidä / dividi // (162) ujägä quli jitämdu / ämdi on näčči jašqa kirgän balәniki / (163) birsiniki ta?tmәsini äkirip qujup / kä kini äčiqïp käp ašti heliqi mänširni[281] // (164) šunuŋ vilä / mäxtäp päxtäpkimu ba majla / atəsini quju qo γan nä silirni uquγili turu kätti / bu ändikin // (165) šuni oqup kün ötküzividi / atəsidinmu jama?lap kätti bu balaŋza / (166) atəsidinmu ütär vo kätti //

281 *mänšir* 'written document, book', see vocabulary. It occurs as *pänšir* in (59) of this text.



(119) Reportedly, the vezir was a boy but the people he hired were girls.[282] (120) In this manner, he made all the people businessmen all over the country. (121) "Whose money is this?" (122) "[This is the money] of the government." (123) People consider that is the government's money, and feed the vezir with that money. (124) The king knows nothing about the money. (125) By doing this he has made people businessmen all over the country. (126) One day, you know, the child who was in the stomach was born. (127) After he was born, his mother raised and educated him well until he was four years of age, then she thought: "Now this child is four years old. (128) It is told that one becomes a mullah easily if brought to school when four years old. (129) Let me bring this child to a school now." (130) Thinking that, she brought the child to school leading him by the hand. (131) Then, he learned and learned, until he was thirteen or fourteen. (132) He became a good mullah. (133) That lady naturally became a widow since her husband had passed away. (134) This widowed lady lived and supported the child by washing clothes, baking bread and also doing other chores at the rich people's houses. (135) One day, the child quarreled with another child on his way home from the school. (136) Reportedly, he was a little older (than the other child), and the other child was younger (than him). (137) He beat the other child since he was older than him. (138) The beaten child returned home crying. (139) The father of that child was just standing in his yard and he asked: "What happened? Why do you cry?" (140) "A boy beat me". (141) "Hey, which one?" (142) The boy showed him, and (the father of the boy) ran after him and called: "Hey, stop!" and he stopped. (143) [The boy's father] asked: "You are older, why did you beat my child? (144) Do you think it fitting of you, a child like you who has no father, to beat my child? (145) I fuck your mother!" (146) Saying this, [the child's father] began to beat him,[283] and (the child) with tears in his eyes. (147) He stopped after just giving him a slap. (148) [The mullah's] child returned to his home. (149) [His mother asked:] "O my child, what happened?" (150) [He asked his mother:] "Where did you get me and how did you give birth to me? (151) Where is my father? (152) Why do they curse me saying that I have no father?" (153) "Do you think there is any child who has no father in this world?" (154) [ His mother replied:] "There is no one (as smart) as your father in this world. (155) Your father declared this before his death. (156) You climb up there and have a look. (157) Your father told me he left something for you there. (158) He also told me: 'Show him only when he has quarreled, otherwise don't show him.' (159) Today you quarreled with me, so now I will show you." (160) He asked: "Where is it?" (161) [His mother] said: "Under that pillar." (162) How can his hand reach there, you know, he is only about ten years old. (163) He brought someone's ladder, put it there, and then brought an axe and opened the place where the book was hidden.[284] (164) After that he didn't go to school anymore, and began to extensively read the book, which his father had left for him. (165) That child spent his days reading the book, and became much more clever than his father. (166) He

282 This statement is quite contradictory with the context, moreover its meaning is also not so clear.
283 The informant shows his face with the hand.
284 Original: *ašti heliqi mänširni*, might also be translated as 'He opened that book'.

(167) šu künlädä heliqï patša bilamadu / (168) heliqï hukumätni puli / pütün jurutnu ädɨmi eriq sodigä vu kätti // (169) majdaq qïp ütüp tuřγandikin / heliqï balaŋza heliqï kitapnï oqu:p / bunu äkɨsigä[285] jätküzüp tuřsa / (170) bɨř čüšidä iškaγa verïp / čüšidä qo:qu kittu / heliqï patša // (171) qo:qu kitip / untu qaptu kö:gän čüšini / bilamajdu // (172) šunuŋ vilän bu / män čüš kö:düm / kö:gän čüšümni üzäm untu qaldïm / (173) bu qandaq ištu bu? / däp / (174 özigä özi nïm qïp / γïza tamaχtïmmu qäp / na:jti u ruγda kittu // (175) u doχtuřla kip dora qïp beqïp / bila:maj äntikin / a:qïvät berïp ändikin / a:χullaγa jitičüšüptu[286] / jurutniki aχunlɨřγa // (176) män majnaχ čüšni kürüp tapamajvatimä / untu qaldïm / (177) silä mini čüšümgä täbɨř essaŋla e:tiŋla / e:tməsaŋla hämmiŋlanï ö:tuřmä män // (178) aχulla amal qïlamaj / bizgä bɨř aj qïřχ kün ruχsät qïsaŋ / amdan kitaplanï čařlap izdäp baqïni / däptu // (179) hä bulud däp / qïřχ küllük ruχsät viriptu / (180) qïřχ küngičä tapməsaŋla ö:tuřmä / däptu // (181) qïřχ küllä sürüštuř paχsəmu hešnädɨla joq / (182) u čüšidä nimɨ ködi / nimɨ ämäs / bilämdu χäχ // (183) heliqï balaŋza šunï aŋnap kep / aχullanï majnaχ qïstavatqidäk patiša / digändikin / (184) taŋnätä aχulla tegbɨř essa e:tti / e:taməsa / bu töt aχunni ö:tägidäk digän // (185) heliqï balaŋza aŋnivep kep / šu aχulla maŋidan bɨř jolγa kep / bijjizdin kïřdïγan jolγa käp / topəlaγa dugɨlap / ujägä bɨř döŋ / bijägä bɨř döŋ topəlani dugɨlap / (186) biz kičix gaχlada o:namïzγu / tupəlani dujilap[287] / čujuχlani sanči qujup / čökän bajla qo:duq däp / šunda qïp olturiveptu jolda // (187) šu aχulla kä:sä / mušdaχ o:tuřγɨdäk išidəmu joq // (188) bilip o:tuřvaγan bala tuřsa / u // (189) jandap ütü kitini disä / ütämajdu / šundaχ tař bɨř jädä o:tuřvaldï // (190) andin heliqï čaŋχo / hoj bala / qop bijädin / dividi jïmmitä o:turuvaldï // (191) hoj bala / qop / üš qetïm sürän septu / (192) hä nïm boldï? / o:turivädi paraŋ sep // (193) qop / jolnï bika qïl / divikänduq / (194) nä:gä maŋmaχčidiŋ mandaχ aldïraš / digidäk // (195) vej / kä:ri gä qïmaj / jolnï bika qïsaŋ / disä // (196) manda qarəsa aχolla haravəda jïγlɨšïp o:taγïdäk // (197) qupup salam qïp / jänä joldïn turupla / aŋγɨčä heliqï aχollamo tijnäp tuřγandikin / heliqï patšanï ö:tuřvatmɨsun däp // (198) jolnï bika qisɨla ükäm / biz na:jti aldïraš / devikänduq / (199) hä / nimɨgä aldirajsïzlä? / gäp nimä? / nä gä vamaχčidiŋizlä? / digɨnikänduq / (200) sän surɨma / sä bilamisä / sa bizni dä dimizgä jitamɨsä / dividi / (201) häj / aχunum / qedimqïlanï bɨř parïŋï varikän / čoŋ bilmɨgänni kičix bilidu / kičix bilamɨγannï čoŋ bilidu däp / (202) män kičigikammä / aχunumla bilaməγan paraŋ vüsa / gäp büsa / mä bili qasamma äjäv ämäs / (203) mä aŋnap baqaj / didi // (204) uquvaldi ämäsmu / aldïŋqï küni heliqï bala //

285 *äkɨsigä* 'to his father', here *äkä* means 'father', for analysis see 4.2.2.
286 *jitičüšüptu* < *jetip čüšüptu* < * *jätip čüšüp turur*.
287 *dujilap* ← *dugulap* ← *döwilap*, for analysis see phonology.



exceeded his father. (167) Those days, the king still did not know [the things going on]. (168) With money from the government[288] all people of this country became businessmen. (169) The days passed like this, and the [mullah's] child read the book and became a master. (170) Reportedly, at that time the king was frightened when he went hunting in his dream. (171) He was frightened and forgot his dream, and was not able to remember it. (172) He wondered: "I dreamed a dream, and I forgot what I dreamed. (173) What does this mean?" (174) Thinking always like this by himself, he lost his appetite and became very emaciated. (175) The physicians came and tried to give him medicines, but they didn't know what had happened; then the king finally asked the Akhuns, the Akhuns in the country. (176) [The king] said: "I dreamed a dream but am not able to remember it, I forgot it. (177) You must explain my dream, or I kill will all of you." (178) The Akhuns didn't know what to do and said: "Please give us one month or fourty days time, we will try to check the books well." (179) The king accepted [their request] and gave them fourty days' time. (180) He said: "If you cannot find [the answer] within fourty days, I will kill you." (181) They searched for fourty days, but still had no [answer]. (182) You know, how can others know what he saw in his dream, and what he did not. (183) The Mullah's child heard about it, and was told that the king was maltreating the Akhuns. (184) He was informed that the Akhuns must explain [the dream] the next day or [the king] will kill them. (185) (Meanwhile) the mullah's child found out about this. He was piling dirt and making slopes in the middle of the road where the Akhuns pass. (186) He made dirt mounds here and there; you know, when we were children we used to play by making mounds of dirt and sticking willow branches in them and saying: "We've bound the slender willow branch", as you know, he also did this, while sitting in the road. (187) The Akhuns came and found him sitting carelessly there. (188) You know, the child sat there intentionally. (189) They wanted to pass through at the side, but they could not, since he is sitting in a narrow place. (190) Then the chariot driver shouted: "Hey child, go away from here", but he still sat there silently. (191) Then the chariot driver shouted three times: "Hey child, go away!" (192) [The child asked]: "What happened?" and still kept sitting there chatting [with others]. (193) "Stand up, and make the road free!" (194) You see, [the child] said: "Where are you going so urgently?" (195) "Hey, don't talk so much, make the road free!" (196) [The child] took a look and saw the Akhuns were sitting on the chariot and crying. (197) [The child] stood up and greeted them, the Akhuns were now very nervous, afraid of being killed by the king. (198) They said: "Please make the road free, my younger brother, we are very busy." (199) [The child] said: "Why do you hurry so? What happened? Where are you going?" (200) "Don't ask us, you don't know anything about this, and you cannot rescue us from this sorrow." (201) "O, my Akhun, there is a proverb: 'the young knows what the old doesn't know, and the old knows what the young doesn't know'. (202) I am young, it would not be strange if I knew things that Akhuns were not able to know. (203) Let me hear (of your troubles)." (204) You know,

288 Original: *heliqï hukumätni puli* 'that governments money', without *bilän* 'with'.

(205) majnaɣ majnaɣ / majnaɣ iš dividi / (206) andaɣ vŭsa / taptiŋlamu däp patiša sorəsa / taptuχ dejni[289] / (207) qeni tapqam-bosaŋ čaqan sözlä dä kässä / äŋkin / biz tapamɨdoχ / (208) mašnaχ jolda bɨř bala mä jugap qilmä dedu / digändikin / (209) mini a ɣɨlï kɨldo / (210) a ɣɨlï kä sä / mä berip jugap qilimä / (211) sizläni mä qutuzup qujimä / dividi / (212) hoj ükäm / häjäp amdan gä qildiŋizɣu däp / sizgä čiqïptu / heliqï balənï / (213) ägäl / sänläp / qop digän ämäsmu // (214) abdan gä qildingizɣu / (215) häj aχunum / čoqum qutquzu qujimä sizläni / mä aləmä vädigä / digändikin / (216) andaχ vŭsa bulud däp / andikin kitiptu // (217) andikin / bu aχulla patišani odəsïɣa ba mamdu / (218) ba sa / pütüj jurutni jiɣivitip oltaɣïdäk // (219) hä aχunumla käldi digändin kin / hä aχunla / taptiŋlamu? / digɨnikänduq / (220) waj patišaji aläm / biz tapamɨduq / (221) jolda o nüš on tö jašlɨɣa kiřgäm bɨř bala / män jugav e timä patišajimniki süzigä / (222) män tägbɨř e timä čüšigä däp / mašna däp e tti // (223) u bala / mini aɣɨlï kä sä barɨmä dedu / digɨnikänduq / (224) nä dä o taɣïdäk? / (225) palani jädä o taɣïdäk / digändikin / (226) hä maqul hä däp / bɨřsini heliqï balənï qišqïri käl däptu // (227) hä däp bɨř ädäm istäp üjigä ba sa / jatqïdäk // (228) hä ükäm / patiša majnaɣ majnaɣ däp seni aɣɨlï kälduq / jüru / divikänduq / (229) män u jälägä jiti baramimä / (230) mä undaɣ ijä bijälägä beri paqqan ädɨmimäs[290] / (231) heri qalimä män / bamajmä däptu // (232) nimɨ amal / ba majmä dävassa / (233) u bala jini keptu // (234) hoj qeni u bala? / (235) mašnaɣ däp / mä bazalaɣɨmu beri paχmɨɣa ädäm / heri qalimä mä jolda däp / qaldï digɨnikä / (236) andaɣ vosa bɨř ulaɣ apɨriŋla / divikänduq / bɨř ulaɣ äpiriptu // (237) mušunï sini mini käsun didu / divikänduq / (238) män bulanï minmimä / (239) woj nimɨni minisä? / divikänduq / (240) män bundaχ χečïř digän haramzädä bɨřmɨläni minmimä / divikänduq / (241) anda vosa däp / jini käptu // (242) berivikänduq / woj qeni u bala? / däptu // (243) χečïř digän haramzada birimä u däp unəmɨdi / divikänduq / (244) anda vŭsa / tü gini äpiriŋlä / didi // (245) hä däp bɨř tü gini jitilap ba di / (246) berip / äm saŋa mušu tü gini äkälduq / mušu tü gini minip kä sun dedu / dividi / (247) majnaχ qarap / mandaχ igiz bɨřmɨdin jiqïli kässäm ülü qammajmämmu / (248) putum üzülü kätmämdu / miniki / (249) minmimä / bamimä / (250) män qä zim joq patišajiŋɣa / däp unəmaptu // (251) unəmiɣɨnikänduq / jene hini käptu // (252) patiša ändikin / hej / nimɨ äkäsäm kilisä däp

289 *dejni* 1 Pl. VOL of *de-* ~ *dā-* 'to say', but here it is used as 2 Pl. IMPER.
290 *ädimimäs* < *adäm ämäs*.



the child got to know them the last day. (205) They told him such-and-such. (206) [The child] said: "If this is so, please tell the king 'we found it' when the king asks you: 'Did you find it?' (207) Please wait until he says: 'Tell me immediately if you have found the answer', and then tell him: 'We were not able to find it , (208) but a child on the road said he knows. (209) Then they will come to pick me up. (210) I will give them the answer when they come to pick me up. (211) I will rescue you." (212) They said: "O my younger brother, this is very kind of you", and they began to address the child in a polite way. (213) You know, earlier they addressed him disrespectfully by ordering him: "Go away!" (214) [They said:] "You have told us a very good thing." (215) [The child] said: "O my Akhun, I will certainly rescue you, I take responsibility for it." (216) They said: "If it is so, OK" and left. (217) Naturally, then the Akhuns went to the king's palace. (218) They arrived there and found [the king] had gathered the people from all over the country and was just waiting for them. (219) The King was informed: "The Akhuns have come!" and [the king] asked: "Well, Akhuns, did you find (the answer)?" (220) "O the king of the world, we were not able to find [the answer]. (221) On the road, a child of about thirteen or fourteen told us: 'I will answer the question of my king (222) I will explain his dream.' (223) That child said: 'I will go if they come to pick me up." (224) [The king asked]: "Where is he sitting?" (225) They answered: "He is sitting at such-and-such a place." (226) [The king] said: "All right" and ordered someone to call that child there. (227) This person said: "Yes", and found the child was sleeping when he arrived at his home. (228) "My younger brother, the king said such-and-such, and we have come here to pick you up, come with us." (229) [The child] said: "I cannot go to such faraway places. (230) I have never been to other places. (231) I will become tired, and will not go there." (232) What could they do since he was saying: "I won't go"? (233) So the person returned.[291] (234) [The king asked]: "Where is the child?" (235) The person said: "He was left there on the road saying 'I never have been to a bazaar etc., I will be tired at the midway point.'" (236) [The king] ordered: "If that is so, bring a mount to him", and they returned bringing an animal. (237) They said: "[The king] asked you to come by riding this." (238) [The child] said: "I don't ride such things." (239) "What do you ride then?" (240) [The child] said: "I don't ride such bastard things as mules." (241) They said: "We see, [we will return]", and they returned. (242) [The king] asked: "Where is that child then?" when they had returned. (243) "He didn't agree to come saying: 'I don't ride such bastard things as mules." (244) [The king] said: "If that is so, bring a camel." (245) They said: "Yes" and went back, leading a camel. (246) They arrived there and said: "We brought this camel to you, [the king] asked you to come by riding this camel." (247) [The child] looked at [the camel] and said: "Wouldn't I die if I fell down from such a high thing? (248) Wouldn't my legs be broken?! (249) I won't ride it, and won't go there. (250) I don't owe any debts to your king", saying that, he didn't agree to go. (251) Since [the child] didn't agree [to come], they returned again. (252) Then the king said: "Hey, why not ask him: 'What should I

291 Original: *u bala jini keptu* 'That child came back.'

surəsaŋ vomamdu? / (253) unī apasam kä mɨdi / buni apasam kä mɨdi däp hini käpla turamsä? / (254) käš vop kitivassa / (255) män nimɨ apasam kilisä? / (256) jä arawa äpirimämmu / mapa äkilimämmu? / (257) nimɨ äkäsäm barɨsä däp surəsaŋ vumamdu / didi ädikin // (258) ba ya ädäm akin / mašnaγ däp käldim / (259) sän nimɨ apasaχ barəsä? / dividi / (260) dašu oŋ qol güzürni äkäsäŋ minip barɨmä / bašqiγa ba mimä didi // (261) patiša turu kittu / (262) šunuŋ süzi vilän maŋidu ämäsmu / (263) zalim ukumät bo qaldi ämäsmu / (264) šundaq bu kätti mutämni[292] / (265) aččiγi kep / a beri paqa / bɨř ädämni kütürüp kilušä apaš qip / däp heliqi oŋ qol veziřni äpiriptu // (266) äpirivikänduq / heliqi oŋ qol vezir ä tikin / (267) bunuŋmu bizä bɨř jeri qaldi / χijal qi

kala čikildu[297] / (302) šundaχ simiz u kalla / šundaχ jetti danä kala kivatidu / ajnïγa // (303) kevatividi / bu nimɨ kaldu? / däp / patšaji aläm qo qup / šijädä turu qaldï // (304) tuřsa / bu kałła jeqilličip čüšü kevatidu / (305) šu waχtïda qarəsa / büjüzdümmu[298] bïř awaz kaldi / (306) büjüzdimmu bïř kala / qutuř müŋüzi va čoŋ bïř kala / umu sürännï sep čikildu / (307) bu nimɨ gäqä? / (308) bu / bujindin jettisi kä sä / bujizdin[299] bïřsi kildu? / (309) hämmɨsila minila qořšap čikildiγu? / (310) bu nimi wäqädu? / däp / (311) qo qup özini daldəγa äp turividi / heliqï kałła suqušti / (312) jetti kala vilä bïř kala suqušti / (313) jetti kalənï bïř kala jä kätti / (314) jetti kaləni bïř kala jä kitip / alämgä patmidïγan bo kätti / semirip taχlap / (315) sürännni sep / taχlap jüřgändikin / minimu jedrïγan čeqi va däp / sürännï sep oχunu ketkän / däptu // (316) häbbälli / mušu šu däp / heliqï patiša oŋnandi / (317) hä mušu šu / mini čüšüm mušundaq / didi // (318) äm bu boldi / bu nimɨni kö stido[300]? / dividi // (319) hä / jetti jïlda patšanïŋ patšalïγïnï tatvałdan dušmän kä gidäk / šu wäqä / (320) patišalïqni tatïvałdu šula / dašu bïř kala ta tïvałdu / (321) jetti kałnïmu jä kättïγu / (322) jetti jïlda dašu ädäm kep / siniŋdin patišaliχnïmu ävaldu / devidi / (323) hä bunï nimi qïldan iš? / dividi / (324) bunuŋγa mudapä qïsaχ buldu // (325) qandaχ mudapä va? / (326) jämän digän jurutta töt bala tuγułdu / (327) dašu töt baləγa häř bïřsigä jetti χečiřdin altunni birip / ballanï setiväp ečiqïp beqïp / šulanï nim qïsaχ / šula mudapä vop / äzikin kila madu / dividi / (328) ho / undaχ vosa bunï ečiqïnï / (329) ečiqqɨlï bulamdu? / dividi / (330) ečiqqɨlï bułdu / (331) kim qïla šunï? / dividi / (332) mä qïlimä / patišaji aläm / didi // (333) daniŋda üči va ämäsmu / atəsini nimɨ qï qoγan // (334) hä ämdi bumu boldi / bunuŋγəma bïř mudapä taptuχ / (335) hä vizïř saŋγa nimɨ qïγan? / däp / (336) šu jägä kältdi / äntikin // (337) patišaji a läm / bu vizïř özi sözgä säp baχsun[301] / (338) özi sözlɨsä / untu qaγaj jeri vüsa mä e ti pirimä / didi // (339) bu oŋ qol güzüřni hä ämdi sä sözläp baqa dividi / (340) waj patišaji a läm / mini ajγïř kö migän bajtalniki qujruγïγa esïp / bajtal kö migän ajγïřni qojaväsäŋlara / jaŋgalγa äpirip // (341) bu mä untu qaγannni mä sözläpïřmä dävassa / (342) bu uzaχ vuγan iš / (343) män üzämni ülümini üzäm tiläp qïvalaj däp / (344) özi tiläp / ajγïř kö migän bajtałni qujruγïγa asturup / bajtal kö migän ajγïřni qoja vägän didiγu / heliqï vezïřni // (345) ö turvetip a tikin / heliqï molla balaŋza vizïř voldï / (346) šu vizïř vop / nušuř gaŋ adïl digän ataχni kütürüp / (347) heliqï töt balaŋza va ämäsmu / jämändin ečiqidïγan / (348) šu altułłani χečiřlaγa jüxläp berïp / χečiřdiki altułłani birip setiväp čiqiptu // (349) bïřni eti imirämzä[302] / bïřni eti imář mädikeräm[303] / bïřni eti muχpul tömürämzä[304] / bïřni eti γuja[305] emiř // (350) bu töʔt bałnï altuŋγa setiväp

297 *čikildu* < *čiqï kildu* < * *čiqïp kelidu*.
298 *büjüzdümmu* ← *bu jüzdinmu* 'also from this side', see *bujizdin* below.
299 *bujizdin* 'from this side', *bujiz* < *bu* 'this' + *jüz* 'side'.
300 *kö stido* 'refer(s) to...' ← *körsitidu*, intraterminal form of *körsät-* 'to show'.
301 *sözgä säp baχsun* 'Let (the vezir) speak to us about it himself', *sözgä sal-* 'to have explained; to have talked'.
302 *Imirämzä* < Ar. 'Amīr Hamzä.
303 *Imär mähdi kiräm* < Ar. 'Umar Mahdī Karam.
304 *muχpul temirämzä* Personal name, comprised of *muχpul* < ? + *temir* 'iron' + *hämzä* (< Ar. *Hamza*).
305 *γuja* < Ar. *xwāca*.



entered the heart of the jungle seven cows came from a mountain-pass in the direction of Mecca, for example, from a mountain-pass just like Qarasha pass. (299) They mooed, each louder than the other, and came closer over the rising ground. (300) Together their voices were so loud as to be from outside this world. (301) Seven cows came mooing so loud. (302) All of them were very fat, and seven cows such as these came up to him. (303) Seeing the cows coming, the king wondered: "What are these cows doing?" and he stayed there frightened. (304) As the king stayed there, the cows gradually came closer [to the king]. (305) Then came a voice from the other direction (306) and from that direction came a thin, ugly cow with big horns, mooing very loudly. (307) [The king] thought: 'What is the purpose of this? (308) Why have seven (cows) come from this side and one from that side? (309) Why are all of them surrounding me? (310) What is [the purpose of] this?' (311) Thinking like this, [the king] became frightened, and continued hiding himself, and then the cows fought each other. (312) The single cow fought the seven cows. (313) Then the single cow ate the seven cows. (314) Having eaten the seven cows, the single cow became fat and jumped and jumped, having become too big for this world. (315) Since that cow was shouting and jumping, [the king] was frightened, fearing he would be eaten by it, and finally awakened." (316) "Very right, exactly so!" saying this, the king recovered. (317) [The king] said: "Right, my dream was like that. (318) All right, and what does it refer to then?" (319) [The child] explained: "This signifies that probably an enemy will come and seize the king's throne in seven years, it refers to this event. (320) They will seize the throne, that single cow will seize the throne. (321) You know, it ate those seven cows. (322) That person will come in seven years, and will seize your throne." (323) [The king] asked: "How can we solve this problem?" (324) "We may prevent this." (325) "How could we prevent this?" (326) "In a country called Yemen, four children will be born. (327) We may buy these four children by giving each of them seven mules of treasure and bring them here, educate them, and then we might be protected with their help, and [the enemy] could not come." (328) [The king] said: "I see, if this is so, let's bring them. (329) Is it possible to bring them here?" (330) "Yes, it is possible to bring them." (331) "Who can do this job?" (332) [The child] said: "I can do it, the king of the world." (333) You know, [the child] has a grudge against the vezir, because he mistreated his father. (334) [The king] asked: "Right, it is good, we have found a protection against it. (335) What has the vezir done to you?" (336) Then [the king] asked him like that. (337) [The child] said: "The king of the world, let the vezir speak to us (about it) himself. (338) I will tell you what he has forgotten as he speaks." (339) [The king] ordered the right-hand vezir: "Now you, speak!" (340) [The vezir] said: "O, the king of the world, just bring me to a jungle, tie me to the tail of a mare that has never seen a stallion, and then run a stallion that has never seen a mare after it. (341) He has said he will add what I have forgotten. (342) This is an old story. (343) Let me ask for my death by my own (hand)." (344) It is told that the vezir requested to tie himself to the tail of a mare that had never seen a stallion, then had a stallion that had never seen a mare run after it. (345) After having killed him, the child became vezir, (346) and received the name of fair-minded King Nushur, after having become vezir. (347) You know, there were four

ečiqip beqip turdi // (351) bu nušuř gaŋ adil umuř bujiɣičä suriɣan / jurutni / dido // (352) šä dä tügiti qujini / buni //

18 patšani uɣli

(1) ötkändä / biř patiša ötkiniken / alämdinčo // (2) bu kišini balәsi joχke // (3) biř küllä voɣan mä ldä / χoj biř bala veripto / oɣul vala / (4) na jti čirajliq / omdan oɣul vala virivikän[306] / (5) ha / maŋa omdä uɣul vädi / däp χošal vop / buni / χä?χlä / til tig kätmison[307] bunuŋɣa däp / jalɣuz biř jä lädä beqip čoŋ qipto // (6) čoŋ qiɣaŋkin / u bala ja ɣuz ǰaŋzida turup / tapančini etip / ǰaŋzidin[308] ütü kiti paɣan ǰaŋdiřlani etip jiqitivaldiɣan bop kittu / šunda usta vo kittu // (7) usta vop kätkäŋkin / bu bala turup / mä ja guna ka vo misam / (8) mini / nimdäp bu ǰaŋziɣa sola qujdu? / (9) däp / čiqip apәsiɣa ǰidäl qiptu // (10) mini kučida quj pämämsilä / mini / (11) sän bügü nim qip tuř / män dadaŋ qešiɣa kirip dä paqaj / digäŋkin / (12) bu bala mujda däp čiqiptu / (13) bizni küčümiz jetmidan vo kittu / u balәɣa ämdi / (14) buni mujda qisaq bumamdu / buni / (15) buni kučida qujup ojnatsaq / (16) biřmilәni kö sä ädäm bo qamamdu / (17) biz mujda / ǰaŋziɣa sula qujup ülü kessek / saraŋ nimidek biřm bomamdu u / (18) ja χä?lä tu nimisa uni / diginikä / (19) andaχ vüsa / bunu täŋtušliri / juřtni jiɣip / mušu balәɣa oχšaš täŋtušidin biřnäččini tepip / (20) čoŋ biř beyi va čeqi vařkä / (21) šu baqqa ečiq qosaq / šä gä čiqqan mäldä / buni biř čoŋ qisaq / (22) qa ɣalla kök jötäl / toq jötäl vop[309] käp / bu bala biřmläni ögänmämdo / däp äntikin / (23) juřtni jiɣip / mini balam munči jaš voldi / (24) om bäš dämdu / on tö dämdu / boldi / (25) silämo dašnaq balladin biřnäččini bä säŋlä / diginikä / (26) änkin / oj-igiřmi balәni jiɣip äki piripto / (27) dašo baqqa äčiqvittu // (28) u baqqa äčiq qoɣaŋkin / u baɣda / šä dä o nap jürüp tuřɣankin / (29) biläk biř juřttun luxčäk sazmän / duta čaldiɣan biřmä ke qap / (30) biläk biř juřtqa barimä däp ütkitpasa[310] / bayni ičidä čuruq čuruq / šunaq gäp bariken / (31) taqirap kep / išigini ajliɣa kep qarap tuřɣaŋkin / (32) biřsi / woj / da jä dä dutiri va biř uɣul ke qapto / padšajim / däp / (33) u balaŋzini padša qipto / u jägä baqqa ečiqip / (34) nimä anda digän / digäŋkin / (35) biř duttař däp biřm ba / na jti amda ištildiɣa / diginikändoq / (36) anda vüsa / išikni eči piriŋna / kirson / diginikändoq / (37) hä däp kirip / bu patšajim ko migä biřmikä / (38) sän bunuŋɣa duta čelpä / diginikä / (39) mini qušuɣum aš / mä palaj-jädin käldim / diginikä / (40) ča viriŋna / däp / ča ni ičürüp / änzä / dutani čevikä / (41) helïqi balaŋza patša / bu amda biřmikä bu / (42) bunuŋɣimu qušumči biřm bamo? / diginikä / (43) da?p däp biřimmiz vařɣu / čaldiɣan / šu da?p büsa / šuni čep usulni o nisa amda kildo / diginikä / (44) tep kiliŋna / däp äŋkin / biř dapni tep äkipto // (45) uni *aŋnap* / sazmänla vüsa šä gä jügürüp kep / bika nä varikin bijädä däp / šä gä jiɣilip

306 *virivikän* < **beriptu ikän*

307 *til tig kätmison* ← *til tegip kätmisun* '(fearing) he would be damaged by evil eyes'.

308 *ǰaŋzidin* ABL of *ǰaŋza* < Chin. 庄子 *zhuang-zi* 'village'.

309 *kök jötäl toq jötäl vop* idiomatic phrase, lit. 'being whooping cough and sated cough', means 'stating different reasons, with different reasons'. Obviously, *toq jötäl* 'sated cough' does not refer to any kind of coughs like *kök jötäl* 'whooping cough', but only appears as a rhymic pair of *kök jötäl*.

310 *ütkitpasa* < *ötüp ketip barsa* 'when he is passing through'.



children who were to be invited from Yemen. (348) He went there, with gold loaded on the mules, and bought them with this gold and brought them back. (349) One of them was called 'Amīr Hamza, another was called 'Umar Mahdi Karīm, another one Muhpul Temir Hamza, and the last one Ghuja 'Amīr. (350) They bought these four children with the gold, brought them back, and raised them. (351) It is told that this fair-minded king Nushur ruled the country for his whole life. (352) Let's finish (the story) here.

18 The Prince

(1) Once upon a time there was a king in the world. (2) This king had no child. (3) One day [God] gave him a wonderful son. (4) Reportedly, [God] gave him a very beautiful and good son. (5) He was very happy for having this good son, and he raised this son and kept him at quiet and secluded places, fearing he would be damaged by evil eyes. (6) The son grew up, stayed at the village and became so masterful at shooting guns that he could shoot birds that flew through the village. (7) Some time later this boy thought: "I am not a sinner, (8) why do they lock me in this village?" (9) Thinking this, he went to his mother and questioned her: (10) "Why don't you allow me to go out in the streets?" (11) [His mother] said: "Just wait today, and I will try to go to your father and talk with him." (12) She went [to the king and] said: "This child came to me and told me this and that, (13) we cannot control this child anymore. (14) How about if we do this: (15) Allow him to play in the streets, (16) he will probably become better if he sees other people. (17) Certainly, he will grow up like a crazy person if we lock him in the village and pass away. (18) You know, nobody knows him so far." (19) [The king] said: "If this is so, how about gathering children his age at the village, find some children of the same age?" (20) It is likely that the king has a big garden. (21) "We may raise him in this garden, (22) others may come there for different reasons, and this child could learn something." (23) Then the king gathered the people in his country and said: "My son is such-and-such an age", (24) reportedly, he was fourteen or fifteen years old, (25) "Could you give us some children of his age?" (26) Then he gathered ten or twenty children, and brought them [to his son], (27) putting them in the garden. (28) When they were playing in the garden, (29) one day a hooligan musician who played dutar came there from another country. (30) Actually, he wanted to go to another country, passed through there, and heard the (children's') voices from the garden. (31) He ran and came to the door of the garden and stayed there. (32) One of the children [saw him and informed the prince]: "O, my king, here appeared a boy with a dutar." (33) Reportedly, the children had elected this child king after they have come to the garden. (34) [The prince] asked: "What is that?" (35) Someone explained: "A *dutar* is a thing that makes beautiful sounds." (36) [The prince] said: "If so, open the door, and let him enter." (37) He said: "Yes", and went to the [musician]: "My king has never seen one of these. (38) Play the *dutar* for my king." (39) [The musician] said: "I am hungry, I came from such-and-such a place. (40) [The prince] ordered to give him tea, and after the tea [the musician] played *dutar*. (41) The child-king said: "This is a good thing. (42) Do you have anything additional to this?" (43) [The musician] said: "You know, we have a musical instrument called a *dap*, it is quite harmonic if one dances to it. (44) The prince

nuřγun bop kitto // (46) šä dä / ojna ojna ojna ojna / atɨsïnï γäsnɨsidiki pulnï äkep / χäšläp tügitivitto / hešimɨni qo maptu / (47) atəsïnï išlitidan pulïnï bɨřnïm[311] qo mapto // (48) qo mɨγandikin / ändin išlidïγan bɨřmɨsi joχ vo qa mamdo // (49) digäŋgä ujuŋγa ras toštï / amda o nadan bop ketti // (50) ašdaq qïp / änkin / helïqï ädämlä qečïptu / (51) nam bo mïγaŋkin qeči ketmämdu / u jädin / (52) šundaq qïp / äčïqqan bɨřnäčči ädɨmi vilälla qäptu / (53) saz pazleřni / dutařleřni äp kitto / joq // (54) voj nim boldï ämdi / digäŋkin / (55) hoj / patša a läm / bïz saŋa gā̈ qïlami tuřγan nimä / (56) γäznɨdä bɨř pul qa mïdi / (57) bïz bazadïn bɨřmä ečïqammïγaŋkin / bu χä?lä mujda qeči kätti / digäŋkin / (58) juruŋna / anda vūsa kitïni / däp kitiptu // (59) juřtuγa berïp änkin / bu γäznɨdä bɨřm qa mɨdi de silä / (60) ämdi häqasïŋla üjüŋlaγa kitiŋna / (61) mämma hazir kitimä ö gä / (62) kilitni janduř piriŋna / γäznä kilitlïřni / (63) hä däp / γäznɨsini kilitini äväp / eγinliri kitipto öjlïřgä / (64) u atəsɨγa kitim däp / äm män γäznɨdiki pulnï tügitivatsam / atamniki / (65) atam tejiksä mä nimɨ qïlïmä / (66) γäznɨdiki pulnï tügitivat / däp apïř qo mïsa mini / iš ögän däp apïř qo sa mini / (67) mä iš ügɨnimä däp berïp / γäznɨdiki pulnï bɨřnï qo mïsam / (68) bu jaman sät iš voldï / bu / (69) ämdi γäznɨgɨ kïřpaχsam / bïzä bɨřm bosa / šunï peŋčäŋ[312] qïp / biläg juřtqa qeči kitej ämdi / däp / (70) qačidaŋγa pïlaŋ-qïp / γäznɨsigä kiripto // (71) kïřsä / hešnimɨ joq // (72) qanda vummɨsa / uzundïn voγan γäznɨsigä kiripto // (71) kïřsä / hešnimɨ joq // (72) qanda vummɨsa / uzundïn voγan γäznä vuγaŋkin / atamniki dunja saχla dïγan / dugulap / (73) u zamallada / qäγäz pul vomïγaŋkin / sap altun kümüš išlitidan voγaŋkin / (74) tasqaptu / bɨř γalvïřni tep[313] // (75) dinař[314] däp mujda mujda bɨřmä bař čeqï vařkä / u zamada / (76) šunuŋdun qïrïγ danä dinar čïqïpto / tupəni ařəsïdïn // (77) šunï änkin putəsïγa tügüp / ämdi kitej ämdi / (78) baza γa verïp bïzä nam pan ävep / (79) bazalanïmu bilmïdu / teχi atəsɨni juřtüdiki / (80) äm asta berïp / qeči kitej ämdi / däp šu pïlannï qïp / üjigɨmu ba majla / baza γa nan a γilï ba dï / ämdi / (81) berïvidi / bɨř eγinisi učra qaldï // (82) vaj patša a läm / säm-bïjägä amdan kä qapsäŋγo / divïdi / (83) silä vilä o namïz däp / atam mini γäznɨdiki pulnï išlɨtip tügitivat digɨnämästi / (84) iš ögänsun / bu balam mändin qa sa patšalïq qïldan boγaŋkin / däp äpiri qo γɨnidi // (85) silänï gipiŋlaγa kirip / atamnï γäznɨsidä bɨř pul qa maptu / (86) äm män silänï ivätvitip / γäznigɨ kïřpaqaj däp kïřsäm / qïrïγ danä dinař čïχtï / (87) bu dinařni täŋ χäšlïjni dimäŋla / (88) u gaχlada ja γan gäp joχ čeqï vařkä / (89) mäm-bununγa nan uzuq ävep / bašqa bɨř juřtqa kïtimä / ämdi / (90) mä atanamni üzigä qanda qarajmä ämdi / digɨnikänduq / (91) hä buldu / patša aläm / buni bïz siniŋdïn talašmïmïz / däp tuřγɨnikä / (92) heliqï juřtta jetti qaro varikändoq / manda bɨř kuččɨda jatïdan / (93) helïqï qaroladïn bɨřsi ša gä kä qaptu // (94) kä qap / heliqï pat-

311 *bɨřnïm* < *bir-ni-mu*.
312 *peŋčäŋ* 'capital', see *bunčän*.
313 *tep* ← *tepïp* 'finding'.
314 *dinař* < Ar *dīnār* 'gold coin, dinar'.



ordered one to be found, and they found a *dap* and brought it back. (45) Hearing about this, all musicians ran to the garden because there was free bread, and a lot of musicians gathered there. (46) [The prince] played and played, bringing money from his father's treasury, and spent it until nothing was left. (47) He did not leave anything for his father's use. (48) Since nothing was left, naturally that left nothing [for the prince] to spend. (49) Nevertheless, he became a master at playing music, being able to play very well. (50) Around this time, the people left. (51) You know, they naturally leave when there is no bread anymore. (52) He was left with only some people whom he had brought together himself. (53) Others left taking their dutars and other music instruments. (54) [The prince] asked: "What is happening?" (55) "O, the king of the world, we had no courage to tell you until now. (56) There is not one cent left in the treasury. (57) Those people left since we were not able to buy anything from bazaar." (58) [The prince] said: "If this is so, let's go back!" and they left there. (59) They left for the country, and [the prince] said: "You mentioned there is nothing left in the treasury. (60) Now everybody returns home, (61) I will also return home now. (62) Give me the key to the treasury back." (63) The prince brought back the key to the treasury, and his friends returned home. (64) He wanted to go back to his father's house, but [he thought]: "I spent all the money in my father's treasury. (65) What shall I do if my father gets angry? (66) My father obviously did not send me there to spend his money but to learn something. (67) I have spent all the money without leaving anything though I went there to learn something. (68) This was really bad. (69) Now I will try to enter the treasury to get some capital and then escape to another country if I can find something else." (70) He decided to runaway and entered the treasury. (71) He entered (the treasury) and found nothing. (72) [He thought]: "Anyway, this is the treasury and my father has stored his treasures for a long time." (73) At that time, people used to use gold and silver since they had no paper money yet. (74) Therefore, he sifted the dust with a sieve. (75) You know, they used to have a big coin called dinar. (76) He found fourty dinars in the dust. (77) He put them in his girdle, and decided to leave. (78) He went to the bazaar to buy bread as well as other things. (79) You know, he even didn't know the bazaars of his father's country. (80) Then he decided to runaway secretly; having made such a plan, he went to the bazaar to buy bread instead of returning home. (81) At the bazaar he met with one of his friends. (82) [His friend] said: "O, the king of the world, it is so nice you could come here." (83) [The prince] said: "My father did not tell me to spend the money of his treasury for playing with you. (84) He wanted me to learn something, considering I would be the king after his death, that is why he sent me there. (85) I followed your instructions, but now I find no money left in my father's treasury. (86) I entered the treasury after I sent all of you away, and found fourty dinars there. (87) Do not think of spending these dinars together with you." (88) It is likely that people did not lie at that time. (89) "I will leave for another country, buying bread and other things with this money. (90) Now, how shall I not feel embarrassed to see my father's face." (91) [His friend] said: "All right, the king of the world, we won't wrestle for this money with you." (92) It is told that there were seven blind men in the country who lived in the streets. (93) One of those blind men happened upon them. (94) He

šanï gipin tïŋšap / patša digä ja γɨnetma dïγan nim boγaŋkin / mäm-mušun tiläp baqaj / (95) dävla kep / ässalamu älikum / patšaji alam / däptu / tak tak tak hasɨsïnï jä gä urup kä?pla // (96) hä qaro / nim boldï? / digɨnikä / (97) qïrïγ dinarni közgä sürsä küzi ečili kitidu / digänni aŋnïγan män // (98) mujdaγ bɨř ädämgä qïrïγ danä dinarni parɨŋïnï sevatïslä / (99) maŋa šunï bä mɨsäŋ jïlap[315] bä / (100) mä küzümgä sürüväp / küzüm ečili kessä saŋa janduř pïřmä / däptu // (101) digɨnikä / bä mij disä / patša balsï / namäřt vuldu / biri qujaj disä / joχ vo qaldu / (102) turup / bä mɨsäm bumu bɨř iš voγɨdäk / (103) bu janduř pïřmä dävatqaŋkin / sürvasɨmu aluřla däp / (104) biri qujuptu / helïqï altunnï // (105) biri qo sa / eliväp / tak tuk tak tuk urup / šundaq uza kitpaγïdäk // (106) bu qaro bä midan oχšajdu / äjäp ittik kit pařduγo / (107) a qɨdïn berïp / üjni bɨř kürü qujaj / (108) däp / a qɨdïn qara kürüp berïp / kïřsä / bɨř kučini ičidä jaj varikän / oltuřdïγan qaroladïn jättisi / (109) mujda / qarola he palanči / sä bügün nä g vadïŋ? / digɨnikä / (110) hä / mä bügün baza čöglüp ba dïm / (111) berividim / dašägä čikätsäm / bügün hešnimɨ joq // (112) bügün ämdi gaχ voldï / asta berïp qařnïmnï toχlaj ämdi / däp kävatsam / bu patšaniki balәsï bɨř eγɨnisigä / majda majda däp paraŋ sevatïdo // (113) berïpla / ässalamu älikum devidim / hä nim boldï / däp / (114) män majdaγ majdaγ / sä mušu dinař altunni jïjlap bä säŋ / küzümni ečivaγan mäldä janduř pirimä / dividim mašaqättä bä di / devikänduq / (115) hä däptu // (116) bumu berïp bɨř buřjüda turuptu // (117) tuřγɨnikän / ha qasïsï ö lïrgä kïřkittu // (118) bu šä dä qarap tuřγɨnikä / helïqï hämralïri / sä bügün kări o qät qïpsä / (119) bügün o qät bäk obdan boldï / digidäk // (120) patšanï balәsï ändikin / hä bu rastïn bä mɨgidäk hä / bu / (121) bununγa mä bɨř ädäp birej ämdi / däp / (122) a qɨdïn käp / išik tüvidä turivikänduq / heliqï qaro üjig' kiriptu // (123) bɨř borini sä qujup / bo rɨda jatidan qarolakän bu / (124) kiripla hassɨsini tamγa tikläp qujup / bo rɨnï qa ripla nim qɨsa / ällig atmiš tal dinař varikän de du / helïqï qaroniki / (125) helïqïnï ča lap / qïrïχnï qušuvikänduq / bu bɨř jüz nečči vumamdu // (126) bɨř ikki ajdaχ sanap kep / ämdi jïχ voldï ämdi / dijišip tuřγɨnikänduq / (127) äzikin / helïqïnï sanap / bo rïnï astïγa tïqï qujup / hasɨsïnï elïp tuřγïdäk // (128) ändikin / bu qaro si gili čikittu / (129) kïřgɨčä hämmɨsini ep püttɨγa tügüp / tamγa jülünüp jïmmitä turïwaptu // (130) helïqï qaro kiripla / hasɨsïnï qujupla / bo rïnï astïnï sïlap / (131) bo mɨγandikin / bu bořja / anaŋni sikej bořja / bɨř dämdä jä kittu bu bořja / (132) däp / helïqï bo rɨnï hasɨsi vilän urup jančivittu // (133) tïllapla tuřγïdäk / süränni sep // (134) helïqï hämralerï änkin / nimi qïvattu bu qaro / däp keptu // (135) hoj / nim bo ketting? / hoj / (136) bügün mujda bɨř iš vüsa / män bɨřdin bɨřdin sanap / unumu qušup bunumu qušup / bo rɨnï astïγa qujup išikkä čïqïp sijip kïřsämla / bo ra jä kittu // (137) tüzüg gäp qïsïna / qaro / (138) bo rïzä alton jämdo? / (139) sän mušu bo rɨnï astïnda saχlïγanmu /

315 *jïlap* 'borrowing', CONV of *jïla-* 'to land, borrow' (< Chin. 借 *jie* 'to borrow' + *-la*).



heard the prince's[316] conversation, and tried to ask for the money from the prince since he knows the king never lies. (95) He came walking up with a thud of his staff and greeted the prince: "Peace upon you, the king of the world!" (96) [The prince] said: "O blind man, what happened?" (97) [The blind man] said: "I was told that eyes can be healed if one applies fourty dinars to one's eyes. (98) I heard you talking about the fourty dinars. (99) If you don't want to give them to me, please just lend them to me. (100) I will just apply them to my eyes, and will return them to you when my eyes are healed." (101) The prince thought: "It would be disloyal if I don't give the dinars to him since I am a prince; I will lose the money if I give it to the blind man. (102) It is not good if I don't give. (103) This man is saying he will return, just let him apply these dinars." (104) Thinking this, the prince gave him the gold. (105) As soon as he gave them over, the blind man went faraway, walking with thud. (106) [The prince] thought: "The blind man is walking so fast, it doesn't seem likely he will give [my dinars] back. (107) Let me follow him, and see his house." (108) Thinking so, he followed him from a distance, and found the place where the seven blind men stay and entered. (109) The blind men asked the blind man: "Where did you go today?" (110) [The blind man said]: "Today I went to see the bazaar. (111) I travelled so long but found nothing. (112) I found a prince talking to his friend so-and-so just when I began thinking: 'The day has become dark, let me eat something'. (113) I went there and greeted him, and he asked me: 'What happened?' (114) I explained this-and that, asking him: 'Please lend me the dinar, and I will return it when my eyes are healed', then he gave it to me reluctantly." (115) The blind men said: "I see". (116) Then this blind man stayed in a corner. (117) After that, everybody left for their own rooms. (118) As the (prince) looked around, [the blind man's] friends said: "Today you did a good business." (119) [The blind man] said: "Yes, today's business was very good." (120) Then the prince understood: "He is not really going to return the money. (121) Let me teach him a lesson now." (122) Thinking so, he followed the blind man and stayed behind the door; the blind man entered his room. (123) Reportedly, those blind men slept on a plaited mat, spreading it on the ground. (124) The blind man leaned his staff against a wall and held up the plaited mat; [the prince] saw that the blind man had fifty and sixty dinars there. (125) The blind man added fourty dinars to them, and all altogether it became more than a hundred dinars. (126) He counted the dinars once or twice and said: "We have many dinars now." (127) Then that blind man hid the dinars under the plaited mat, held up his staff and stayed there. (128) Then the blind man went to urinate. (129) Until he came back [the prince] put all the dinars in his girdle, and stayed silently against the wall. (130) The blind man came back, picked up his staff and tried to find the dinars under the plaited mat. (131) He began to curse since there was nothing: "Fuck your mother, this bad mat has eaten [my money] in a moment". (132) Cursing so, he beat the plaited mat with his staff and tore it into pieces. (133) He cursed and cursed, and cursed very loud. (134) Then his friends came, wondering why he was acting so. (135) They asked: "Hey, what happened

316 Original: *patša* 'king', the informant very often confuses *patša* 'king' and *patšanï oγli* 'prince'.

divikänduq / (140) hä män bo rɨnï astïnda saqlïyan / üstïndä jatïdan boyankin / dïgɨnikin / (141) sän heqïsïz qarokänsã̄ / (142) miničo / mušu bökümni qasqïnda altun ba / χeli / eyïř / divikänduq / (143) kämläp baqa / divikänduq / (144) kämläp beqïp / rastïnla eyïřyu bu / dïgɨdäk // (145) hä / bïřkim a midu bunï / divikänduq / (146) a sïna / bu bïřmäŋni / sã̄ maŋa bïřni bämidïyanya / divikänduq / (147) helïqï patšanï balәsï öjdä ba / (148) u pokkidä bökni äveptu / (149) ävep / tamnï buluŋya verïp / jïmmïtä turuveptu // (150) hä / altun qenï? / (151) bä dimyu / (152) bu ikkisi suqušu kïttu / valaq vuluq valaq vuluq // (153) suqušup tuřyɨnikã̄ / jen bïřsi aŋlap kiriptu // (154) nim bop kättiŋla? / voj / (155) majda majda / dïgɨnikã̄ / (156) bïř biriŋlädin heqïsïz qarolakänsilä / silä / (157) hä / qandaχsigä? / dïgɨnikänduq / (158) bïřsiŋ bo rɨnï astïnda saqlapsä / bïřsiŋ bökni ičindä saqlapsä / altunnï / (159) mušu hassɨdiču / jüz näčči danä dinär[317] va // (160) hassɨnï jerïp / iččigä dinärni qačïlap / jar jilim bilä jämlɨvatqã hassɨsikän / u // (161) mušu hassɨnï ičidä / mušundaχ kã̄ri / altun / (162) bunu kütürüp jürümä / (163) bunï hečkim a madu / (164) mundaχmu heqïsïz vulamsilä / hej qarola? / dïgɨnikänduq / (165) äkä / män bïř dämläp baqaj / däp bïřsi hassɨnï eptu / (166) ras kã̄rikä / däp / (167) sã̄ däŋläp baqa /däp bä gɨnikä / (168) šunda däŋläp / a sïna bïřimäŋni / (169) sän bïřni bä mɨsäŋ / (170) däp hassɨnï sunuptu / (171) patšanï balәsï šaqqïdä äveptu // (172) hej / hassɨnï väsïna / (173) bädimyo / (174) ǰaqïlaq ǰuquluq / učisi suqušu kïttu // (175) jetti qaro ba bïřmɨsni ačïqsa / hä mɨsini patšanï balәsï äväp / jïmmïtä tuřuväptu // (176) jettisi taza suqušu kïttu / ǰalaq ǰalaq / (177) suqušup tuřyaŋkin / bu asta bïř čättïn čïqïp / kïttu // (178) kïtip / maŋɨmä däp mäŋïptu / (179) käškičä mäŋip / bïř jä gä berïp / jamanmu qaraŋyu vo kätti / (180) äšädä jataj ämdi / däp jolnï jinnida jatmaqčï vop / o turup däptu / (181) maŋya[318] / ata anam / mini beqïp čoŋ qïldï / (182) apam šunčɨ jilla u qusïnï tašlap / mini imizip / šundaχla qïldï / (183) atamya dimɨsämma / apamya vo sɨmu bïř e tip / aχ süt vägän apam boyankin / u qusïn tašlap imizip / (184) apamni vosɨmu razlïyini ep / än kitej // (185) šunda däp / a qɨya jenip jini käptu // (186) kep / išikni jiniya käp qïšqïriptu // (187) apәsi jügürüp čïqip / vaj balam / hämralerin qenï? / divikän / (188) hämralerim kätti / ulamu / däptu // (189) ö gä kirip ča ičämsä valam? / dïgɨnikä / (190) hä / däp ča ni ičiptu // (191) ämdi apa / saŋya dime bo mɨyïdäk / (192) män kitim däp / palan jägä berïp / sini bïř kičilädä mã̄ jïyɨsam / u quŋni tašlap maŋya aχ süt vägän däp / šunï äsläp män sini razlïyïŋni elip kitäj däp / män šä din jini käldim // (193) sän miniŋdin razï vol / (194) teš vüsa bïř künï / män jini kilimä / (195) män atamdïn jamã iza tařtqudäkmä / män / (196) čikätmɨsäm bo mɨyïdäk / saŋya e ti qo mɨsam bo mɨyɨdäk / (197) sini mä ä rïti qo sam amdan bo mɨyɨdäk / (198) sän mändin razï vol / (199) maŋ-

317 *dinař*, see *dinař*

318 *maŋya* 'to me', here might be considered as an extra element



to you?" (136) He replied: "Today such a good thing happened, I counted the all (dinars) one by one and put them under the plaited mat, then went to do a tinkle, when I returned, I found the plaited mat had eaten them." (137) They said: "What are you talking about? (138) How can a plaited mat eat gold? (139) Do you really keep them under this plaited mat?" (140) He said: "Yes, I really keep them under this plaited mat since we sleep on it." (141) Another blind man said: "You are a stupid blind man. (142) You should know, my gold is inside my hat brim, and it is rather heavy. (143) Just try to weigh it in your hand." (144) He put it in his hand and said: "It is really heavy." (145) That blind man said: "Nobody can steal it." (146) He said: "Take this thing back, I know you won't give me a single one." (147) You know, the prince was in the room, (148) and he took the hat silently. (149) Then he went to a corner, and stayed there silently. (150) That blind man asked: "Where is my gold?" (151) The blind man replied: "I just gave it to you." (152) The two blind men began to fight each other. (153) When they were fighting, another blind man heard it and came. (154) "What happened to both of you?" (155) They said: "This and that." (156) This other blind man said: "Both of you are stupid blind men." (157) The other two blind men asked: "Why?" (158) [The third blind man said]: "As far as you have explained, one of you kept gold under the plaited mat, and the other one inside a hat brim. (159) Inside this staff there are more than one hundred dinars." (160) Reportedly, he had loaded the gold in the staff, and sealed it with glue. (161) He continued: "There is so much gold inside this staff. (162) I always carry it with me, (163) nobody can take it. (164) How stupid you are, you two blind men?" (165) [One of those two blind men] said: "Give it to me, I will try to weigh it with my hand", and he got the staff. (166) He said: "Really, there is a lot." (167) Then he passed the staff to other one and said: "You try to weigh this." (168) Other one tried to weigh it and said: "Take your thing. (169) You will not give me a single one." (170) Saying this, he handed over the staff. (171) Again the prince took it. (172) [The staff owner] said: "Hey, give me the staff." (173) One of those blind men said: "I just gave it to you." (174) The three of them began to fight each other. (175) The prince took all the savings of those seven blind men when they brought in their treasures, and stayed there silently. (176) The seven blind men began to fight each other. (177) The prince left from the side secretly. (178) He left there, and continued on his way, deciding to leave (the country). (179) He walked for a day, and it became very dark. (180) He decided to sleep there, and thought as follows sitting on one side of the road. (181) "My parents took care of me and raised me. (182) My mother gave up her sleep, breast fed me, and raised me so big. (183) I may not tell my father, but at least I should inform my mother since she is my mother, who has given her white milk to me. (184) I should gain my mother's approval, since she has breast fed me, giving up her sleep." (185) Thinking this, he returned to his home. (186) He came back and called at, front of the door. (187) His mother ran to him and asked: "O, my son, where are your friends?" (188) He said: "My friends left." (189) They entered the house and his mother asked: "Will you drink tea, my child?" (190) He said: "Yes" and drank the tea. (191) He said: "Mom, I have to tell you. (192) I went to such-and-such a distance in order to leave here, but I returned in order to gain your approval, thinking that you have given me your white milk, giving up

ya ruχsät qil / däptu // (200) buldu valam / bügün kičä jat / (201) taŋnätä biz sini amdan jolγa sep qujni / digɨnikänduq / (202) jaq / mã bijädä qonsam / atam kürü qasa / mã jaman iza tarτimä // (203) ataŋ kirmidu bijägä / (204) ataŋγɨmu mã dimimä / digɨnikä / (205) hä bulud däp / jitip uχla qaptu // (206) uχla qaγaŋkin / asta dadɨsini qešïγa kirip / bu bala majda majda däp jini käptu / (207) γäznidä bɨr pulni qo:maptu / (208) qeči kittu äγiniliri / (209) ämdi özi majdaγ däp / meŋip palanï jägä ba:γanda jini käptu / (210) siniŋmu bosa razilïγiŋni a:mɨsam bo:mɨγɨdäk / (211) sän mini häř kičɨlädä ujquŋni tašlap / mini imitip čoŋ qïsaŋ / (212) atamdin jaman iza tarτip turmä / (213) kilimä mã bɨř küni / teš vüsa / (214) sän razï vol / ruχsät qil / däp kivikänduq / (215) bügün kičä jat / taŋnätä jolγa se qujmä / däp qoŋra qaldim[319] / (216) ämdi qanda qilmïz? / (217) unümadu / u bala sini qeššïŋγa kirini disäm / digɨnikänduq // (218) hej / ketmisimu bo:mɨγɨdäkmu / u bala / (219) mämma razï / (220) mäjli ämdi / bɨrmä digän tepildu / adäm digän tepilmidu / digɨnikä / (221) unumajdu /digɨnikä / (222) unda vüsa / bu γäznidä bɨř pul vo:mɨsa / (223) bu bala u jäläge verïp heškimni bilmɨsä / (224) iš qildïγanni bilmɨsä / (225) hešnimɨni uqmidïγan bala turša / (226) qanda qïp ǰan baqïdu bu? / (227) andaχ / sã čïqïp balənï amdan nim qïp tuř / män bunï amdan ǰabdu pirimä / (228) mämmu ko:mij / män amdan ǰamdu pirej / (229) däp čïqïp / u juřtta bɨř χanso varikänduq / dükini va / čoŋ kičɨsi šunu qešïγa beriptu // (230) berïp / mini bɨř balam bařdï / (231) majnaχ majnaχ qï qujuptu / (232) χäχlä mini balamnï saraŋ tepïp / mujnaχ qïp hešnimɨsini qo:maptu / (233) u bala miniŋdin iza tarτip / qandaχ turmä däp jïγlap unmɨγɨdäk / (234) sän maŋγa dinařdin ikkini vä / (235) patšalïq tamγɨni sän tutup tuř / (236) dinařdin ikkini bä säŋ / män balamnï jolγa se qujaj / (237) siniŋ vilä män gäp qilïšimä / däptu // (238) u dükän ačidan bɨřɨm boγaŋkin / unuŋ puli tuγïdan bɨřmikä / u // (239) tamγɨni šä gä daŋlap qujup / ikki dinářni ep / (240) čapɨnïγa / bɨřni bijägä / bɨřni bijägä tiki / bilama:dïγan qip / (241) mašnaχ qïp jolγa sep qujuptu // (242) jolγa čïqqan mäldä / sini dadaŋ majdaγ majdaγ qildï / (243) čapannï mäjädä bɨř gühař / mäjädä bɨř gühař va / (244) bišširŋγa kün čuškändä išletsun didu dadaŋ / dävikänduq / (245) änkin / buldu däp / qupup meŋiptu // (246) aʔttïn bɨřni minivasun / mïltïγïnï elivasun / (247) jolda hämra vuldu / däp dadaŋ ruχsät qïldï saŋγa / (248) etiŋni minival / mïltïγïŋni eval / hämra vulud didu saŋγa / digɨnikän / (249) bulud däp / etini minip / etivojnadïγan[320] mïltïγïnï ep / kep meŋiptu // (250) jollada maŋsam / χäχlä nägɨ varïsä? / nim qïγɨli vařsä

319 *qoŋra qal-* 'to feel upset'
320 *etivojnajdïγan ← etip ojnajdïγan.*



your sleep when I cried nights. (193) Please be pleased with me. (194) When everything is in order, I will return one day. (195) I am feeling to ashamed to confront my father. (196) I should leave, and I should inform you. (197) I found it is not good if I hurt you. (198) Please be pleased with me. (199) Please give me permission." (200) [His mother] said: "All right, my son, just sleep here today, (201) let us send you off well tomorrow." (202) The prince said: "No, I would be very much ashamed if I slept here and my father found me. (203) [Her mother] said: "Your father does not come here. (204) I will not tell your father, either." (205) He said: "If this is so, all right " and he slept there. (206) [His mother] went to his father after he was asleep, and informed him: "Our son returned saying this-and-that. (207) As far as he told me, he left nothing in the treasury, (208) and his friends left. (209) He left for that reason, and has returned from such-and-such a distance. (210) He told me: 'At least I have to gain your approval. (211) You have raised me by breast-feeding me nights and giving up your own sleep. (212) I feel terribly ashamed in front of my father. (213) I will return if everything is good.' (214) He came to me and asked me to be pleased with him. (215) I asked him to sleep here this night, and promised to send off him well tomorrow, now I am feeling upset. (216) What should we do now? (217) The child doesn't want to enter your presence." (218) [The king] said: "Is it not better for this child if he doesn't leave? (219) I am also pleased with him. (220) All right, treasure can be earned but a human being cannot." (221) [His mother] said: "He will not agree [to stay here]." (222) [The king] said: "If so, there is nothing in the treasury, as you know, (223) and the child doesn't know anybody there, if he leaves. (224) He doesn't know working, (225) he is a child who knows nothing, (226) and how can he survive? (227) You just go to where he is and keep him there, I will prepare his trip well. (228) I won't meet him, but I will prepare everything well." (229) Saying this [the king] went at midnight to a Chinese who had a shop, reportedly there were Chinese (in the country). (230) [The king] went there and told him: "I have a child. (231) He did such-and-such unwillingly. (232) The people cheated my child, and spent all of his property. (233) The child felt ashamed, cried and doesn't want to stay here anymore. (234) Give me two dinars, (235) and take this king's seal temporarily. (236) Let me send my child away with these two dinars. (237) I will take responsibility in this matter with you. (238) Since the Chinese was a shopkeeper, his money increased [if one makes a loan].[321] (239) [The king] got two dinars, and left his seal there. (240) He hid one of them here and one of them there in his son's caftan, ensuring that nobody could find them. (241) [His father] prepared his trip in this way. (242) [His mother] told him before he left: "Your father did this-and-that. (243) Here is one jewel, and there is another one in your caftan. (244) Your father bid you use them if you have difficulties." (245) He said: "Yes", and left. (246) [His mother] said: "Your father bid you to ride a horse and take your gun. (247) He said these things should accompany you during your journey. Your father has given his permission to you. (248) Ride your horse, take your gun, your father told me that

321 Original: *unuŋ puli tuγïdïγan bɨřmikä* lit. 'Obviously, his money gives birth'

didu / (251) ǰaŋgal vilä čušlapla maŋsam / bɨřnim bomamdu / däp qupup / meŋi kittu // (252) bilamidɨγan ädäm boγaŋkin / hešnimɨni bilgili bo madan ǰaŋgalγa kiri qaptu // (253) bɨř kičä kündüz meŋip / quřsɨγïma eči kittu / atma poldaŋ poldaŋ vo qaptu // (254) bɨř su va jägä verïp / čušimä däp šundaq qïjnili kitpaγan nimä bu ämdi // (255) bilamaj su istäp / aʔt poldaŋ poldaŋ bo qa sɨmu mäǰboř qïp / urup kitipasa / (256) bɨřimä čikä gidäk / ajaχtïn / (257) majdaχ qarap tuřsa / qař čökkändäxla čikä gɨdäk majnɨγa // (258) woj / nimidu bu ämdi? / (259) häǰäp uzun čikildɨγu / bu bɨřimä? // (260) qarap tuřsa / majnaχla keptu / (261) ajnaγ bɨř jolvas čikevatqïdäk / (262) aγarap[322] / tilini bɨř γeriš čïqïrïp kevatqïdäk // (263) agal atni qujpirej bunuŋγa / (264) aʔtnï jäp tojsa jaltiji qaluř / (265) agalla üzämni tutupäsäm / bɨř iš voγïdäk / (266) däp / aʔtni igärni seriväp / aʔtni hajdap qujup / uzi da nejnigä verïp turuptu // (267) kep / tařssïtïla jerïp / atnï jäptu / aʔtni hajdap qujup / uzi da nejnigä verïp turuptu // (267) kep / tařssïtïla jerïp / atnï jäptu / bu aʔtqa to madadïγan čeqi va / bu / (271) minimu jäp qo γïdäk hä / bu / (272) qulïda mïltïχ va voγandikin / tägsä tägmɨsä eti paqaj bunï bɨř / däp / (273) ǰo ni peqïrap / aqïdïn kep / antikin / mïltïχnï bätläp käp paŋŋitä qujuvikän / (274) molläγetïp čüšüptu // (275) dabajtin šunda qïγan bo sam etim a rul qaluřkänduq hä / däptu / (276) ořnïγa kilämdu / jäp kätti jerïmini uniŋki // (277) mïltïχni kütürüp käp / igä pigäni čaʔtkä tašlap kep / 278) jajaq qaldï / äŋkin bu // (279) taza maŋγïl tuř / maŋγïl tuř / bɨřmunčä meŋip / igini höl / putla tišilip / šundaχ voγan mäldä / äŋkin bɨř juřtqa ba dï // (280) bɨř juřtqa berïp kiřdi // (281) kiřsä / na jti katta juřttäk / u / (282) waž waž waž waž / kündäk qïziq bazɨrikän // (283) šu baza da kitivatsa / sän nä din käldiŋ / nä gɨ varisä de dïγan bɨřmu ädäm joq / (284) hämmɨsi öz oqïti vilän // (285) šu jägä kä sä / bɨř qerï mä zim ča q igirvatqïdäk // (286) heliqï ča q igirgän mä zimni jiniγa käp / ässilamu älikum / däptu / (287) waj wä älikum ässilam / kiliŋ balam / (288) nä g varisiz? / divikänduq / (289) mišägä käp qaldïm / (290) nä din käldiŋiz? / (291) mišägä käldim ämdi / (292) äm nä g varisiz? / (293) mã̄ barɨdïγan jirïmnïmu bïlamajmã̄ / ana / (294) oγlï joqqa uγul vulïmä / qïzï joqqa qïz vulïmä / (295) mïni atanam joq / (296) mã̄ majnaχ bɨř jäkkä jiganä ädäm // (297) mandaχ qarap baχsa / on bäš on altï jašqa kiřgän bala vuγandikin / (298) andaχ vũsa / miniŋ qïzïmmu joq / oγlummu joq / (299) mã̄ mušdaq tänha bɨř mä zim / (300) maŋa bala vulamsïz? / dividi / (301) wo buldu / (302) uγul qïldïγan iš vũsa / män qïlmã̄ /

322 *aγarap* 'shouting', CONV of *aγara-* 'to shout'.



they should accompany you." (249) He said: "Yes" and mounted his horse, took the gun, which he used to play with, and left. (250) He thought: "People will ask me: 'Where are you going? What will you do there?' if I take (normal) roads. (251) Just see what happens if I go directly through the jungle", thinking this he left for the jungle. (252) Since he had no experience, he entered a puzzling jungle without noticing. (253) After travelling day and night, he became hungry, and his horse also became tired. (254) In order to stop at a place where there was water, he travelled very hard. (255) He was not able to recognise anything, but continued on this road in order to find water, beating his horse though the horse couldn't walk anymore. (256) Then, he noticed something coming up from behind. (257) He looked behind and found there was a long band of snow moving in his direction. (258) He wondered: "What is this exactly? (259) Why it is so long?" (260) It suddenly appeared in front of him when he looked around. (261) He saw that a tiger was coming. (262) The tiger came up roaring and sticking out its hand-long tongue. (263) [The prince] thought: "First let me give it the horse. (264) Probably, he will stop if it was satisfied after having eaten the horse. (265) It is not good if I give myself first." (266) Thinking thus, he took off the saddle and forced the horse forward, himself staying at one side. (267) [The tiger] came up and attacked the horse, slashing its body. (268) It ate more than half. (269) He found it to be becoming more cruel and greedy. (270) He thought: "It is likely that it will not be sated by this horse, (271) it is likely that it will eat me, too." (272) Since he had a gun in his hand, he tried to shoot the tiger wherever he could. (273) He went to the back of the tiger, walking through a ditch and shot. (274) The tiger fell. (275) He thought: "Certainly my horse would have survived if I had done so earlier." (276) You know, it was too late to think this way, since it had already eaten half [of the horse]. (277) He carried the gun, took off the saddle and other things from the horse's back, and threw everything to one side. (278) He had to walk on foot now. (279) He walked and walked. He walked for a long time, and arrived at a country when his clothes became wet, and soars appeared on his feet. (280) He reached the country and entered. (281) He entered and found it was a very beautiful country, (282) the bazaar in this country was also extremely interesting.[323] (283) He walked through the bazaar, but nobody asked him: "Where have you come from? Where are you going?" (284) He found everybody busy with their own business. (285) In one place he saw an old lady spinning. (286) He went closer and greeted the lady who was spinning. (287) The old lady greeted him too: "Come here, my child. (288) Where are you going?" (289) [He said]: "I came here unnoticed." (290) "Where do you come from?" (291) "I just came here." (292) "Where do you want to go now?" (293) "O, my mother, I don't even know where I shall go. (294) I would like to be a son for those who don't have a son, and I would like to be a daughter for those who don't have a daughter. (295) I have no parents. (296) I am such a lonely person." (297) The old woman looked at him and found he was a boy of about fifteen or sixteen, and said: (298) "If this is so, I have no son, and also have no daughter, (299) I am such a

323 Original: *waž waž waž kündäk qïziq bazɨrikän*, lit. 'He found the bazaar is hot like the sun.'

(303) qïz vala qïldïγan iš vusɨma / unïmu mã̄ qïlmä / ana / (304) mã̄ bala vulmä sizgä / digɨnikänduq / (305) anda vosa buldu däp / taqqïtä čaqnï jïγïvitip / äŋkin bu balәγa tamaq qïp beridïγanγa bašlaptu / u mäzim // (306) u qančä mällä ǰaŋgallada ač toq qep / aran jitipaγan nimä / bu // (307) šunuŋ vilän / helïqï mä zim χaltɨsïda tügisi varikã̄ / tügä / (308) bilimizmu?[324] / tügɨnim / (309) terïχlanï aχlap qo γan tügičo / (310) bu zamannï ädämleri / bilmɨsimu bilmidu // (311) šunuŋ vilän / helïqï tügɨnim bɨř pijäligä äp / jujup / nim qïlïmïz dividi / (312) u balaŋzä änkizä / hej ana / nim qïlsiz unï? / dividi / (313) sizgä balam aš qïpirej de mã̄ / (314) maŋγa aš qïpäsiŋiz / mã̄ uzaχ vuγan ädäm o din čikätkili / (315) najti bäx uruχup kättim[325] / (316) χaltɨdiki hämmɨsini qujsïŋïza / (317) bu bɨř γedɨř bɨřmɨdä tujamdu ädäm / (318) hä buldu valam / däpla χaltɨdikini töxti / (319) tükùpla / helïqïni aš qïpädi // (320) helïqï ašni jäp / käš voldï / kilip jattï / (321) jitip / jerïm kičä voγan mäldä / haǰät qïstaptu // (322) haǰätkä čïqaj däp / išikni nim qïvïkänduq / woj balam / eγɨlγɨla kiriŋ / talaγa čïqmaŋ /däptu // (323) u juřtnu kattɨsï / altun sattařχã̄ däp qïzvala vařkã̄ // (324) patšaliq qa γan nimikã̄ / (325) unuŋ čïrajlïχlïγidin / kündüzi künnüŋ nurïda χäχlä oqät qïldikã̄ / aχšɨmi u qïz vala bɨř rawaχ vařkã̄ / šu ravaqqa čïqïp / bešini ečivätkã̄ jářdä tuřpäsä / šunu nuřda kündüzgä oχšaš o qät qïlidikã̄ / (326) šundaq bɨř baj juřtkä / ämdi // (327) šunuŋ vilä / u mušu juřtqa ke qaptu // (328) u eγilni bilamaj / išikni jučuqlerdin talanï kürüp tuřγïdäk / (329) häǰäpla katta kürünüp tuřdiγu / bu baza / (330) tünögün mã̄ kä gändä dašnaχmidi / bu baza ? / (331) äm / bu jerïm kičɨdä čïχsammu oχšašlïγo / (332) däp / šaqqïtä išikni ečip / bazaγa čïqïptu / (333) čïχsa / waž waž waž waž / kündüzgä oχšašla baza bovatqïdäk // (334) hej / haǰäp išqu bu? / (335) nimɨ gäpa / bu? / (336) helïqï qerï mä zim / jem-bɨř nim qïmusun däp qïšqïrïptu / (337) hej balam / jen kiriŋ / (338) hä däp jenip kirip / jänä tapšɨda[326] tuřuvaptu // (339) čïqïp jetiŋ / ořnuŋuzda / (340) he ana / dividi / hä / dividi / (341) tünögün mã̄ tüš mäldä kä gän / bijägä / (342) kä säm / mušdaχ qïzïq baza bovatqan / (343) äm / jerïm kičɨdä čïχsammu oχšašla baza bovatidu / qïzïq / (344) bu qandaq ïš / bu? / (345) aj balam / uχlɨsiŋïza / dividi / (346) hej ana / siz quřsaχtikini maŋa e tmɨsiŋïz / mã̄ quřsaχtikini sizgä e tmɨsam / qanda ana bala bulušïmïz? / (347) he / bu bala jamã̄ bali kin bu / (348) anda vüsa / ořnuŋγa čïqä balam / (349) män paraŋ sep birimä saŋγa / (350) andaχ vosa däp / ořnuγa čïqïp otuřvidi / helïqï qerï mäzim rastïnï e tqïlï turuptu // (351) bu juřtta balam / biz kündüzi künnu nurïda oqät qïlimiz /

324 *bilimizmu* 'do you know', here it functions as 2sg POL Q form.
325 *uruχup kät-* 'to tire out', *uruχ-* 'to tire', probably originates from **yoruq-*. See also *jorï kït-* below.
326 *tapšïda* another form for *tapsïda* 'at the seat immediately by the door'.



lonely woman. (300) Do you want to be my son?" (301) He said: "Very willingly. (302) I would like to do the things done by boys, (303) I also would like to do the things done by girls, my mother. (304) I would like to be your son." (305) The old woman said: "If so, all right", and immediately she stopped spinning and began to cook for the child. (306) You know, he had arrived there with many difficulties, having starved in the jungles for many days. (307) Reportedly, that old woman had millet in her sack. (308) Do you know millet? (309) I mean the millet obtained by cleaning the broomcorn. (310) It would not be strange if today people do not know it. (311) She loaded the millet into a small tea bowl and tried to cook it. (312) The child asked: "O, mom, what are you doing with that?" (313) "I am going to cook for you, my child." (314) "Please cook for me, a long time has passed since I left home. (315) I am very tired. (316) Would you please put in all (the millet) from your sack? (317) How can one be full on one bowl of millet?" (318) The old woman said: "All right, my child" and put in all the millet from the sack. (319) She loaded [the millet] and cooked it for him. (320) They ate the food, and it became dark, and then they went to sleep. (321) At midnight the prince wanted to go to the toilet. (322) He tried to open the door in order to go to the toilet, but [the old woman] said: "My child, just go into the stable, don't go outside." (323) Reportedly, the ruler[327] of this country was a lady named Altun Sattar Khan. (324) It is told that she became an heir to the throne. (325) She was so beautiful that people did business under the sunshine during the days, and in the evenings she stood under an awning revealing her face,[328] and people did their business under her glow. (326) Reportedly, it was a very rich country. (327) He (= the prince) came to this country unnoticed. (328) He couldn't find the stable and looked outside through the holes in the door. (329) [He thought]: "The bazaar looks so beautiful. (330) Was it so when I came here yesterday evening? (331) Why is it the same at midnight?" (332) Thinking this, he immediately opened the door and went to the bazaar. (333) He saw the bazaar was still very interesting like yesterday. (334) [He wondered]: "It is strange. (335) What is going on here?" (336) The old woman called him, fearing he will do something else wrong. (337) "O, my child, please come back." (338) He said: "OK", and returned home, but insisted on staying in front of the door. (339) "O, my child, go to your bed and sleep." (340) He called: "Mom", and the old woman said: "Yes". (341) "Yesterday I came here at about noon. (342) There was very interesting bazaar here when I came. (343) I have seen that it is still very interesting when I go there at midnight. (344) Why is this?" (345) [The old woman] said: "O, my child, please sleep." (346) [The prince said]: "O, mom, how can we be mother and child if you don't tell me the things in your mind, and if I also don't tell you the things in my mind?" (347) [The old woman thought:] "This is a clever boy." (348) And she said: "So be it, go to your bed, my child, (349) and I will tell you the story." (350) [The prince] went back to his bed and sat down, and the old woman began to tell the truth. (351) "O my child, during the days we do business under the sunshine in this country. (352) There is a girl named Altun Sattar Khan in this country.

327 Original: *juřtnu kattɨsï* lit. 'the greatest one of the country'.
328 Original: *bešïnï eči päsä* 'if she opens her head for...'

(352) kičɨsi / bu juřtnuki altun sattařχan däp bɨř qɨzï va / (353) šu / qanči tatmɨlïq bɨř ravaq va / (354) šu ravaqnï üstigä čïqïp tuřsa / häř tatmɨsïnï ařlïγïγa bɨř künlüktün joruq čüšüdu / (355) šundaq čïrajlïq / (356) šunu nurïda oqät qïlïmïz / (357) kičɨ künduz oqät qïldu / (358) šuŋa bu juřtta naman adäm joq / (359) hä mɨsi baj / bu jädä / (360) bïri vilä birini kari joq / (361) šundaq oqät qïldïγan jä bu / digɨnikänduq / (362) hä / ämdi ras e ttiŋiz / (363) mäma sizgä bala vulïmä / sizma maŋa ana volduŋuz / (364) mäma čin koŋnüm bilä bala vulïmä / sizgä ämdi /(365) ä tɨsi / ornudun qupup / üs köslänï[329] jup / ča eketu // (366) ča ni iči kitip / otuřup eŋkin / hej ana / dividi / hä / dividi / (367) manda / taχsɨdäg bɨřnimɨ bo sa äkiliŋ // (368) helïqï mä zim bɨř taχsɨni äkäldi / nim qïluř ämdi bu / däp / (369) qaroladïn ta tïvayan näčči jüz danä dinař vař ämäsmu / (370) šunï putɨsïγa tügivayan ämäsmu / juřtüda / (371) šunï taza taχsigä lïqqïtä qujup / ämdi munumu äqujuŋ[330] / ana / (372) az vusɨmu / γïza bɨřmä äkägili vuluř /(373) däp / taχsɨγa bɨřnï qujuptu // (374) hä / ǰowapsïz balam / dividi / (375) ǰowumudum ana / (376) dašu patšanï qïzï / altun sattařχanni köridïγan sivël[331] vuluřmu? / däptu / (377) hä / buldu balam / däptu / (378) u künï ütü kitiptu // (379) taŋ ärtisi naštini qï kitip / äŋkin / hej ana / qača vosa biriŋ / digɨnikänduq / (380) amdä altun biridïγä bali kän / däp čoŋaraq bɨř taχsa äkeptu // (381) nečči kün taχsɨγa qačïlap biriväsä / tügä qa mamdu / u / (382) šunda qïp / tügä qaptu // (383) tügä qaγandikin / u mäzim ändikin / hej balam / u bɨř patiša tuřsa / biz digän bɨř gadaj tuřsaq / (384) unï köridïγan bɨř ädäm ämäs u / (385) ämdi bunuŋγa siniki dunjajiŋ ba vüsa balam / sän hämmi dunjanï maŋγa kö sät / (386) män saŋa ändi virimä / däptu // (387) buldu / män sini dunjaγa kümüp to yuzvitimä / sini / (388) čoŋ bɨř gühiri va ämäsmu // (389) čoŋ bɨř bazaγa verïp / bɨř dukanda ečivikänduqla / šu ti za vämämdu / unuŋγa / (390) čïqïp äŋkin / dunja mana mušu / (391) jäni ba / qoqma / digɨnikänduq / (392) andaχ vüsa / bɨř dašun[332] jip alïnï balam // (393) jip / mä zimlä igiřgän jip / (394) taγa jiptäk igirip / burunlada majdaγ majdaγ äkirip čïläxlädä satɨdïγan // (395) šu bazaγa kiřgän jipni a γɨlï turuptu // (396) jipni äp / aχšɨmi helïqï qïz vala ravaqqa čïqïdu ämäsmu / (397) bu aχšɨmi jipni uččïnï tutuväp / jiraχtɨn hämmɨsïnï učïnï čïqïrïp / päskä tutuväp turup / äŋkin ravaχni čoršɨgä majdaχ äpirip čïqïrivittu / (398) hämmɨsïnï čuvuvitip kittu // (399) helïqï qerï mäzim ba ämäsmu / billä jürüp šundaq qïldurivitiptu // (400) ä tɨsi / ǰanwař / helïqï qušqač va mu / käptář va mu / hä mɨsi jipni uččïnï tutu kep / ravaqni tüšügigä apirip / helïqïnï ba lajdïγanγa tutuvitip / ravaqqa čïřmap kümbittu / nuřγun jipni // (401) taŋ aχšɨmi äŋkin / äm qanda qïlmä ana? / digɨnikä / (402) mušu jipni / jä gä säŋgiläp tuřγan hämmä učïnï qa mïval / (403) hämmɨsïnï qa mïvep tařtsaŋ / čüšü ketmidu äŋkin / (404) čïřmivatqan nimä / hä:-

329 *üs köslänï* lit. 'the face and eyes', refers to 'face', but it mostly occurs as *üz közlänï*.
330 *äqujuŋ* < *alip qojuŋ* < *alip qojuŋ* 'please just take'.
331 *sivël* < Ar *sebil* 'road, way'.
332 *dašun* < Chin. 大線 *da-sheng* 'big rope'.



(353) And there is a tower with many steps over the city gate. (354) She stays at the top of the house and her glow lights up one day's (walking) distance from every step. (355) She is very beautiful. (356) We do business under her glow. (357) (That is why the people in this country) do business day and night. (358) There are no poor people in this country. (359) Here everybody is rich. (360) Nobody cares for the other one. (361) People do business like this in this place". (362) [The prince] said: "Now you have told me the truth. (363) I have become your child now, and you have become my mother. (364) Now I become your child heartfully." (365) The next day, the old woman got up, washed her face and served tea. (366) After the tea, [the prince] called: "Mom", and the Old woman replied: "Yes." (367) [The prince] said: "Please bring a dish." (368) The old woman brought a dish, wondering what he wanted to do. (369) You know, he has many hundreds dinar that he took from the blind men. (370) You know, he has carried those dinars in his girdle. (371) He loaded the dish full of them and said: "Please take these, mom. (372) Perhaps you can use them to buy food, though it is only a few." (373) He loaded the dish with them saying this. (374) [The old woman] said: "You are very kind, my child". (375) [The prince] said: "It is nothing, mom. (376) Is there any way to see the princess Altun Sattar Khan?" (377) [The old woman] said: "It is possible, my child." (378) That day passed by. (379) The next day morning, [the prince] finished eating his breakfast and asked: "O mom, please give me a bowl". (380) [The old woman] thought: "This child gives good gold", and brought a bigger dish. (381) Naturally, the gold will run out if he gives everyday like this. (382) Doing thus, [the gold] ran out. (383) After it had run out, that lady said: "O my child, she is a queen and we are poor people. (384) She is not a person we can look at. (385) If you have treasure, please show all of it to me. (386) Then I will give you my instruction (?)." (387) [The prince] said: "Well, I will cover you with treasure, making you satiated with it". (388) You know, he had a big jewel. (389) He went to a big bazaar and showed it at a big shop, and naturally they gave him money. (390) He came back and said: "This is the treasure. (391) I have more, please don't worry!" (392) [The old woman] said: "If so, let's buy a cord, my child" (393) That is the string that women spin. (394) Before, people used to spin it as thick as sack-lines, and sell them, carrying them in buckets. (395) [The prince] began to buy all cords in the bazaar. (396) He bought cords, you know, at night the girl comes to the tower. (397) That night [the prince] held one end of a cord, and disassembled the edges of all cords at a distance, brought them around the tower and left them there unravelled. (398) He unravelled all the cords and left. (399) You know, that old woman was also there; she came with him and had him do so. (400) The next day, living beings, namely sparrows, pigeons and other (birds) held the end of the cords, tied many cords to the holes of the tower, just leaving one end to hold. (401) The next evening he asked [the old woman]: "What should I do now, mom?" (402) [The old woman] said: "Please hold the cords by one end and just hang them to the ground. (403) If you hold all of them, the cords will not fall down. (404) You know, [the birds] have tangled all the ends of the cords. (405) [The old woman] said: "You may climb up the cords and can see her." (406) [The prince] said: "OK", and he tightly held up the end of the cords and climbed straight up there. (407) He found the girl sleeping. (408) He saw her and fell into love

misini uččinï // (405) šunï tip[333] čïqïp kö:säŋ buldu bunï / däptu / (406) bulud däp / heliqï jipni uččini taza toγlap kep / tip dässäp čïχsa / (407) qïz jetip uχla qaptu / (408) körüp jez vo qaptu[334] / šu jädä / (409) turu kittu / (410) nuřγun jipïlani tutup čïqqan nïm boγandikin / jorï kittu[335] bu // (411) hä / ämdi bu o:γïnï qa:sa čeppatmïsun / jenïγa qïlïčlanï qujup ja?tqandikin / däptu / (412) taŋ eti qaptu / jeni käptu // (413) kö:düŋmu? / (414) kö:düm / čaqan čaqan meŋip / maŋa epä bunï / digändikin / (415) buludu däptu // (416) u patšanïki qïzï čüšidä iškaγa veriptu / (417) nuřγun ädämlä vilä berivikänduq / bïř jüp kijik käptu / (418) bu kijikni etivikänduq / oq čïšisïγa tigiptu / (419) ä:kigi a qïsïγa qarïmaj kitiviriptu / (420) bu qïz vala kürüp / ä: kišidä gupa joq nimikina / (421) män mušu humrumdä ä:gä tägmïsäm bo:γïdäk / däp vä:dä qïp qujuptu // (422) bunï heliqï mamaj bilidiγinikä / bašqa ädäm bilamidiγïnikä / (423) bu mamaj ajal vuγaŋkin / nä:din uquvaγan / šunï uquveptu // (424) heliqï balaŋzïmu aγamči sep čïqïp kö:di ämäsmu / (425) kürüp / jukü vop üzülüp jini käldi / (426) ämdi bu / äpämïsäŋ bo:midu däp zo: qïp tuřγandikin // (427) bu / bïř häptïdä beγi varikä šu baqqa čïqïdikä̃ / (428) nuřγun qïz vala vilä čïqïdu / (429) uγul vala ijägä kira madu / (430) šu baqqa čïqïdïγan qaralïγïčä / dašu maŋïdïγan julïγa ö: saptu / änkin / (431) heliqï balәγa / patišalaγa lajïq bïř ö: saldu / šu jägä jol jaqqïsïγa // (432) temïrči vamu / muǰaŋ vamu / tamči vamu / ačïqïpla šu ottuřnï qïřlap / šundaq katta bïr orda saptu / jolnï jaqqïsïγa / (433) öj pütkän mäldä / änkin öj pütti ana / ämdi jene nimiš va? / devikänduq / (434) jörü[336] / män körü paqaj däp / čïqïp körüp / amdan boptu balam / (435) ämdi qïlïšnï al / išïxni mähkäm tirä / (436) bügün kičä taŋ juruγanda čïqïdu ula / daqa dumbaqnï čäp / (437) qïlïšni tutup / išïkni taza juγan jïγaš vilä tiräp tuřsaŋ / ula kilip bu jädä bundaq bïřmä joqïdi / (438) bu nädin käldi bu? / (439) nimï gä:qa? / (440) täkšürüŋla däpla täkšüřdu / bunï / (441) sap qïz vala bunuŋ ičidiki / uγul vala joq / (442) šä:dä bizä jä qäptu / bunuŋki / (443) qa:sumu qaluř hä / (444) qïzïχ bïř jä:ri vařdi / qäptu // (445) šunuŋ vilä / heliqï ö:läni täkšüřdan boldï ämäsmu // (446) u qïz valla aravalada maŋïdan zamalla vuγaŋkin / munda mašina vumuγandikin / (447) ajalla aravaladïn taχlïšïp čüšüp käp / išikni ittäsä tiräk / (448) šundaχ katta bïř imarät ba: vo qaptu // (449) išikni ač / kimla vosaŋ išikni ač / (450) išikni ö:ruvatimiz / däp sürän sevikänduq /(451) ičidä turup / mã̃ aŋlïsam / hämmiŋla čïši ǰandäk qïlïsïla / (452) jeniŋla a:qaŋlaγa / (453) män tiši ǰannï kö:säm ö:türvatidïγan vä:däm ba / miniki / däp sürän säptu / (454) heliqï kinizäkleri bila:miγandikin / u paraŋnï / (455) u aravada o:turup / äŋkin / mä: tüšümdä äkäx ǰaŋγatägmidïγaŋγa vä:dä qïγan / (456) bu čiši ǰannï ammidïγanγa vä:dä qïγan kiši:ken / (457) biz ikölänni wä:dïsi oχšaš ke qaptu / (458) mini alïdïγan ädäm mušu oχšajdu / däp / (459) aravïdïn taqqïtä čüšüp käp / äŋkizä išikni taq taq uruptu // (460) sän kim? /

333 *tip* ← *tipip* ← *tepip* (< *täp-ip*) 'kicking'.
334 *jez vo qal-* here seems to mean 'to fall in love'.
335 *jorï kït-* 'to tire out', see also *uruχup kät-*.
336 *jörü* 'Come with me!', IMPER of *jür-* 'to go', SU *jür*.



with her. (409) He stayed there for a long time. (410) Since he had climbed up there by pulling himself up with the cords, he felt very tired. (411) He wondered if she would kill him since she was sleeping there with swords at her side. (412) The day dawned, and he returned. (413) [The old woman asked]: "Did you see her?" (414) "I saw her, please find a way to allow me to marry her as soon as possible." (415) The old woman promised. (416) Reportedly, the princess dreamed a dream: (In her dream) she went hunting. (417) She had gone with many people and couple of deer came (towards them). (418) She shot and hit the female deer. (419) The male deer left without caring for her. (420) The girl saw it, and (thought:) "Apparently, the male has no loyalty at all". (421) She promised: "I will not marry in my life." (422) Reportedly, the old woman knew this, but others did not. (423) It is not clear how she got to know it, it might have been because she is a woman. (424) You know, the prince[337] had seen her by climbing up with cords. (425) He saw her and returned, falling into love with her. (426) He continued persuading [the old woman] to help him marry this girl. (427) It is told that [the princess] had a garden, and she went there once a week; (428) she went with many girls, (429) but no male was allowed to enter. (430) Then, by her next visit to the garden, he (= the prince) had a house built on the way to the garden. (431) They built a house along the road for the prince, decorating it suitably for a king. (432) They invited blacksmiths, carpenters and bricklayers, and built a very beautiful palace at one side of the road. (433) When the house was ready, he said: "The house is ready, what should we do now, mom?" (434) [The old woman] said: "Come with me, let me see", and then she went there and said: "Very nice, my child. (435) Now take this sword, and close the door tightly. (436) Tonight they will come by beating gongs and drums at dawn. (437) Barricade the door with a big piece of wood, and just stay here with the sword, and they will come and will say: 'There was nothing here before. (438) Where did this come from? (439) What is happening here? (440) Check here'; then they will check the (house). (441) All of them will be girls, there will be no boy amongst them." (442) Unfortunately, I have forgotten something of this part. (443) Well, let us just leave it there. (444) Unfortunately, an interesting part has been forgotten. (445) So, it happened that they checked the house. (446) At that time people rode in chariots, since they had no cars at that time. (447) The girls jumped down from the chariot, pushed the door, and found it is propped shut. (448) They found a very beautiful building had suddenly appeared. (449) They shouted: "Open the door whoever you are! (450) We will break the door down." (451) [The prince], staying inside, yelled: "It is likely that all of you are females as far as I judge from your voice. (452) Please go back. (453) I have promised to kill females if I see them." (454) Her slave girls did not understand this story. (455) [The princess] thought on the chariot: "I have promised not to marry a male in my dream. (456) He is a person who has promised not to marry a female. (457) Our promises are the same. (458) He is likely to be the man with whom I will marry." (459) She jumped down from the chariot and knocked on the door. (460) [The prince asked:]

337 Original: *balaŋza* 'child'.

(352) kičisi / bu juŕtnuki altun sattaŕχan däp biŕ qizï va / (353) šu / qanči tatmišliq biŕ ravaq va / (354) šu ravaqni üstigä čiqïp tuŕsa / häŕ tatmišïnï aŕlïγïγa biŕ künlüktün joruq čüšüdu / (355) šundaq čirajliq / (356) šunu nurïda oqät qilïmïz / (357) kičï kündüz oqät qildu / (358) šuŋa bu juŕtta naman adäm joq / (359) hä mišï baj / bu jädä / (360) biri vilä birini kari joq / (361) šundaq oqät qildïγan jä bu / digïnikänduq / (362) hä / ämdi ras ettiŋiz / (363) mäma sizgä bala vulïmä / sizma maŋa ana volduŋuz / (364) mäma čin köŋnüm bilä bala vulimä / sizgä ämdi /(365) ätisi / ornudun qupup / üs kösläni[329] jup / ča eketu // (366) ča ni iči kitip / otuŕup eŋkin / hej ana / dividi / hä / dividi / (367) manda / taχsïdäg biŕnimi bosa äkiliŋ // (368) heliqï mäzim biŕ taχsïni äkäldi / nim qiluŕ ämdi bu / däp / (369) qaroladïn tativaγan näčči jüz danä dinaŕ vaŕ ämäsmu / (370) šunï putisïγa tügivaγan ämäsmu / juŕtüda / (371) šunï taza taχsigä liqqïtä qujup / ämdi munumu äqujuŋ[330] / ana / (372) az vusïmu / γïza biŕmä äkägili vuluŕ /(373) däp / taχsïγa biŕni qujuptu // (374) hä / ǰowapsïz balam / dividi / (375) ǰowumudum ana / (376) dašu patšani qïzï / altun sattaŕχanni köridïγan siväl[331] vuluŕmu? / däptu / (377) hä / buldu balam / däptu / (378) u küni ütü kitiptu // (379) taŋ ärtisi naštini qï kitip / äŋkin / hej ana / qača vosa biriŋ / digïnikänduq / (380) amdä altun biridïγä bali kän / däp čoŋaraq biŕ taχsa äkeptu // (381) nečči kün taχsïγa qačïlap biriväsä / tügä qamamdu / u / (382) šunda qïp / tügä qaptu // (383) tügä qaγandikin / u mäzim ändikin / hej balam / u biŕ patiša tuŕsa / biz digän biŕ gadaj tuŕsaq / (384) uni köridïγan biŕ ädäm ämäs u / (385) ämdi bunuŋγa siniki dunjajiŋ ba vüsa balam / sän hämmi dunjanï maŋγa kösät / (386) män saŋa ändi virimä / däptu // (387) buldu / män sini dunjaγa kümüp to γuzvitimä / sini / (388) čoŋ biŕ gühiri va ämäsmu // (389) čoŋ biŕ bazaγa verïp / biŕ dukanda ečivikänduqla / šu ti za vämämdu / unuŋγa / (390) čïqïp äŋkin / dunja mana mušu / (391) jäni ba / qoqma / digïnikänduq / (392) andaχ vüsa / biŕ dašun[332] jip alïni balam // (393) jip / mä zimlä igiŕgän jip / (394) taγa jiptäk igirip / burunlada majdaγ majdaγ äkirip čiläxlädä satïdïγan // (395) šu bazaγa kiŕgän jipni a γïlï turuptu // (396) jipni äp / aχšïmi heliqï qiz vala ravaqqa čiqïdu ämäsmu / (397) bu aχšïmi jipni uččïnï tutuväp / jiraχtïn hämmisini učini čiqiriip / päskä tutuväp turup / äŋkin ravaχni čoŕisigä majdaχ äpirip čiqïrivittu / (398) hämmisini čuvuvitip kittu // (399) heliqï qerï mäzim ba ämäsmu / billä jürüp šundaq qïldurivitiptu // (400) ätisi / ǰanwaŕ / heliqï qušqač vamu / käptäŕ vamu / haːmisi jipni uččïnï tutu kep / ravaqni tüšügigä apirip / heliqini balajdïγanγa tutuvitip / ravaqqa čiŕmap kümbittu / nuŕγun jipni // (401) taŋ aχšïmï äŋkin / äm qanda qïlmä ana? / digïnikä / (402) mušu jipni / jägä säŋgiläp tuŕγan hämmä učïnï qamival / (403) hämmisini qamïvep taŕtsaŋ / čüšü ketmidu äŋkin / (404) čiŕmivatqan nimä / hä -

329 *üs köslani* lit. 'the face and eyes', refers to 'face', but it mostly occurs as *üz közlani*.
330 *äqujuŋ* < *alip qojuŋ* < *alip qojuŋ* 'please just take'
331 *sivál* < Ar. *sebil* 'road, way'.
332 *dašun* < Chin. 大繩 *da-sheng* 'big rope'.



(353) And there is a tower with many steps over the city gate. (354) She stays at the top of the house and her glow lights up one day's (walking) distance from every step. (355) She is very beautiful. (356) We do business under her glow. (357) (That is why the people in this country) do business day and night. (358) There are no poor people in this country. (359) Here everybody is rich. (360) Nobody cares for the other one. (361) People do business like this in this place". (362) [The prince] said: "Now you have told me the truth. (363) I have become your child now, and you have become my mother. (364) Now I become your child heartfully." (365) The next day, the old woman got up, washed her face and served tea. (366) After the tea, [the prince] called: "Mom", and the Old woman replied: "Yes." (367) [The prince] said: "Please bring a dish." (368) The old woman brought a dish, wondering what he wanted to do. (369) You know, he has many hundreds dinar that he took from the blind men. (370) You know, he has carried those dinars in his girdle. (371) He loaded the dish full of them and said: "Please take these, mom. (372) Perhaps you can use them to buy food, though it is only a few." (373) He loaded the dish with them saying this. (374) [The old woman] said: "You are very kind, my child". (375) [The prince] said: "It is nothing, mom. (376) Is there any way to see the princess Altun Sattar Khan?" (377) [The old woman] said: "It is possible, my child." (378) That day passed by. (379) The next day morning, [the prince] finished eating his breakfast and asked: "O mom, please give me a bowl". (380) [The old woman] thought: "This child gives good gold", and brought a bigger dish. (381) Naturally, the gold will run out if he gives everyday like this. (382) Doing thus, [the gold] ran out. (383) After it had run out, that lady said: "O my child, she is a queen and we are poor people. (384) She is not a person we can look at. (385) If you have treasure, please show all of it to me. (386) Then I will give you my instruction (?)." (387) [The prince] said: "Well, I will cover you with treasure, making you satiated with it". (388) You know, he had a big jewel. (389) He went to a big bazaar and showed it at a big shop, and naturally they gave him money. (390) He came back and said: "This is the treasure. (391) I have more, please don't worry!" (392) [The old woman] said: "If so, let's buy a cord, my child" (393) That is the string that women spin. (394) Before, people used to spin it as thick as sack-lines, and sell them, carrying them in buckets. (395) [The prince] began to buy all cords in the bazaar. (396) He bought cords, you know, at night the girl comes to the tower. (397) That night [the prince] held one end of a cord, and disassembled the edges of all cords at a distance, brought them around the tower and left them there unravelled. (398) He unravelled all the cords and left. (399) You know, that old woman was also there; she came with him and had him do so. (400) The next day, living beings, namely sparrows, pigeons and other (birds) held the end of the cords, tied many cords to the holes of the tower, just leaving one end to hold. (401) The next evening he asked [the old woman]: "What should I do now, mom?" (402) [The old woman] said: "Please hold the cords by one end and just hang them to the ground. (403) If you hold all of them, the cords will not fall down. (404) You know, [the birds] have tangled all the ends of the cords. (405) [The old woman] said: "You may climb up the cords and can see her." (406) [The prince] said: "OK", and he tightly held up the end of the cords and climbed straight up there. (407) He found the girl sleeping. (408) He saw her and fell into love

(461) woj män / (462) kimla vosaŋ a qïŋya jan / (463) sän čiši ǰandäk qïlisäŋγu? / (464) jan a qïŋya / män čeppatimän / däp / (465) qïlišni tutup nimɨ qïγaŋkin / (466) hoj sän kim bulisä? / (467) mämma majdaγ bɨř vä däm baridi / (468) sini vä däŋ / mini vä däm / ikkisi oχšaš kä qaldi / (469) mini alïdïγan ädäm säŋγoχšajsä / (470) män tigidïγan ädäm säŋγoχšajsä[338] / (471) išigiŋni ečipaq / (472) sän kim bulïsä sän? / dividi / (473) šahi savul digänni oγlï män / (474) män patša / (475) šahi savul digän män / (476) sän aŋlɨγanmu? / digändikin / (477) miniŋ čušümdä majdaγ majdaγidi / dividi (/ 478) mini čušümdä ä kigigä oq tigividi / čišisi a qɨγa qarïmaj qeči ketti / (479) čiši ǰannï a majmä / homurumda a majmä däp vä dä qïγan / dividi / (480) män ä käkni kö mijmä däp vä dä qïγan / (481) anda vũsa / ikäjlän uχšaš kä qaptu / däptu / (482) šä dila čal daqa dumbaqnï däp / šä dila to qïldu ula / ändikin / (483) bɨř näččä zamalla ötkän mäłdä / patšanï oγli jetip / uh däptu / helïqï patšanï balәsïčo // (484) qïz / woj / nim bolduŋuz? / häǰäp čoŋ ah uruvattiŋïzγo? / (485) sizniŋ miniŋdin büläkmu bɨř jälädä ja riŋiz bami di? / (486) häǰäv čoŋ ah uřduŋuzγo? / dividi / (487) sizniŋdin bilāk ja rïm joq / didi / (488) nim däp ah urusïz ämisä? / dividi / (489) män ah uřmaj kim ah uřidu? / (490) män majnaγ majnaγ // (491) u helïqï beγɨγa čïqïp / atɨsïnï γäznɨsïnï tügɨtivatmɨdimu? / (492) tamγɨnï atәsï ikki gühäřgä daŋlap qo yan ämäsmu? // (493) atam mini šundaq jolγa säp qo yan / (494) šundaq qïp kä gän / bijägä / (495) ämdi mini künüm bijädä amdan avatïdu[339] / (496) ämdi / atam bilä anam qandaq kün avatidikin / däp ah uřdum / (497) sizniŋdin biläg jarïm joq / bo mɨsa / dividi / (498) woj / näččɨ mäłdin nim däp gä? qïmajsiz / (499) andaq vũsa berïp / atam bilä apamniki razïlïγïnï äp kilini / däptu / (500) ah uřmaŋ / jetip χatïřǰäm uχlaŋ / (501) ä tilikkä qupup maŋïni // (502) taŋ atqanda / qančɨ jüz äskäř ep ujigä maŋïdaŋγa ǰamduγan boldï // (503) qupup käp ändikin / ämdi kitiparïmïz / atam bilä apamniki χïzmitini qïlïmïz däp / (504) män kä gɨčä ǰäŋgalmu ǰäŋgal kä gän / (505) ämdi nä gä vadïŋ? disä / (506) palanï jä gä / (507) nä vilä maŋdïŋ? ǰäŋgal vilä / disäm umu bɨř gäpkã / (508) ämdi mini jolčɨlap äp maŋsaŋ / män bilmɨgändikin / (509) palani jä pustanï jä / da jä palani jä palani jurut däp / kürüpiräk kätmimänmu / dividi / (510) hä buldu / däp čoŋ jol vilä maŋdï // (511) čoŋ jol vilä meŋip / andin häř bɨř juřtqa vaγanda bu palani jurut / palani patšanï juřti däp / majnaq äp maŋdï // (512) šu mällädä / heškim joq bɨř bazaγa kïřsä / (513) ädämlä čüšidïγan däŋlä joq / däŋǰalamu / (514) säl tuřivikänduq / bɨř qeri mä zim päjda voptu // (515) häj / bu jurutnu ädɨmi nä ? kätti? / (516) čušini disäk hečkim joq bijädä / (517) däŋ nädä / jen bɨř nimɨsi nä dä bilamavatimiz / dividi / (518) bu jurutniki patšasi bügün mini bɨř süzüm ba / (519) šu süzümgä söz janduřγan ädämgä mã üzümni qubul qïlïmä däp / ädämni jïγïp šä gä äkätti / (520) nim qïsa / bɨř uγul palanï juřuttun / patšanï baləsï käptu / män süzüŋgä / män söz jandurïmä däp / (521) söz janduřsaŋ üzämgä qubul qïlïmä / igäř jädura mɨsaŋ kallaŋni čepip avatïmä / (522) šunuŋγa razi vulamsä? / dividi / (523) razi vulïmä / dividi / (524) šunuŋγa χäχläni jïγïp äkätti / (525) hili kildu / χä?lä / (526) šu patšanï hükümi vilä kätti / digändikin / (527) bɨřdäm oltuřivikän / käptu // (528) hoj

338 *säŋγoχšajsä* < ? * *saŋγa oχšajsän*.
339 *avatidu* 'have been taking' < * *alip yatadur*. The SU corresponding form *elivatidu* is transitive (e.g. *künini elivatidu*), but *avatidu* was used here as intransitive.



"Who are you then?" (461) "This is me." (462) [The prince] shouted: "Return whoever you are. (463) You are likely a female. (464) Go back, otherwise I will kill you." (465) He stayed there holding the sword. (466) [The prince asked again:] "Who are you then?" (467) [The princess replied]: "I also have made a similar promise. (468) Obviously, your promise is the same as mine. (469) You are likely to be the man who will marry me, (470) and you are likely the man with whom I will marry. (471) Please open your door. (472) Who are you then?" (473) [The prince replied:] "I am the son of King Savul. (474) I am a king. (475) I am the king Savul. (476) Have you heard [about him]?" (477) Then the princess told him her dream. (478) [The prince] said: "In my dream the male (deer) was hit and the female (deer) ran away without caring for the male. (479) Then I promised not to marry any females for my whole life." (480) [The princess said:] "I have promised not to see males." (481) [The prince] said: "If so, our promises prove to be the same." (482) Then they ordered the beating of the kettledrum, and held their wedding there. (483) Some time later, the prince heaved a sigh as he slept. (484) The princess asked: "What happened to you? Why do you sigh so deeply? (485) Do you have another lover besides me? (486) Why do you sigh so deep?" (487) [The prince said:] "I have no other lover besides you." (488) "If so, why do you sigh?" (489) "Who must sigh if I do not sigh? (490) The story is such-and-such." (491) You know, he had stayed at the garden and spent his father's treasure. (492) His father has left his seal for two jewels. (493) "My father has sent me here. (494) I have come here by doing so. (495) I am spending good days here. (496) I sighed wondering what is happening to my parents. (497) I have no lover besides you." (498) [The princess] said: "Why didn't you tell me about it earlier? (499) If this is so, let's go and obtain your parents' approval." (500) She said: "Don't sigh, please sleep peacefully. (501) Let's go tomorrow morning." (502) They planned to leave bringing many hundreds soldiers when day dawned. (503) [The prince] came and said: "We are going to be in my parents' service. (504) I came here through the jungle. (505) If someone asks me: 'Where did you go?' (506) I may say: 'Here and there. (507) I find it to be problematic if I answer: "I came through the jungle" when they ask me: 'Which road did you take?' (508) Please bring me now via normal roads since I don't know them. (509) It is better if we travel while discussing this is such-and-such a place, and that is such-and-such a country, by seeing some places. (510) [The princess] agreed, and they travelled on broad roads. (511) They travelled on broad roads, and [she] always said "this country is such-and-such", and "this is the country of such-and-such a king" when they arrived somewhere. (512) One day, they entered a bazaar where nobody was. (513) They found there were no guesthouses, naturally, also no innkeepers. (514) They waited for a little while, and an old woman came. (515) [They asked:] "Where have the people of this country gone? (516) We wanted to stay here, but there is nobody here. (517) We can't find a guesthouse, or other people at all. (518) [The old woman answered]: "Today the princess of this country said: 'I have a question, (519) I will accept (= marry) whoever answers my question'", that is why the people gathered. (520) Reportedly, a boy heard this and came here stating that he was the prince of such-and-such a country, and saying: 'I will answer your question'. (521) (Then) the princess said: 'If you answer the

qa daχ voldï? / (529) woj / u patšanï balәsïnï kallɨsïnï avatti // (530) šunuŋ vilä däŋǰa keptu // (531) sän amdan tuǰula qïl / bu ädämläni / (532) biz jol meŋïp kä gə̃ χäq / (533) män dašu patšajïŋlani süzigä söz jandurup / (534) män aɣaš kitidan ajaldin jen bɨřsi varikə̃ / bijädä / (535) šunïmu ävalaj / däp / (536) šä gä meŋïptu // (537) maŋɣɨnikänduq / χä?lä / saraŋ bɨřnimimu nimä bu? / (538) šundaq katta äjal tuřsa / män äkitidan äjaldin bɨři varikän digini qandaχ gäp bu // (539) toχsan toquz voɣɨnikä / čapqan jigit / äm bunï čapsa jüz vuldo / (540) χä?lä qaptu / (541) bu beripzä / bɨř tä bɨři varikä / šu täbɨřni čeptu // (542) u bašta / baɣda saz čep ụsta vukätkə̃ bŭɣaŋkin / helïqï täbɨřnimu bɨřimigä kä turup ča ɣan čeqï va / (543) ča ɣandikin / helïqï patša tïŋšap peqïp / jürɨgi güppitä qïptidä bunïki // (544) im / bu jaman bɨřmɨmu nimä bu ämdi / dä bɨř ädämni čïqïrïptu // (545) bɨřsi bɨř tämbɨřni čaldu / (546) u nä din kä gän bŭsa šägä kätsun / (547) faŋčɨni[340] qa mɨɣan bŭsa män jol faŋčɨni bɨřimä / (548) mal vuɣɨzi qa mɨɣan bŭsa / mal vuɣɨzi virimä / (549) öz juřtuɣa jansun / (550) däšädiki baʔšlani kö mäptimu bu? / (551) däp ädäm čïqïrïptu // (552) u ädäm čïqïp / waj / patšajïm majna majna däp čïqařdï / (553) siz nä din käldiŋiz? / (554) siz jansɨŋïz voɣïdäk / (555) haǰitiŋiz vŭsa / puliŋiz joq / neniŋiz joq vŭsa patšajïm bägidäk / (556) sizni jansun de du / dividi / (557) hej / pulum ba / nenïm ba / hemmɨ nimäm ba / (558) tüšüp nim däp söz qïldu / (559) süzümgä söz qajtuřsa üzümni qubul qïlïmä däp / (560) iškiř ö gä kiriväp / nenï vommɨsa nam birimä / pulï joq vŭsa pul virimä diginni / (561) nenï joq / pulï joq ädäm kämmi du bijägä / (562) qïčař / digɨnikänduq / (563) čïqïptu / (564) čïqïp / majnaɣ majnaɣ / digɨnikänduq / (565) süzüŋ vŭsa e t / (566) nam bilä / pul vilä sini čatəɣïŋ vomisun / (567) nenï joq / pulï joq ädäm bijägä kä mi du / (568) mämmu bɨř patšani balәsi / (569) mämmu bɨř patša / (570) süzüŋni ejt / mə̃ a ɣɨlï käldim / digɨnikə̃ / (571) qïz turup / meniŋ süzüm šu / bu a lämdä bɨř ǰüp činař turuř / ol činařnu on ikki šeχï turuř / (572) hař šeχïnï tüvidä bäʔštin jupuřmaq turuř / (573) unu mügɨsi / kün nurïda pišidïɣɨnï ikki danä pišidu / kičɨsi tünnu nurïda pišidan üš da n turuř / (574) u nä turuř? / dividi / (575) sini süzüŋ šumu? / dividi / (576) šu / dividi / (577) mušunu jandurřsam üzäŋni qubul qïlamsə̃? / (578) waj / qïlïmän / dividi / (579) ataŋ vamu? / (580) ba / (581) apaŋ vamu? / (582) ba / (583) qïčař / dividi / (584) atәsï apәsï varikänduq uniki // (585) u atәsï apәsïni jenïɣa kirip / bɨř uɣul majnaɣ majnaɣ dävatidu / dividi / (586) atәsï vilä apәsï özliřni qïqoɣan wädisi vuɣandikin / čïqmamdu // (587) čïqqandikin / bu mušundaɣ mušundaɣ di duɣu? / (588) šu ras / (589) šunuŋɣa söz jandurřsaŋ üzini qubul qïlïdu / (590) bizmu razi vulïmïz digändikin / (591) razi vulamsilä? / (592) woj bulïmïz / digändikin / (593) andaχ vŭsa / bügün gaχ vu kätti / (594) bŭjnätä jurutnu ädɨmini qïšqɨrïp galivaŋ qïsaŋla[341] / (595) andin taŋnätɨmu galivaŋ qïsaŋla / jurutnu ädɨmini qïšqɨrïp / (596) bügün e tsam / bɨřsi ata bɨřsi ana / bɨřsi qizï / (597) bɨřsi qazan / bɨřsi čümüč / bɨřsi tuwaχtakla bɨřmä bop qaldu / bu / (598) taŋnätä jurutnï qïšqařtïŋna / (599) jurutnu ädɨmi mujda qarap tuřsa / ändikin män bɨřdin bɨřdin ǰugap qïlïmä / dividi / (600) änzikin / buldu däp / ä tilikkä ädäm qïšqırdan bop jini käldi // (601) däp kevidi / χä?lä digän gäp söz vilä vu kätti /

340 *faŋčɨni* ACC of *faŋčän* < Chin. 房錢 *fang-qian* 'rent', here simply means 'money'.
341 *galivaŋ qïl-* 'to take someone's time', usually used in deregotary sense, but here it has a commendatory meaning



question, I will accept you, if not, I will cut off your head. (522) Do you agree to this?' (523) He answered: 'Yes'. (524) Therefore, she gathered the people there. (525) The people will return soon. (526) They left on the king's order." (527) They sat for a while and the people returned. (528) "What was the result?" (529) "She cut off the prince's head." (530) At that time, the innkeeper came back. (531) [The prince said]: "Please take care of my people very well. (532) We have come a long distance. (533) I will answer your princess's question. (534) I found another lady I should bring with me. (535) Let me bring her too." (536) Saying this, he went there. (537) He left, but the people [began to converse]: "Isn't he a crazy person? (538) He has such a beautiful wife, why does he say: 'There is another lady that he has to bring back?'" (539) Reportedly, the number of youths who have been killed by her has reached ninety-nine, and it would be a hundred if she kills him. (540) His companions left. (541) He went there, and played his *tambur*, it is told that he had a *tambur*. (542) It is likely that he played *tambur* well, since he played musical instruments in the garden and became a master of them. (543) Having heard his music, that princess's heart was moved. (544) She thought: "He is likely a clever guy", and sent her servant. (545) "Somebody is playing *tambur* (over there). (546) Let him return to where he has come from. (547) I will pay his rent, if he has no money for it. (548) I will give him fodder if he has no fodder left. (549) Let him return to his own country. (550) Didn't he see the heads there?" (551) Saying this, she sent for his servant. (552) The servant came and said: "Hey, my king sent me here saying thus-and-so. (553) Where have you come from? (554) It is better if you return. (555) Certainly, she will give you money and bread if you don't have money and bread. (556) She asked you to return." (557) [The prince] said: "O man, I have money, and I also have bread, I have everything. (558) Let her come down and ask her questions. (559) She said: 'I will accept whoever answers my question'. (560) Look, now she is staying inside (her palace) and saying: 'I will give bread if he has no bread, I will give money if he has no money.' (561) One who has no bread and money, would not come here. (562) Call her here." (563) Then she came. (564) She repeated her words again. (565) [The prince] said: "Please just ask your questions. (566) Do not care about money and bread. (567) One who had no money would not come here. (568) I am the son of a king, too. (569) I am also a king. (570) Ask me your question, I came to marry you." (571) The girl waited for a while and said: "My question is: There is a Chinese parasol in this world, and that Chinese parasol has twelve branches, (572) there are five leaves under every branch, (573) it has two fruits that ripen in the sunshine, and three fruits that ripen at night, (574) how can that be? (575) [The prince] said: "Is this your question?" (576) She said: "Yes". (577) [The prince] asked: "Will you accept me, if I answer this question?" (578) She said: "Yes, I will accept you." (579) [The prince asked:] "Do you have a father? (580) "Yes, I have." (581) "Do you have a mother?" (582) "Yes, I have." (583) [The prince] said: "Please call them." (584) Reportedly, her parents were also there. (585) She went to her parents' and informed them: "A boy has told me this and that." (586) Her father and mother came with her since they had made that promise. (587) [The prince asked them] when they came: "She said this-and-that, is it true?" (588) [Her parents] said: "That is true. (589) She will marry with you if you

patšanïčo // (602) dašnaq qïp / u küni käš voldï / (603) aχšimi käš buvidï / helïqï qïz vala bïlăk kijimläni bïšiŋčă[342] kijimläni kijip / helïqï jă gă kăldi // (604) u üzi dă? qujup / ajɨγï nimă / nimă ămäs / bïlamadïγɨnikă unï / (605) bïlivelïšqa qïγan bïřmikănduq // (606) u kăp / mujdaχ otuřγɨnikănduq / (607) paraŋ selïšip käš vuγan mällădă / patša jatimă dăp turivikănduq / (608) helïqï qïz vala beššini tïqïptu // (609) kim? / (610) măn jatïmă dăp turivikănduq / (608) helïqï qïz vala beššini tïqïptu // (609) kim? / (610) măn jatimă dăp turivikănduq / (608) helïqï qïz vala beššini tïqïptu // (609) kim? / (610) măn jatïm

(654) tambalni sep birip / üzi bijägä tüšüp oltudi / (655) ämdi män šu sözni e:tsam / siz üziŋizni qubul qïlamsiz? / däp e:tpädi / (656) e:tpägändikin amdan biliväp / qupup qečï kätti u / äntikin // (657) adämliri a:qïdin qojlap nimi qïyan mäldä / hoj jeni kiliŋla / nim qïlislä qojlap uni / (658) ätigändä kö:gän dašu šu / (659) taŋnätä äkätsäkla tügimämdu uni / (660) qojlimaŋna uni / digändikin / (661) hä däp jeni qaptu ädämliri // (662) ä:tisi nuřyun ädäm käp / täxni[346] išigini uřyidäk // (663) hoj nim boldi? / (664) patšajim qïšqïřdu / süzin a:sun däp / diginikänduq / (665) ba:majmiz / diginikänduq / (666) astä barïmïz disä / üsti üstigä adäm kä:gidäk // (667) bilivaldï ämäsmu / (668) bilivayam-bilämma / ištan köjnäk qulid tuřsa unuŋki // (669) šunuŋ vilän / ča ma ičip / jurutnï jiyip apirip / ämdi sän sözüŋni al / diginikänduq / (670) män süzümni a:majmä / (671) män äkätkän sözni / (672) sän vä:däŋgä gupa qïlamsä qïmamsä? / digäŋkin / (673) waj / vä:dämgä gupa qïlmä / (674) andaχ vüsa / miniŋmu süzümgä söz janduralamsä? / dividi // (675) hej / da jolda qaptu u / mišädä lazim buldan biřmidi u / (676) mišädä däp qujaj / šunda vosimu // (677) hä sänmu qïpaq süzüŋni / dividi / (678) män üjümdin čïqip / däšäläni peqïrap / mäšägä jiti kä:gičä / ikki ülümdin qutuldum / (679) u nä turuř? / didi / (680) biřsi / attïm qutuldum / biřsi čöktüm qutuldum / bu nä turuř / dividi / (681) sän nimini attiŋ / nädä čöxtüŋ / buni mã qandaχ bilimä / (682) hä / jenim gipiŋ vamu? / däp / (683) šu jädin daqa dumbaqni čäp / jenä biř to:qïldi / (684) jänä to:qïp / bu atanasï šunda awarä qï:qaldi digändikin / köz qařni toq maŋdi bu // (685) attïm qutuldi digini / atni jä? kättiyu / biř jolwas / attïm qutuldum digän šu // (686) čöktüm qutuldum digän / heliqï bayda altun sattařχan bunuŋ uyulluyï bilinip qep / kölgä üzini etivitip / čüküp öltuřdu däp jiylividi / (688) siniŋdäk / tul χutunmu tuldu[347] / bu jurutta / (689) čoŋla biř jurutkã / bu / (690) biz berip / biř küčidä biř öj tep o:tuřvasaqla bumamdu / (691) däpla / jatqan jepinčisini biř ayamčiya čügüp / a:qidiki biř jägä ba:sa / biř äski öj varikän / (692) šä:gä jitiperip / šu öjni tüzäp / šu öjdä jetiptu / (693) heškimmu istäp kä:mäptu // (694) šundaq qïp / čüküp kä:gä iš šu jädä jitip tüzülü qaptu // (695) dutaya usta ämäsmu / aχšamya bilindirmäptu / (696) aχšimi kätkičä / hämmä qïzvallani suya säp äkitidan qïzvalikänduq / (697) suya sayanda / u uyul vala vuyaŋkin / bilini qa:mamdu / (698) šä:din čüküp qečip čïqïp kätkinikã / (699) šunda qïp qutulu qa:yan nimä / (700) čöktüm qutuldum / attïm qutuldum digini šukã // (701) berip / atanisini daŋqïladin mö:rläni čïqïrip / najti čoŋ toj qïp qa:yan / (702) mã qupup jeni kä:gän / išigimni minip / (703) ula nä:lišvatidiyinini bila:ma mã // (704) bu hämmisi kitapta ba / (705) biz bulani mullila:ya jadlitip tiŋšivayan ädämlä biz //

346 *täx* refers to 'guesthouse', but the etymology is unclear.
347 *tuldu* 'might have many', comprised of *tola* 'many' + COP *dur*.



and gave them (to him). (654) She took off her trousers and sat down at a lower place. (655) [The prince asked again]: "Will you accept me if I tell you the answer now?" and then he told her the answer. (656) She got to know the answer well, stood up and left. (657) His servants ran after her, but [the prince] called to them: "Come back, why do you run after her? (658) She is the girl whom we have seen this mourning. (659) We just need to bring her with us tomorrow. (660) Do not run after her." (661) Then his servants said: "Yes" and came back. (662) The next day, many people came and knocked on the guesthouse door. (663) "What happened?" (664) "Our king calls you and asks you to give the answer." (665) [The prince] said: "We won't go." (666) He said: "We will go slowly", reportedly, people came there one after another. (667) You know, she got to know (the answer), (668) but her trousers and dress were in his hands, as you know, though she got to know the answer. (669) Then they had breakfast, gathered the people and said: "Give your answer." (670) [The prince] said: "I will not answer. (671) I already have given my answer." (672) [She said:] "Wouldn't you keep your promise?" (673) "Of course I will keep my promise. (674) Can you also answer my question?" (675) Hey, I find I have forgotten a little part (of the story) that should be used here. (676) Anyway, let me go on. (677) [The princess] said: "You may also say your words." (678) "I have escaped from two deaths since I have left my home and until coming here. (679) What were they then? (680) Once I shot a gun and escaped, the other time I nearly drowned but escaped, what does this mean then?" (681) [The princess] said: "How I could know, what did you shoot, where did you sink?" (682) [The prince] said: "Do you have anything else to say now?" (683) Then they beat a kettledrum, and held another wedding there. (684) He held another wedding, and then continued his way having been satisfied very much, since he has made troubles for his parents before. (685) "I shot and escaped" means "I shot a tiger and escaped", you know a tiger ate his horse; (686) "I drowned and escaped" refers to this story: At the garden, Altun Sattar Khan learned he was a boy, and he escaped from the garden by jumping into the lake. (687) Then, he went to his mother, and his mother cried: "Now they will kill us if they capture us." (688) He said: "In this country there are many widows like you, I assume. (689) I found this is a big country. (690) How about we find a house in a street and stay there?" (691) Saying this, they tied up their bedding and clothes with a rope, and went to a back street, and found an old house there. (692) Reportedly, they got there, arranged the house, and stayed there. (693) Nobody came to search for them. (694) Doing thus, the matter of escaping by drowning was also ended by staying there. (695) You know, he is a master at playing dutar, and this did not let him feel alone evenings. (696) Reportedly, (Altun Sattar Khan) requests her girls to enter water before leaving [from the garden]. (697) Naturally, she learned he was a boy when she asked the girls to enter the water. (698) It is told that he escaped by drowning in [the lake]. (699) He escaped by doing that. (700) What he said: "I shot and escaped, and I drowned and escaped", just refer to this. (701) He took back the deposited seal of his parents, held a big wedding, and left. (702) I have come back riding my donkey. (703) I do not know what they are doing now. (704) All the stories can be found in the book. (705) We have heard this as recited by the mullahs.

## 5.2 Texts from Tuyuq

19. äshabuł käb

(1) äsli jämäm-padišasi[348] / hazir jämäm-baγu // jämäm-padišasiniki oγlï jämlijχa mäkselmejna käšputät kašapät junus azerpet junus bäš uγul bu // (2) bulanïŋ tüšidä bišarät voγammu χudanï istäŋnä däʔp // bäšäjlän čiqïp ä tɨsi / biz χudanï istejmiz däʔp üjidin čikätkän χäχ bu // (3) čiqïp juŕut juŕutqa kep / mušundaq maŋγanikin / aχɨrɨ bu deqɨjanusqa kiłdu // mawu kö ni šäŕ astïŋγa // (4) deqjanusqa kä sä / deqjanus bu älpätta vilän suqušup / šähäŕni sim toŕ vilä toŕłɨvatqan nimikän // (5) toŕłɨsa[349] / duŕduŕ šu jädin üzüp tüšüp tuŕγan // (6) mušundaχ künlädä kägändikin / änkinzä biz χudanï istimiz digenkin / deqɨjanus mana män χuda däp čïqïdu bu // (7) čïqqandikin / bu bäš bala ändin bununγa išinip / unda vüsa bununγa išinini däp / däqjanusqa išinidikin bula // (8) ämdi bununŋ bɨŕ išändüridïγan järi / išlidïγan waχtïda aχšəmï balәla šinliγa[350] jülinip o tuŕsa bu γuǰamla / däqjanus taza oŋ qol vizir soŋ-qol vizir čikijusul pikijosul[351] akawuŕ beglɨŕini[352] jïγïp / qïmɨŕ ojnajdikin bu // (9) dänšiŋ[353] ačədu bu / χänsulanɨŋ dänšiŋ däp bɨŕɨmisi[354] vaγu // (10) šunï / äšägä dänšiŋ ečip qïmaŕ ojnajdikän // (11) qïmaŕ ojnüsa / u waχtïdïma puzu[355] joq // (12) bɨŕ qara müššügi varikän // (13) müššüxnuŋ vešïγa / u waχtïdïma puzu[355] joq // (12) bɨŕ qara čïraχnï ep qojsa // müššüx jïmmite o tuŕ pïŕdikin qarap // heliqï čigit jeγini qujup / qara čïraχnï ep qojsa // müššüx jïmmite o tuŕ pïŕdikin qarap // (14) o tuŕγandikin / bula taŋ atqïče qïmaŕ ojnajdikän // (15) šädin äŋkin / bu müšüx bɨŕ ǰaŋva čïraχnï kütürüp tuŕpägändikin / ras χudamikin däp / bula säł päł išini qep / bɨŕnečče zaman išläp kitidu bula // (16) deqɨjanusno išini qïpčo // (17) išläp tuŕγandikin / än bɨŕ küni / jämlijχa digɨni änkin / išqa čïqqan vaχta / čuŋŋï / inila äm bu χuda dä vatïdu // (18) jänä bijädä ja γaŋ-χudaγa išläp qo manï / (19) bu ras χuda vüsa / bügün tam buzγan waχtïda / čašqan čïχsa / čašqandin bɨŕsini tutuŋna[356] // (20) tussaŋla / jäŋni ičige tïqïvep / bunï aχšɨmi bula taza qïziqqan waχtïda asta qujpïŕpaqïnï // (21) ras χuda vüsa / šunu bujruγï vilän müšüx jïm tuŕpïŕdu // (22) ägäŕ ja γan büsa / čïraχ pɨraχni jä gä uruvitip jügürüšidu[357] čašqannï aqïdin / digendikin // (23) bula šu küni bɨŕ tamlanï buzup / bɨŕ čašqannï tutuptu // (24) tamaχni ičiväp / bulamu jïγïlïšïp / qïmaŕnï ojnap otuŕγandikin / (25) asta kip / jämlïχa digen čuŋï čašqannï šillisini majnaχ čïmdɨγïnikänduq / majnaq kisiŕ kisiŕ qïlγɨnikänduq / müšüχ majnaχ majnaχ qïp tuŕγɨdäk // (26) šundaχ qarap tuŕγandikin / astala jäŋdin qujpïriptu // (27) a / čïraχ pɨraχni kömtürüp / paqïlaχlap qïmaŕnïŋ taza qïzïχ jirigä kägändä / čašqannï qojlap kitiptu bu //

348 Here should be an error for *junan* <Yūnān "Greek", since in other sources we found mostly *junan*. See Eckmann 1966: 262; G-Naskalı 1985: 19.1, etc.
349 *toŕłüsa* < *torla-* "to weave" + COND *–sa*.
350 *šinli* < Chin. 行李 *xing-li* "luggage, baggage".
351 *čikijusul pikijosul* "officials".
352 *akawuŕ beg* "official", for *akawuŕ* see vocabulary.
353 *dänšiŋ* < Chin. 占星 *zhan-xing* "star omen".
354 *bɨrɨmisi* < *bir nemisi*.
355 *puzu* < Chin. 鋪子 *pu-zi* "store".
356 *tutuŋna* 2 Pl. IMPER of *tut-* "to capture", SU *tutuŋlar*.
357 *jügürüšidu* "they run", usually it qualifies a plural subject, but here it qualifies the singular subject.



19. The Companions of the Cave

(1) Originally there were five sons of the king of Yemen, Yemen, as it exists today: Yämliha, Mäkselmeyna, Käshputät, Kashapät Yunus and Azerpet Yunus.[358] (2) It must be that it was revealed to them in a dream: "Search for God!" so the next day the five of them left their home saying: "We will search for God." (3) They set out and travelled to different countries; they travelled and travelled, and finally came to the city of Daqianus',[359] that is the Lower Old City. (4) It so happened that Daqianus[360] had the city criss-crossed with a wire entanglement since he had been fighting with Alpatta[361] when the five brothers arrived there. (5) Although the city was surrounded by wire, [some people] still entered it by cutting the wire in places. (6) The [five brothers] came at this time stating: "We search for God." Daqianus appeared claiming: "I am God." (7) Thereupon, the five brothers believed his words, and said: "If this is so, let's believe him", and they believed in Daqianus. (8) Daqianus had a convincing point in that he played a gambling game gathering his right- and left-hand vezirs as well as his other high officials, and they, these saints, sat at one side during work times, retiring to bed in the evenings. (9) He played Denshing, you know, the Chinese have a gambling game called Denshing. (10) Reportedly, he played Denshing there. (11) For there was no gambling hall at that time. (12) Reportedly, Daqianus had a black cat, (13) and they put an oil-lamp on the cat's head filling the oil-lamp with cottonseed oil, and the cat sat in service of them just looking around. (14) They would gamble until the dawn, and the cat sat there. (15) They [the brothers] work for a rather long time (wrongly) believing that he might be a real God since this cat, an animal, holds a lamp for him. (16) You see, they work for Daqianus. (17) When they were serving for him, one day during work time, the one named Yämliha, the oldest, said: "Brothers, now he is claiming he is God. (18) Anyway, we shouldn't work here for a false God. (19) If he is a real God, today capture a mouse when you pull down a wall. (20) When you have captured one, let's hide the mouse in our sleeves, and release it quietly when they are gambling intently. (21) If he is a real God, the cat will stay silent on his order, (22) if he is a false God, the cat will run after the mouse throwing off the lamp and other things." (23) Reportedly, they pulled down a wall somewhere and captured a mouse that day. (24) Daqianus and his vezirs had their supper, gathered together and began gambling. (25) Yämliha, the oldest, stealthily came in and pinched the neck of the mouse, the cat looked around when the mouse peeped. (26) Just as the cat is looking around, he released (the mouse) slowly from his sleeves. (27) [The cat] ran after the mouse, throwing the lamp and other things down just when they are gambling with great enthusiasm. (28) The room became

358 The names of the five brothers in this text differ from those in other sources, moreover the names of third and sixth brothers are missing. Cf. Jourdan 1983: 83 footnote 4.
359 Original: *däqjanus* < Daqyānūs, name of an old city in Turfan, it is also called *köna šär asti* lit. "lower old city" by the local Uyghurs.
360 Here *Daqianus* is the name of a ruler, it was also mentioned in other versions of this story (Eckmann 1966: 262-263; Jourdan 1983: 149).
361 Presumably refers to Sultan Alpata Khoja, see Mannerheim 1969: 359; Saguchi 1995: 133-134.

(28) qaraŋyu qivvittu[362] öjni ičini // (29) buzuvittu ulanï qïmarlirini // (30) buzuvatqandikin / änkinzä / bu χuda ämäskin / (31) bu jädin qečiš kiräk ämdi // (32) rastin χudanï tapmɨsaχ bommadu // (33) šundaχ däpla / šädin änkinzä ä tɨsi tuχuj čilliɣan mälläda / čapannï mürisigä säp / jatɨɣïdïn čiqïp maŋïdu ula / mušu tujuχ tiräpkä // (34) tujuχ tiräpkä maŋɣandikin / u waχtïda / bu ikki tal hämmɨsi ot su // (35) haqajätlä tüšüvatqan däl diräχ // (36) mušu tüɣrü karïzda / javanus junus digän qojčï / äsli däqjanusnuŋ bäš jüz qujni baqqan // (37) serïq it / qojnï iti / äräpčä qïtmïr[363] digän šu // (38) äräpčä qïtmïr didiɣu / itni? // (39) bu it / qojnï billä muhapizät qïp turɣan nimä // (40) bu bäš jigit / qarɨsa šundaq qavul balladä oχšaš // (41) bula kep / unuŋ vilä paraŋdɨšip o turɣandikin / (42) äŋkin / nägä maŋdïŋïzla[364] // digändikin / (43) χudanï istäp kitparimiz // digändikin / (44) andïn / bäš jüz qojnï hajdaviripla / mämu maŋaj sizlä vilän qušulup // däp / (45) javanus junus qetïlïp / altɨ voldï bula // (46) altejlä maŋɣandikin / a:qïdïn it jügürmämdu // (47) it ägišip maŋɣandikin / bu it digän ädäm kä:sä havšip tujɣun sep qujdu // (48) jänä bɨrsi / bunuŋ jizidin[365] bilivaldu // (49) bizni a:qïmïzdïn ädäm qojlap kilši mumkin // (50) šunuŋ üčün / itni qojlivatïnï // däp / (51) itni baš küzigä urup qojlüsa / it unümaj miŋipla turɣandikin / (52) ämdi puttïnɨ kisiŋna bunuŋ / däptu // (53) itniŋ töt putïnï kisivatqandikin / (54) it dügülünüp / bïr parčä tuppɨnï toɣutu[366] / tučup kägändikin a:qïdïn / (55) ämdi kičik jäs čïqïrïp qujud disäk / ämdi dugulunup teχimu čoŋ jäs qïp / bu bilindirip qo:ɣïdäk / däp / (56) an / itni jinnɨɣa baɣandikin / (57) alla taʔla zuwan birip itqa / (58) silä istigän χudanï mäː istimimämmu / didu it // (59) änkin / šädä bula alla taʔlaɣa tüvä qïp / biz nahäq mušunü putïnɨ kisi qujuptïmïz / (60) biz bu itni toš[367] qï qujdu däptimiz / (61) bumu χudanï isti:mä[368] dävatsa // (62) šundaχ däpla / mü:rügä arïtïp itni töt puti vilän / bijägä kiłdu bula // (63) bijägä kilištä / aš waχtï vilä kiłduɣu bula // (64) aš waχtï vilä käsä / ɣar / taɣniŋ tüšügi turɣandikin / mišädä panalɨnïnï / bizä arɨmalnï[369] inila / däp (65) tüšükkä kïrdu bula // (66) kirip taza qattïq bïr uχlaptu bula // (67) uχlɨsa / bïr waχtïda ujχun paqïnï däp ujχansa / taza pišiŋgä jeqïn bïr waχ voptu // (68) čajdin kijin kägän ädämlä // (69) woj ämdi pišin bo qaptu // (70) quršaχla ečiptu inila // (71) bizä tamaq ol ičini / däp (72) qarəsa / nam-pammu joχ // (73) bu qašqaŋ-χäχ turša // (74) šunuŋ vilän / jidïɣan bïrmä bo:məɣandikin / pul mul ba:mu jiniŋlada / digändikin // (75) a išlɨgän pul va ämäsmu / däqjanusnu jinda // (76) puldïn jïɣïš qïp / bizä pulnï čïqïrïptu inilïri // (77) ändikin / bu pulnï äp / jämlejχa digän čuŋï astïn bazɨrïɣa barďu // (78) burun astïn bazɨrï / ašχɨna navajχɨnïlanï tunujdu ämäsmu / iš qïp turɣandikin // (79) šägä berïp / mäm-bizä nam-pan

362 *qïvvittu* ← *qilivitiptu* 'made (dark)'.
363 *qïtmïr* < Ar. Qitmīr, name of the dog which went in the cave and slept there together with the Companion of the Cave. See Jourdan 1983: 18, 92 etc.; G-Naskali 28.6 and p. 89; Brendemoen 2002, II: Nr. 46.10 (*kitmir*).
364 *maŋdïŋïzla* 2nd person POL form.
365 *jizidin* 3d person POSS ABL of *jaz* 'footprint', SU *izidin*.
366 *toɣutu* CONV of *toɣut-* 'to raise dust'.
367 *toš* shortened form for *teviš /tïviš* 'sound'.
368 *isti:mä* 'I search for ...', 1sg intraterminal form of *istä-* 'to search for'.
369 *arïmalnï* 'let's take a rest', SU *aram alajli*.



dark. (29) Their game was ruined. (30) Then [the five brothers] said: "This is not God, (31) we should leave here now. (32) We have to find the real God." (33) Saying this, the next day, at approximately the time the cocks crowed, they left their dwelling[370] and walked towards Tuyuq, putting their coats on their shoulders. (34) They walked towards Tuyuq; reportedly, at that time all around Ikki Tal were grasslands. (35) There were luxuriant trees. (36) At Tughru Karez[371] there was a shepherd named Yavanus Yunus, who tented five hundred sheep for Daqianus. (37) A yellow dog, a dog for shepherding, is called Qitmïr in Arabic. (38) Dog is *qitmïr* in Arabic, isn't it? (39) This dog was guarding the sheep with him. (40) He looked at them [the brothers], and found the five of them to be all very strong boys. (41) They came, and chatted with him. (42) He asked: "Where are you going?" (43) They answered: "We are travelling, searching for God". (44) The shepherd immediately drove his five hundred sheep away, and said: "Let me join you." (45) They became six when joined by Yavanus Yunus. (46) The dog ran after them, you see, when the six of them walked. (47) Seeing that the dog had followed them, they said: "The dog barks when it sees someone, so people will notice us; (48) secondly, people will know (we have passed through here) from its footprints. (49) Probably somebody will pursue us. (50) Therefore, let's send the dog away." (51) They attacked the head and face of the dog, but it still followed them. (52) Then, they said: "Cut off its legs!" (53) They cut the dog's four legs off. (54) The dog rolled (around the ground) raising dust, and rolled after them. (55) [They said:] "We worried that it would make small foot-prints, now it is making bigger prints by rolling, people will find us if it does this." (56) Then they went near the dog. (57) Reportedly, God (may He be exalted) granted speech to the dog. (58) The dog said: "Why shall I not seek God as you seek?" (59) Then they confessed to God (may He be exalted): "We wrongly cut its legs off. (60) We thought this dog makes only noise. (61) It is saying it also seeks God." (62) Saying this, they lifted the dog by all four legs onto their shoulders, and came here. (63) They came at mealtime.[372] (64) They came at mealtime, and found the entrance of the cave; (Yämliha) said: "Brothers, let's take sanctuary here, let's take a little rest." (65) They entered the cave. (66) They slept very heavily soon after they entered (the cave). (67) They slept so, and some time later they tried to awake, and awoke; they found it was nearly time for midday prayers. (68) They came here after tea. (69) [Yämliha said:] "Oh, brothers, it is time for midday prayer, (70) we are hungry, (71) let's eat something." (72) They looked around, and found there was neither bread nor anything else to eat. (73) You know, they were escapees. (74) So, since there was nothing to eat, (Yämliha) asked: "Do you have any money?" (75) You know, they had the money earned by working for Daqianus. (76) His brothers collected the money, and gave some money (to him). (77) Then, Yämliha, the oldest, goes to the Lower Bazaar, bringing the money. (78) As you know, he knew the restaurants and bakery at the Lower Bazaar since they used to work there. (79) [Yämliha] said: "I will go there and

370 Original: *jataq* 'apartment, room'.
371 Ikki Tal and Tughru Karez are names of villages at Tuyuq.
372 Original: *aš waχtï* 'meal-time' referring to noon when the local people normally take dinner.

äkiläj däp / pułnï jiɣïšturup / šä gä bařdu // (80) bula čajdin kijin pissingičä uχlʉduq digän bilän / ütüřda üš jüz jette jil ötü ketken nimä // (81) üšüz jette jil ütüp / änkin pišin waχtïda ojɣanɣan nimikän bu // (82) bula unï uχmajla / pulnï kütürüp berip / bïř navajnï jinnïɣa berip / nan alïmä digändikin // (83) pułnï kürüp / sän däqjanusnu ɣäznɨsïnï teppayan ädɨmikänsä̃ // (84) bu üš tö jüz jil voldï däqjanus ülü kätkili // (85) šundaχ däpla jepïšïdu bunuŋɣa // (86) voj män čaj waχtïda uχlʉɣan / bügün pišinda qupup / qursüɣum ečip käldim / disä / (87) jaq / ikki üš jüz jil voldï // (88) zaman nägä jitipadi[373] // (89) sän näväχtiki pulnï kütürü jürsä // (90) sän däqjanusnu ɣäznisnï čuqum tepivapsä / däp jipišiptu // (91) hä hu vilän / qïřïɣ ällix ädäm o lušuptu // (92) ämdi šu waχlada čuŋ jašamdu χäχ // (93) bïř qeri ädäm kä qaptu bijägä // (94) juɣan saqal / jüzdin ašqan ädɨmikin dedu // (95) kep qarïsa / dašu jaš waχtïda mušundaχ bäš jigit ütü kätkälligini kö gän nimiken / čuŋ jašɨnïp // (96) mušu jigitlänü hämrasï vosa kïräk / däp / boldï qujpiriŋna bunï däptu // (97) tutuvamaŋla digändikin / bunuŋɣa jipišivamaŋla digändikin / (98) anda vosa / änǰallïqqa χaväř qïlïnï däptu // (99) änǰallïχ suravatqan vaq // (100) däqjanusnu šärinu bejnida bïř soqma turuptuɣu // änǰallïχnu šäri šu / jeŋi šä / (101) änǰallïχ suravatqan vaχ voɣankin / änǰan padišasïɣa χävär qïptu // (102) änǰan padišasï anda vosa unï quj piriŋna // (103) a qɨɣa ottuz danä äskär sä? qujni // (104) i0s qojlap maŋsun / digändikin / (105) jämlejχanï quj peridu // (106) a qïdin ottus atlïq äskär maŋïdikä̃ // (107) u waχtïda / bu tujuχnü eɣïzï tašqïn kep / jamɣuř jaɣsa qijan kep / bu ädämmu joq bijädä // (108) bïř ikki tüp java tä?k ünü qaɣan / özlügüdin ünü qa yan bïř eɣız bu ämdi // (109) tašqïn eɣïzikän bu ämdi // (110) mušundaχ bo ɣandikin / ismimu joq bu eɣïznïŋ // (111) bula mäšägä kägän vaχtïda / äskär čïqïvatqandikin / (112) mäšät ɣuǰam ba ɣu // šägä kep jämlejχa[374] tüχtaptu // (113) äskär jiti kägändikin / silä mäšädä turu turuŋla // (114) mini hämralirim adäm kö migän tujɣun salaj[375] // (115) silläni kürüp qo qup kä?tmɨsun didu // (116) digänligi üčün / turu tuř digän jä / mäšät ɣuǰam atalɣan / (117) tujɣun salaj digänligi üčün / tujuq atalɣan ismi // (118) bulud däp / äskär qałdu // (119) bu jämlijχa kepla / tüšükkä kïřdu // (120) bu alla talanï qudriti vilän / šu waχtïda bïř näččä jüz käptär kip / ümüčüχ toř tařtïp / ašu ädäm kïřmigändäk / (121) käptä majiɣdap / bałłap / majaχlïrï igiz čüqqa bo kätkändikin / (122) ikki üč sa'ät qarap beqïp / bomaj / ä? bu qečiptu / däpla jizzini jezlap a?tlïq käptu // (123) ɣuǰamnu jiri qumluq bïř jä voɣandikin / šä gä käp / jäz tüšükkä kiri kätkändäk // (124) tüšüknu aɣzïɣa kiri kätkinini bilidikä̃ // (125) bäzałłä / tüšükkä kirini disä / (126) voj / bu jägä ädäm kïřsä / bu käptä uču kätmämdu // (127) ma ümüčüχ tořlәri buzulu kätmämdu // (128) näčči jüz jil voɣan / ädäm kïřmigändäx tuřsa / qandaχsigä bu jädä adäm bułdu däptu // (129) bula ikki χijal vop / bula kiti qałdu tapamaj // (130) kätkändin kin / bula šu jatqan pitičä jitivägän χäχ bu // (131) aŋičün[376] hajat ɣuǰamla dedu bulanï ölmügän / (132) dašu tüšükkä kiri kitip jatqałła χäχ // (133) ämdi χoš / bu äskär änǰallïχnï jinnïɣa verip /

373 *jitipadi* 'reached', *jitipa-* < *jetip* 'arriving' + PostV *bar-*.
374 *jämlejχa* occurs as *jämlijχa* in previous lines.
375 *tujɣun salaj* 'sensitive, keen', seems to be comprised of *tujɣun* 'alart, sensitive' and *sal-* 'to put' + 1sg. VOL *-aj*, see *tujɣun sep qujdu* < *tujɣun selip qujdu* in (42) of this text.
376 *aŋičün* < *aniŋ üčün* 'because of that', for a description see morphology.



bring back some bread and other things", and he went there bringing the money. (80) Actually, 307 years had passed, though they claimed they had slept only from teatime[377] until midday prayer. (81) Apparently, they had awoken at the time for midday prayer after they had slept for 307 years. (82) Without noticing that, he took the money and came to a baker, and said: "I want to buy bread". (83) [The baker] saw the money and said: "Certainly, you are the man who has found Daqianus's treasure. (84) Three or four hundred years have passed since Daqianus's death." (85) Saying this, he stabbed (Yämliha). (86) [Yämliha said:] "It is strange, I slept at tea-time, and today I awoke at midday prayer time, and then came here since I was hungry." (87) [The baker said:] "No, two or three hundred years have passed. (88) So much time has passed. (89) Why are you walking here, carrying money from such a long time ago. (90) You must have discovered Daqianus's treasure", saying this [the baker] cared for him. (91) Very soon fourty or fifty people gathered there. (92) It is likely that people of that time lived a very long time. (93) An old man passed through. (94) It is said that he was over a hundred years old, and had a thick beard. (95) [The old man] came and looked, reportedly he had seen the five young boys when they left, he had lived so long. (96) He thought: "He certainly is the friend of those boys", and spoke [to the people]: "All right, please let go of him." (97) Do not hold him up, do not care for him." (98) [the People] said: "If we are to do so, let's inform the Andijani." (99) At that time Andijani was ruler here. (100) This side of the city of Daqianus still has a wall constructed of earth, that is the Andijanis city, namely the new city. (101) Since that was the time when Andijanis was ruling here, they informed the Andijani king. (102) The Andijani king said: "If so, let him go. (103) Let's arrange for thirty soldiers to follow him. (104) Let them follow their footprints." (105) So, they released Yämliha. (106) It is told that 30 cavalry soldiers followed him. (107) At that time the Tuyuq Entrance was often flooded due to heavy rains, and nobody lived there. (108) It was the mouth of a river, and there were only one or two wild grapevines growing on their own. (109) Obviously it was the mouth of a river. (110) Therefore, it had no name. (111) When they[378] have arrived there, the soldiers also came. (112) You know, (there is place called) Mash'at Ghojam, Yämliha stopped when they arrived there. (113) When the soldiers arrived he said: "Please wait here. (114) My companions have never seen human beings, and are very self-conscious. (115) Do not let them be terrified when they see you." (116) Since he said this, the place where he said: "Wait a moment" got the name Mash'at Ghodjam, (117) because he used the word "sensitive", (this place) got the name Tuyuq.[379] (118) The soldiers said: "All right!" and left. (119) Yämliha came, and entered the cave. With the power of God (may He be exalted), hundreds of pigeons then came: spiders wove cobwebs, (making the cave) as nobody had entered. (121) Pigeons passed dung and gave birth, and their dung became a high mountain. (122) [Soldiers] waited for three or four hours, and said this losing their patience: "Hey, he has escaped", and then they followed riding

377 Lit. 'after the tea (-time)', refers to the breakfast time when local Uyghurs usually drink tea.
378 Note that here *bula* 'they' is used, though the story goes on only of one person, namely Yämliha.
379 Here *tujɣun* of the phrase *tujɣun salaj* considered to be the same as the place name *Tujuq*.

(120) tapa·mɨduq digändikin / (134) u waχtïda qalmaχmu barikän ämdi // (135) ämdi eγïz eγïzγa adäm orunlašturuŋna / (136) bula hä·giz tayniki üstüdün maŋmajdu / (137) eγïz vilän meŋïp / bɨř küni vommusa bɨř künü / bula učrajdu / tapïmïz // (138) dajnaχ däv o·turup / mušu qalməγöjlɨřni ko·lap / äm bula o·turu kätkän nimä // (139) sɨřkip eγïzda ba / (140) qara γuǰa eγïzda ba / (141) tujuq eγïzda ba / (142) mušu üč eγïzni saqlap / bula jatïdu // (143) barat tay digändä / dašu qalmaχla üstüχannï jïγïp / jïlda üč qïtïm barat qïp / barat tay atalγan / (144) hazɨřmu barat tay demiz // (145) neriqïsï arava ča·qï digän / tüppisi tüz bɨř jä // (146) šä·gä bɨř eγïz milisχanïnï säp / γuǰǰamnï uddulïsïda milisni o·nəsaq / bula čïqïdu däv oturup / šä·dä milis o·nüγan // (147) milis o·nüγan ǰa·ji / hazɨřmu bɨř temi qaldï unuŋ / (148) nečči jüz jïl voγan nimä / (149) lekin bɨř tam·ba / šundaq bäk / (150) šoř vilä qïvatqan nimikän / taš ïläšlik // (151) bula andïn milisni o·nap kep / saχlap tuřyandikin / neriqïsï χan o·dusï (152) χan šädä o·tuřdu // (153) χannï su aγïlï čüššüdïγan jiri / qïrïχ tatmïsï va // (154) helïqï mandaχla igik läm[380] ba·turuptuγu / äski tam / (155) šu tamni astindïn su aγïlï qïrïχ tatma vilän čüšidu bu pä·skä // (156) čüšüdüγan boγandikin / bɨř küni andïn qïzï čüšüdu / ikki čilexni bïläkkä arïtïp // (157) bɨř qïz vu qaγan qïz vařkän // (158) quduqqa čüšüp / mušu hazɨř näzi koǰaŋni[381] tiki demiz / eriqnï jaqqïstiki / šä·gä kä·gändä / (159) bɨř tüp java tä?x varikän kïšmïš üzüm / ünü qaγan tä·x // (160) unuŋγa igidačïlïq qïlïdïγan ädäm joq // (161) bu tä·x šundaχ bo kittu / üzüm ämdi // (162) bu qïz vala käsä / üzüm piši qaγan vaχ voγankin / pořssitä bɨř sapaχni üzüptudä / (163) qarɨsa / üzüm kɨřpïǧǧä üχšaš šɨř araš joq // (164) šundaγ üzüm ba·γu // (165) bu änkin / ikki čilägxni bïläkkä arïtïp / üzümni sapɨγïdïn tutup bɨř ïjin bïläp jäj disä / čilägx va / (166) üjüǧä kep jedu bu // (167) üzümni / mujnaχ jäp miŋïp tuřyandikin / (168) kičix išägxni baləsï üzümni ičidä barikänduq / serïγ išäk čaqïdïγan // (169) zaqqïldap tïlγa qojmamdu bunuŋ // (170) tïlγa qo·yandikin / čilägx pilägxni takaraŋšitip tašlap / qïrïχ tatmïdïn šundaχ jügürüp čiqïp kitiptu bu // (171) čiqïp höggirig e·tip[382] jïγlaptu // (172) jïγlap boγandikin / dářhal munäǰǰimlänï kitap kürüŋnä / (173) bu nimi iš bu? / (174) padišanï qïzïniki tïlïγa išex čaχtï diγen? / bu qandəγïš[383] bu? / digändikin / (175) kitap kürüšüp / äm bijä bizgä kilišmɨgidäk / (176) küčü kitini / (177) padišanï qïzïγa išäx čapqandïkin / bu jä bizgä jarašmɨγïnï / (178) dajnaχ däp / tujuq eγïzidin küčü ketkän bula // (179) küčü kätkändin kijin / änkinzä / bɨřläp ikkilläp / šäř šařdin ädäm kilip / toplašqan jäř bu / (180) bendi ädäm[384] joq äsli bu jädä // (181) šunuŋ vilän / bu γuǰamla jatqančä jetï kätkän / (182) bunuŋ tarïχi mujnaχ kɨldu / (183) mušundaγ voγan //

380 *läm* 'latter rung or step', shortened form for *lämpä* (SU *lämpä*).
381 *näzi koǰaŋ* personal name, composing of *näzi* < Ar. *Nāṣir* and the title *koǰaŋ* < Chin. 科长 *ke-zhang* 'section chief, section head, section leader, manager'
382 *höŋgirig e·t-* 'to wail', a compound of *höŋgiräk* 'wailing sound' and *e·t-* (< *ejt* 'to say'), SU *höŋgiräk ejt-*
383 *qandəγïš* ← *qandaq iš* 'what kind of thing'
384 *bendi adäm* 'local people', a compound of *bendi* < Chin. 本地 *bendi* 'local' + *adäm* 'person'



horses, following his footprints. (123) Since the Saint's place[385] is sandy, they came there and found that the footprints entered the cave. (124) Reportedly, they knew he had entered the cave. (125) Some of them said: "Let's enter the cave", (126) but [some of them said:] "If someone had entered here, wouldn't these pigeons have flown away? (127) Wouldn't these cobwebs be broken? (128) It is likely that nobody has entered here for many hundreds of years, how could someone be here?" (129) They hesitated, and left, being not able to find them. (130) After they left, they slept continuously for a long time. (131) Therefore, they were called "Living Saints that slept".[386] (132) They are the sleepers that entered the cave. (133) Well, the soldiers went to the Andijani king and said: "We were not able to find them." (134) Reportedly, at that time, there were Qalmuqs as well. (135) [The Qalmuq's king said:] "Arrange troops by every entrance. (136) They never walk on the upper side of the mountain, (137) they walk by entrance, one day they certainly will appear, and then we will find them." (138) Saying this, they dug the Qalmuq's caves and stayed there. (139) They stayed at the Sirkip Entrance, (140) they stayed at Qara Ghoja Entrance, (141) and they (also) stayed at the Tuyuq Entrance. (142) They stayed there, guarding these three entrances. (143) Barat Mountain (Barattaγ) got such a name because the Qalmuqs used gather bones and hold the Barat Party[387] there three times. (144) Now we still call it Barattaγ. (145) The place where the upper side is flat on the far side is called Aravachaqi. (146) They thought: "If we build a party hall here and hold parties at the opposite side of the Saints, they will go out", and they held parties there. (147) A wall from the place where they held parties still exists. (148) Many hundreds of years have passed. (149) However, one wall has held firm. (150) Clearly it was built of saline earth by mixing stones into it. (151) Well, they waited there, holding parties, at the far side was the palace of (their) king. (152) The King stayed there. (153) The place where the king comes down to get water has fourty steps. (154) (You can see) a curved roof there, I mean that old wall. (155) They came down those fourty steps to take water from the lower side of the wall. (156) Since they had to come down, one-day (the king's) daughter came down, carrying two buckets on the arms. (157) Reportedly, [the king] had a daughter who had nearly come of age. (158) She came down to the well, came to the place that we now call Näzi Kezhang's Vineyard; it is just at the end of the ditch, she came there. (159) Reportedly, there was a wild grapevine, a seedless grapevine. (160) Nobody owned it. (161) That grapevine gave many grapes. (162) When the girls came, it was the season for mature grapes, and she picked a bunch of grapes. (163) She looked and found that the grapes were dense and seamless just like (the thorns of) her hedgehog. (164) You know, there are such grapes. (165) Then she carried two buckets on the arms, holding a bunch of grapes; she wanted to eat some grain, but the buckets were (on her arms). (166) She brought the grapes home, and ate them. (167) She walked along eating grapes.[388] (168) It was told

385 Lit. 'my saint's place', refers to the Tuyuq Cave whose most popular name is *tujuq γuǰam*.
386 Original: *ölmügän* 'having not died'.
387 Original: *barat* < Per. *barāt* 'the fourteenth day of the month of Sha'bān'.
388 This statement is contradictory with that in the previous line.

20. waŋla

(1) bu waŋla qarəsəla / hä:mɨsi üz ijildä ölmijdiki[389] bula // (2) hä:mɨsi/ päšva jäp ülü kitidɨɣɨnikā̆ // (3) ämdi / bɨř kepiš waŋ digän / waŋliχta o:turup / mušu qalmäχlanï weŋikā̆ // u (4) šu o:tuřyan mällädä / ja qalmaχnï weŋimu / ja qalmaχnï weŋi ämäsmu u // (5) šundaχ vop turɣan mällädä / imin waŋ digän imin χallïq šu dä paqïna / (6) bijägä supi[390] vop jürüp / a:qïvät berïp / birä miŋ birä iki miŋ äskäř sopïlanï jïɣïp / šundaχ qïɣaŋkin / (7) χäq änkizizä / waj padšaji aläm / imin sopi digän nuřyun ädämni dup avaldi // (8) bu aχïrï berïp bizgä nim qïldïɣan üχšajdu digäŋkin // (9) imin sopïnï äkiliŋna / digäŋkin (10) unï äkäp / unï äčiqïptu // (11) kepiš waŋnï äjalï šundaχ dana / na:jti čirajliχ äjal ikā̆ u // (12) išixtin kiriš hamanla / u waŋni aqəda otuřɣaŋkin / (13) majdaχ ka:nijni išarat qïp / kanəjïŋɣa pičaχni sep ö:tuřdu bu / (14) qajtla däptu bu / heliqï jädä // (15) kirïp waŋɣa kürünüš qïp / andïn / (16) män bi'ädäplix qïptimā̆ uluχ bigim / (17) miniki šu etimni bayla qo:majla qujaviriptimä // etimni bajla qo:sam / (18) waj etiŋni bajla qudïɣan ädäm ba // disɨmu (19) šu ɣuŋŋïtïla čüšüpla / a?tnï mini uču kittu bu // (20) uču kätkäŋkin / a:qədïn čiqïp / istäŋna däp / (21) helïqïniki a:qədïn / täräp täräpkä ädäm qo:lap nimi qi paχsa / (22) berïp šu χojänsängä[391] ba:ɣanda / bɨř äjal rähmi qïp / bɨř gä mɨni ičigɨ äčüšüp / töpüsigä üš tamɣɨlïq üš putluq tümü qazanni e qujuptu[392] // (23) heliqï jädä / χäχ käp / kürindaz[393] sep / kürïn[394] säp / heliqï jägä qïp paχsa / (24) čujun bɨř gumbazni ičidikā̆ däpla čïqqïdäk // (25) gumbaznï ičidä digäŋkin / heškim bɨřnim qïla:maj / arədïn bɨř jil öttüma / ikki jil öttüma / a:qədïn jaltijï qaptu bula // (26) jaltijï qaɣaŋkin / atajtän / bunuŋɣa ädäm kä tuřduɣan bo:ɣaŋkin / (27) bu ädämlïri vilä hašaɣa ištirak qïɣïlï čikätti / digäŋkin / (28) birä iki miŋ ädäm bilä / zo:mu zo imin gaŋni do:ji däp käpzä / naɣrɨnï čeliŋna däp / ordunï bisip kirivaɣan nimä // (29) kirivaɣaŋkin / orduɣa bisip kirïp / u χanlïχta o:turup / (30) kepiš waŋ qičïp / sïřkipta jürüp / ša:dä tuřɣa čiqïvaɣaŋkin / (31) unï äčüšüp / ijädä ö:türvitip / änkin waŋliχta o:tuřduɣɨnikɨ[395] bu // (32) o:tuřɣaŋkin / bɨřnäččä gaχla ütkändä / unuŋdun mušu äpridin waŋ tuɣuldɨɣɨnkä // (33) äpridin waŋ tuɣulup / a:qïvät qašqaɣa berïp aɣan χutundin tuɣulamdu / šundaχ büɣaŋkin / (34) u taza om-bäš jašla / oj jättä on säkkiz jaš χutun aɣan vaχtikā̆ äpridin waŋnikimu // (35) šä:dä ötüp otuřɣaŋkin / (36) jitip asmanni täpkänlär / bu dunjaɣa patmɨɣan tüŋgan // (37) sän längoɣa[396] ba:mɨsaŋ / öz juřtuŋ amaŋ qa:ɣan // däp naχša ejtiduɣu / (38) šu längoɣa / mušu tuŋganla / maχusän digän nuřyun tuŋgan bilä berïp / äpridin waŋnï šä:dä ö:türvatqan nimä // (39) äpridin waŋnï ötürvatqaŋkin / äpridin waŋnï uǰutliri änǰaŋɣa berïp / änǰalliχni ečiqqan nimä // (40) än-

389 *ölmijdiki* < *ölmäjdu ikän*.
390 *supi* < Ar. *sūfī* 'Sufi'
391 *χojänsän* < Chin. 火焰山 *Huo-yan-shan*, lit. 'Flaming Mountains'. It is also called *qïzïl tay* lit. 'Red Mountains'. It divides Turfan into two parts: *tay üstün* 'Upper Mountain', including Singgim, Murtuq, Khandu, etc. and *tay astïn* 'Lower Mountain', including Lükchün, Tuyuq, Yanghe, etc.
392 *e qujuptu* ← *ep qujuptu* < *alïp qojuptu*.
393 *kürindaz* < Ar. / Per. *qur'a-andaz* 'fortune paper'.
394 *kürïn* an alternative for *kürindaz*.
395 *o:tuřduɣɨnikɨ* < * *olturidɨɣan ikän*.
396 *längo* < Chin. 蘭洲 *Lan-zhou*, name of the capital city of Gansu Province in north-western China.



that a small scorpion had hidden inside the grapes, you know, the scorpion stings. (169) It strongly stung (her) tongue. (170) Since it stung (her) tongue, she threw the buckets away and went upstairs by running up the fourty steps. (171) She sobbed. (172) When she stopped crying, [the king ordered] his astrologers: "Look at the books. (173) What does this signify? (174) Why has a scorpion stung the princess's tongue? What is this?" (175) [The wise men] searched in the books and said: "This place is not likely suitable for us. (176) Let's move out. (177) A scorpion has stung the princess, this signifies that this place is not suitable for us." (178) Saying this, they moved from the Tuyuq Entrance. (179) After they had moved out, people gathered here, coming by ones and twos from other cities. (180) Originally, there were no local people. (181) So, those Saints have been sleeping here since they went to sleep at that time. (182) Its history is like this. (183) It was so.

20. [Stories of] the Jasak Princes

(1) Evidently, these Jasak Princes, you see, none of them died of natural causes, (2) all of them were killed. (3) Well, one called Kepish Wang[397] sat on the Jasak Prince's seat, reportedly he was a Jasak Prince of Qalmuks. (4) [The story took place] when he sat (on the Jasak Prince's seat), (but I am not sure) whether he was a Qalmuk Jasak Prince or not. (5) At that time, Imin was the Jasak Prince, he is the so-called Imin Xanlïq. (6) Reportedly, he was a Sufi here, but in the end had gathered one or two thousand soldier-sufis, and did things [against the Jasak Prince]. (7) Then the people informed (the Jasak Prince): "Oh, the king of the world, the one called Imin Sufi has gathered many people. (8) One day he certainly will do something against us." (9) [The Jasak Prince ordered]: "Bring Imin Sufi here!" (10) Then they brought him (to the Jasak Prince). (11) Reportedly, Kepish Wang's wife was a very wise and beautiful lady. (12) She was sitting behind the Jasak Prince when [Imin Sufi] entered, (13) (she) pointed to her throat saying: "The Jasak Prince will kill you by inserting a knife into your throat", (14) and said: "Return!" (15) [Imin Sufi] entered (the palace), greeted the Jasak Prince, and said: (16) "I was so impolite, my Great Bäg. (17) I left my horse in a hurry without tying it up, please allow me to tie it up." (18) Despite this (the Jasak Prince) said: "Hey, there is somebody to tie your horse up", (19) then (he, Imin sufi) immediately left (the palace), and flew away riding his horse. (20) After he had flown away, (the Jasak Prince) ordered a search for him, (21) and (his people) ran after him, looking for him in all directions. (22) He ran and ran, finally came to Huoyanshan, fortunately one lady felt sorry for him, led him to a cave, and covered him with a three-eared, three-legged iron cooking vessel. (23) (Jasak Prince's) people arrived there and tried to find an omen for that place by looking in an omen book. (24) The result found was always the same: "(He is) in a pig-iron cupola." (25) Since it was told (in the omen) that he is in a cupola, nobody was able to do anything, so they gave up (searching for him) after one or two years. (26) Despite have given up, (Jasak Prince's) people still went there. (27) But they

397 Original: *kepiš waŋ* 'shoes-Wang', nickname of Lükchün Jasak Prince Aq Khan or Aq Sultan.

ǰallïχ bijägä čiqïp / andaχ mandaχ vop tuŕγaŋkin / (41) äpridin waŋ biŕ taγlïq malčïlanï qïznï äp qujup / malčïladïn sultan mamut waŋ tuγulidïγɨnikä // (42) aŋγɨčä / äpridin waŋnï o niγa waŋ säjlijmiz / andaχ mandaχ digäŋkin / (43) säjlijdïγan ädäm bo mɨγaŋkin / hä qasï däptu // (44) äpridin waŋ dašu qašqaγa berïp ölängā̃ de du / šä gä berï paqïnï // (45) äǰäp biŕmɨ bo mɨsa äǰïvämäs[398] däp / (46) ba sa om biŕ on iki waχtikä / (47) jaš bałłanï biŕ jä gä jïγ qujup / biŕ döŋgä čïqïp / soraχ soravatqïdäx bu // (48) sultan mamut etikän // (49) än / sultan mamut waŋ äpridin waŋdïn tuγulγan däp / unï äkäp padša qïp / (50) iškiŕlägä äpirip / anda manda qïp jüŕgändä / (51) bu biŕnäččä jilla döwüŕ sürüp / aršaŋγa čïqïp / (52) aršaŋda / mušu biŕsi de du / zähäŕ virip ö tüŕ qujuptu sultan mamut waŋni de du / (53) biŕsi de du / bunï aršaŋ γoǰam etivitdäk[399] digäm-biŕ gäp ba // (54) biŕsi de du / pičan mirändä / älanuŕχan ǰilil digäm-bilä ašïq mäšuq vop / to qïmaχči voptu // (55) bunï atanɨlɨrimo / mällikɨlɨrimu qollaptu // (56) änkizizä / biŕ pajlaχči u qïznï kürü qäp / sultan mamutqa digäŋkin / (57) sultan mamut ottuz bäš jiššida / šu qïznï alɨmā̃ däptu // (58) qaršilïχ qïpaχsima boməγan / (59) majnaχ qïp / a χïrï u qïz / buldu / mā̃ to qïlaj däp / (60) nika künï / jiniγa biŕ ustrunï tiqiväptu // (61) huǰuŕγa kiŕgändä / jutɨsi qursŭγï hämɨsigi tilalɨviriptu // (62) šunuŋ vilä / güldüŕläp kirip / χan γoǰamγa jiriŋlïχ ǰarahat čïq qaldï / örtäŋgä äčïq kiti[400] davaltïmiz däp / (63) örtäŋdä / älanuŕ χannï jeti jil zindanγa septu // (64) zindanda / ottuz bäš jišida ülüptu // (65) bula hä mɨsi / dašnaq päšva jäp tügä kittu / bulačo // (66) sultan mamut waŋnï čoŋ uγlï / unï etinï äpridin waŋ qo γan nimä // (67) u saraŋ waŋ ämdi / činwaŋlani atɨsi / imin waŋ digän // (68) u imin waŋ / mušu χuǰa nijaznï inqilavïda / oŕdŭγa ot qujup kŭjŭ kättiγo //

398 *äǰïvämäs* < *äǰäp ämäs* 'not strange, unstrange'
399 *etivitdäk* < *etivetiptudäk*
400 *äčïq kiti* < * *älip čïqïp ketip*



were told: "(Imin Sufi) went to do forced labor." (28) Then (Imin Sufi) came back with a force of one or two thousand people saying: "It is now the time of Jasak Prince Imin."[401] He ordered: "Play the kettle-drum!" and entered the palace by force. (29) Since he entered the palace by force and ascended to Jasak Prince's throne, (30) Kepish Wang left, and stayed in Sirkip, being protected by a lookout-tower. (31) Reportedly, (Imin Sufi) captured him there, and killed him, and then ascended to Jasak Prince's throne. (32) Some time later, Jasak Prince Äpridin was born. (33) It is likely that (Äpridin) was born from a lady with whom (Jasak Prince Imin) had married during his stay in Kashghar. (34) At that time Jasak Prince Äpridin was 17 or 18 years old, and had just been married. (35) He stayed there. (36) You know, it was sung so:

"The Dungans kicked at the sky lying and not standing in this world,
(37) your home-town would have been left safe, if you had not gone to Lanzhou"

(38) He went to Lanzhou, and these Dungans, (namely) Ma Husan went with many Dungans, and killed Jasak Prince Äpridin there. (39) After they killed Jasak Prince Äpridin, Jasak Prince Äpridin's sons went to Andijan and brought Andijanis here. (40) Andijanis came here, and did this and that. (41) Reportedly, Jasak Prince Äpridin had married a shepherd's daughter, and Jasak Prince Sultan Mamut was born of her. (42) Around that time, there was a discussion about selecting a Jasak Prince for the seat of Jasak Prince Äpridin. (43) Since there was nobody to select, (someone) said: (44) "It is told that Jasak Prince Äpridin went to Kashghar and married there, let's try going there. (45) It would not be strange if one of his (descendants) is still there." (46) They went there, it was when he was eleven or twelve years old. (47) (They found) he was just sitting on a hill and asking the boys gathered questions. (48) His name was Sultan Mamut[402] (49) Then they considered Sultan Mamut to be born from Jasak Prince Äpridin, brought him back and made him king. (50) They brought him to China proper and to other places as well. (51) He enjoyed his Jasak Prince title for several years, and (once) went to Arshang. (52) Some people say that somebody poisoned Jasak Prince Sultan Mamut and killed him; (53) there is also another version that Saint Arshang shot him. (54) It is told: A man named Jelil fell in love with a lady named Alanurkhan from Miran of Pichan, and they planned to get married. (55) (Their) parents and fellow villagers supported them. (56) Unexpectedly, a secret servant saw the girl, and informed Sultan Mamut about her. (57) Sultan Mamut insisted on marrying her though he was 35 years old. (58) (She) tried to resist, but it hadn't worked. (59) Then the girl said: "Well, I'll marry (him)." (60) On the day of wedding she had hidden a razor at her side. (61) Waiting until Sultan Mamut entered the room she cut his thigh, stomach and all of his body that she could. (62) Then (the servants) entered and said: "Our Jasak Prince Bäg has a boil with pus, we will bring him to Örtäng and treat him there." (63) Reportedly, they put Alanurkhan in the prison at Örtäng for seven years. (64) It is also told that she died in prison at 35 years of age. (65) Apparently, all (of these Jasak Princes) died from attacks. (66) Jasak Prince Sultan Mamut's elder son was (also) given the name Jasak

401 Original: *imin gaŋ* < *imin waŋ*, here it refers to Imin Sufi who became Jasak Prince later.
402 His own name is Mamut, and Sultan is an honorific title.

21 qara nämät

(1) tujuχta boγan išlanïčo / wäqäsïni mã̄ paraŋ sepirej[403] // (2) lüxčündä / bu sultan mamut waŋ digänniki / čoŋ uγlï imin waŋ / (3) imin waŋnïŋ kičigi / äŋkizizä bu guŋ γuǰa / (4) guŋ γuǰïdin kičigi päjzila χan / (5) muzuru χan[404] / aχχan[405] / piridin χan[406] / alti uγulkän bula // (6) mundaq voγanikin / hazim ta γan digän / sultan mamut waŋnïŋ gaχtïda / önäččä ta γannï baqïdïγan kišiken // (7) šundaq / bïǰïqï jädä äŋkizizä / bu hazim ta γalla tügä kitip / qara nämät däp bïř oγlï vařdi // (8) qara nämät / qara nämät däp / u gaŋguŋluq qïp jürüjdu / (9) χäχ vilä suqušudu / (10) haraqmu ičidu / (11) u äŋkizizä / mäs vup / χäχ vilä suqušudu / (12) šundaq qïp jürüjdïγan // (13) küllädin bïř küni / aχšïmï jitip äŋkizizä / üzigä bïř ǰuj tepiptu / bu / özi özigičo // (14) mäm-mašnaχla ǰapa tassam[407] bolamdu? / (15) ävilän χudajim / ikinänǰisi guŋ γuǰam ba tuřsa // (16) guŋ γuǰamnï jinniγa čïqip / mä jïγlap ähwalïmnï ejssam / (17) maŋa azduř köptuř bř̈m[408] bä sä to qïvammajmämmu / däp kepzä / (18) lüxčün bazadin bïř išex tepïp / (19) išäkkizä / taza amdan uχšïγan üzümdinzä / bïř täräpigä bïř sügän üzüm / bïř täräpigä bïř sügän šaptula / (20) abdul qašqïriniki beγidinzä šaptulni äpkep / čïqïptu bu // (21) čïqqankin / bu guŋ γuǰïnï küräsidä / qavuz ka digän ädäm turuptu // (22) qavuz ka qarïsa / qara nämät išäxni hajdap kiptu // (23) ässa lumu älikum / ka vigim // (24) vä älikum ässilam / hä qara nämät / ki qapsäŋγu?[409] / digäŋkin / (25) hä / γuǰamdïn esällix sorap / čïqqan // (26) anda vosa / tu tuř[410] / (27) mã̄ γuǰamnï učuřlap paqaj / digäŋkizä / (28) ässilamu älikum / uluγ γuǰam / (29) hä älikum ässilam / (30) hä / qavuz ka / kiři qapsäŋγu? / däp / (31) qaravaš qullïrï qara nämät čïqïptu / γuǰamdin esällix sorap / digäŋkin / (32) hä kïřsun andaχ vüsa / digäŋkin / (33) buldu däp / sügänni kötürüp kiriptu // (34) o turup / sügänni qu qup[411] / (35) amin allahu äkbär däp / qupup / (36) hä / qanda γuǰam miǰaz širipliri / digäŋkin / (37) hä jaχši / amdan čïqqapsäŋγu nämät? // (38) χoš γuǰam / mäŋ kičä uzun jetip / ujχum kämmij / (39) öz özämgä pänni näsihät qïp / (40) hä qara nämät / ölsäŋ vuldu sän / (41) ävvälän χudajim / ikinänǰisigä / guŋ γuǰam ba tuřsa / (42) bizniŋ atəmiz hazim tayan digän / uzun jil sultan mamut waŋ / uluγ γuǰamγa χizmät qïp / (43) bizläni beqïp / (44) čoŋ / toχ turmušta kün kučürüp össä / (45) hala bügüŋki kündä / sini künüŋ mušu / (46) ölsäŋ vuldu / sän / (47) ävilän χudajim / ikinänǰisigä / guŋ γuǰam tuřtuγu / (48) saŋa jaχšïlïqnï qïlamamdu / šu ädäm / däp / (49) öz özämgä pänni näsihät qïp / ǰanaplïridin esällix surap čïχtïm / digändikin / (50) äŋkizizä / seni ähvaliŋ qanda? // (51) ähvalim qanda vuldu (52) o:tuřsam qopsam / jutqan kö pä hešnimäm joq / γoǰam / (53) mäm majnaχ jatimã̄ / majnaχ qupimä / (54) üjümnimu tajni joq / digäŋkin / (55) qavuz ka / bununγa / bïř dadän boγdaj / ikki dadän

403 *paraŋ sepirej* < *paraŋ selip beräj* 'Let me tell!', SU use *eǰtip beräj* in this context.
404 *muzuř χan* personal name, mostly *Moroz χan*, *muzuř* is the methathisized form for *moroz*.
405 *aχχan* ← *aq χan* 'White Khan', name of the fifth son of Jasak Prince Sultan Mamut.
406 *piridin χan* ← *Päridin χan* < Per. Farīdūn + *χan*.
407 *ǰapa tassam* ← *ǰapa tartsam*.
408 *bř̈m* < *bïř nimä* < *bir nema*.
409 *ki qapsäŋγu* ← *kip qapsäŋγu* < *kelip qapsäŋγu* 'Why did you come here?'
410 *tu tuř* < *turup tur* 'wait a moment'.
411 *qu qup* < *qojup qojup* 'just putting ...'.



Prince Äpridin. (67) He was the so-called Sarang Wang (lit. 'crazy Jasak Prince'), and Jasak Prince Imin[412] was the father of Qinwang and others. (68) This Jasak Prince Imin was burned (and died) during the Khoja Nïjaz's rebellion when the palace was put on fire.

21 (The story of) Qara Nämät

(1) Let me tell you what happened at Tuyuq. (2) At Lükchün Jasak Prince Sultan Mamut's oldest son was Jasak Prince Imin,[413] (3) after Jasak Prince Imin is Gung Ghoja,[414] (4) younger than Gung Ghoja is Päzilla Khan, (5) (then came) Muzuru Khan, Aq Khan, Päridin Khan; altogether they were six brothers. (6) All right, there was a man named Hazim Tayan[415] who took care of more than ten dogs at a time for Jasak Prince Sultan Mamut. (7) It was so, and then Hazim Tayan passed away, and left a son called Qara Nämät.[416] (8) This man called Qara Nämät spent his life behaving like a hooligan. (9) He often fought with others, (10) drank alcohol, (11) and often fought with people when he was drunk. (12) He spent his life in this way. (13) Reportedly, one evening he went to bed and had an idea, he said to himself: (14) "Why should I endure sufferings like this? (15) First is God, and then my Saint Gung isn't still here? (16) How about if I go to Gung Ghojam's place, cry and talk about my difficulties? (17) If he gives me something else, shouldn't it possible for me to arrange my marriage with it?" (18) [Thinking this], he found a donkey at the bazaar of Lükchün, (19) and then (loaded) a basket of very tasty grapes and a basket of peaches. (20) He bought the peaches from the Abdullah Kashghiri's garden, and went (to Gung Ghoja). (21) He arrived and found Qavuz Ka standing in the Gung Ghoja's yard. (22) Qavuz Ka looked and saw that Qara Nämät had come by driving a donkey. (23) "Peace upon you, my Ka Bäg?" (24) [Qavuz Ka] replied: "I am fine, why you are here, Qara Nämät?" (25) "I came to visit my Gung Ghoja." (26) "If so, wait here, (27) I will try to inform my Gung Ghoja." (28) "Peace upon you, my Great Saint?" (29) [Gung Ghoja replied:] "Peace upon you. (30) Qavuz Ka, why have you come in here?" (31) "Your slave Qara Nämät has come to visit you." (32) [Gung Ghoja] said: "If so, let him enter." (33) [Qavuz Ka] said: "Yes!" and (Qara Nämät) entered carrying the basket. (34) He put down the basket and sat down, (35) he stood up after he said: "Āmin Allāhu Akbār", (36) and greeted him saying: "How are you my Saint?" (37) [Gung Ghoja] replied: "Fine, why have you come here so strangely, Nämät?" (38) [Nämät] said: "Yes, my Saint, yesterday evening I stayed in bed for a long time, but was not able to sleep. (39) Then I exhorted to myself as follows: (40) 'Hey Qara Nämät, you should die! (41) First is God, and then my Saint Gung is here.

412 Refers to Muhammad Imin who is the father of Iskandar.
413 The oldest son of Sultan Mamut, he was appointed by Yuan Shikai as 親王 *Qinwang* in 1917, and died in 1932. He has married with the Qomul Wang's daughter.
414 Gung Ghoja is the second son of Sultan Mamut, his real name is Bahram.
415 *Hazim Tayan* personal name, consists of *Hazim* < Ar. *'Azīm* 'great, big' + nickname *tayan* 'dog'.
416 *Qara Nämät* lit. 'Black Nämät', consists of the nickname *Qara* 'black' and the name *Nämät* (< Ar. Ni'ma(t)).

qonaq / jüz jïŋ paχta / bïř küri gürüš / bïř küri gunǰüt zakat qïldïm / (56) bïř qoj iltipat qïldïm / (57) otaχčïla äkiripäsun / däptu // (58) χoš däp / unu äkiriperiptu // (59) äkiripägändikinzä[417] / unu omdan quju qujup bu / (60) jeŋïšädä / bïř ädämlärni üjdä quj qujup / (61) šä din / bu äŋkizizä / ujmaŋ-karizγa / aχχan γuǰamnï juqlap čïqï paqaj däptu // (62) jänä / ujman karizγa / äŋkizizä / jänä suγa salamlïq bïřmïlärni äp čïqqankin / (63) u jädizä / heziz ka vařkän // (64) ässalamu älikum / ka vigim / (65) wä älikum ässilam / sä amdan čïqqapsäŋγu / digäŋkin / (66) γuǰamdïn esällix surap čïqqan / digäŋkin / (67) anda vüsa tuχtap tuř / (68) mäŋ γuǰamγa učuřlap paqaj / digäŋkin / (69) buldu däp / kiriptu // (70) ässalamu älikum / guŋ γuǰam / qaravaš qullïrï qara nämät čïqïptu / qara nämät / digäŋkin / (71) hä kïřsun / däptu // (72) kirip / amin allahu äkbäř dävetip / (73) äčiqqan soγa salamlïřnï quju qujup / (74) γuǰam / kičä jetip jïγlap / öz özämgä pännï näsihät qïldïm // (75) ävilän χudajim / ikinänǰisi / aχχan γuǰam ba turša / (76) saŋa atïdačïlïq qïldïγan / attaŋniŋ uřnïda atta / annaŋniŋ uřnïda ana vuldïγan ädäm / bu jädä turša / (77) sän šu ädämlärni tašlïvatqandikin / ölsäŋ vuldu däp / (78) γuǰamdïn esällix sorap čïχtïm / digäŋkin / (79) bunuŋγa / hušuř boγdajdïn bi jerïm dadän boγdaj / üš dadän qonaq / jüz jïŋ paχta / amdan paχtïdïn / günǰüttün bïř küri / gürüčtün bïř küri bïřïŋnä / (80) otaχčïla äkiřpäsun / digäŋkin / (81) unu äkiriptu // (82) äŋkin / unu apïřviti[418] turup / (83) päjzilaχan γuǰamnï juχlap čïqï paqaj / däptu // (84) päjzilaχannikigä / iki misqal äpjünni äp / äpjün tatïdïγan ädäm boγaŋkin / čïqïptu // (85) čïqqaŋkin / ijädä / bu zeri väg däp bïř ädïmi ba / u aχχanniki // (86) ässilamu iläjkum / (87) wä älikum ässilam / hä qara nimät / čïqï qapsäŋγu? // (88) γuǰamdïn esällix surap čïqqan / digäŋkin / (89) anda vüsa / mä γuǰamγa učuřlap-paqaj / digäŋkin / (90) hä / zeri veg kirip / ässilamu älikum γuǰam / qaravaš qullïrï qara nämät čïqïptu / (91) γuǰamdïn esällix surap čïqïptu / digäŋkin / (92) amin allahu äkbäř däp / manda o turup / γuǰamnï mïǰazï qanda? / digäŋkin / (93) hä jaχšï / qara nämät / čïqï qa?säŋγu? / digäŋkin / (94) hä mujda mujda / digäŋkin // (95) u kämlädä / bïř kündä / jüz jïŋ paχtïlïq äpjün tatïdïγan ädämken u / päzilaχan digän // (96) šundaχ bosa / hä / miŋ jïŋ paχta / bïř tümän jïŋ üzümgä pul äp / šu abdulezi veg[419] däp uγlï vařdï / (97) šu pullanï äp / täjja qïp äkägän waχtiken // (98) heliq jädä / äŋkinzä / qara nämät bundaχ čïqqam-bosa / bunuŋγa ämdi / balələrïm / bïř to luχ kägičä / mušu üzümni pulïnï / mušu paχtïnï pullïrïdïn bïřïŋnä / däptu // (99) χeli / äŋkizä / mušu küllädiki / bïrä iki / üš miŋ kejčä pulnï biriptu // (100) bägäŋkin / pulnï äkäp / üjigä äpirivitip / (101) ä tïsï äŋkizizä / päridi χaŋ γuǰamnï juqlap čïqï paqaj / däp / päridi χannikigä čïqïptu // (102) ijädä / hamit ka däp bïř inimiz va // (103) ässilamu älikum / ka vigim / (104) wä älikum ässilam / nämitaχun / čïqï qapsäŋγu? // (105) γuǰamdïn isällix surap čïqqan / digäŋkin / (106) mä učuřlap-paqaj / däptu // (107) kiripzä / wa γuǰam / qara nämät čïqïptu / (108) majnaχ / γuǰamdïn esällix sorap čïχtïm däp / digäŋkin / (109) kïřsun / däptu // (110) u päridin χan digän / üzi bäš waχ qoldïn bämidïγan /najti pärizka[420] kiškän // (111) kirip / mandizda o turup / ačïq-

417 *äkiripägändikinzä* < *elip kirip bärgändin kejinzä* 'after they have brought ... to him'.
418 *apïřviti* ← *apirivitip* (< *apirivetip* < * *alip barip atip* 'transporting').
419 *abdulezi veg* < *Abdulaziz bäg* (< Ar 'Abdallāh 'Azīz + Bäg), personal name.
420 *pärizka* < Per *fahrizgar* 'one who is very conversant in the ordinances and commandments of God.'



(42) Our father Hazim Taγan served my Great Saint, the Jasak Prince Sultan Mamut for long years, (43) raised us, (44) having lived a great and satiated life. (45) Unfortunately, today your life is like this. (46) You should die! (47) First is God, and then my Saint Gung isn't still here? (48) Do you think this person cannot do anything good for you!' (49) Having exhorted to myself so, I came to visit your Excellency." (50) Then [Gung Ghoja] asked: "How is your life?" (51) "How can my life be? (52) I have no bedding for sitting and sleeping on, I have nothing, my Saint. (53) I sleep so, and get up so. (54) I even have no proper house to stay in." (55) [Gung Ghoja] ordered: "Qavuz Ka, I present him with one *dadän* of wheat, two *dadän* of corn, one hundred *jin* of cotton, one *küri* of rice, and one *küri* of sesame as alms. (56) I kindly present him with one sheep. (57) Let the servants[421] bring them to him." (58) [Qavuz Ka] said: "Yes!" and brought these objects to [Qara Nämät]. (59) After they brought these things to him, [Qara Nämät] took them to a safe place, (60) he put these things at someone's house at Yengisha, (61) and then decided to go to Oyman Karez to visit Aq Khan Ghoja. (62) He went to Oyman Karez again buying some presents. (63) Reportedly, a person named Heziz Ka was there. (64) [Qara Nämät] greeted: "Peace upon you, my Ka Bäg?" (65) "Peace upon you, it is so nice to have you here." (66) He said: "I came to visit my Saint." (67) [Heziz Ka] said: "If so, wait a moment. (68) Let me try to inform my Saint." (69) [Nämät] said: "All right", and [Heziz Ka] entered [the saint's place of abode]. (70) "Peace upon you, my Saint,[422] your slave Qara Nämät, (I mean) Qara Nämät, has come." (71) [Aq Khan] said: "Well, let him enter." (72) [Nämät] entered and said: "Āmin Allāhu Akbār", (73) and then presented his gifts that he has brought with him. (74) He said: "O my Saint, yesterday evening I stayed in bed and so exhorted by crying to myself: (75) 'First is God, then my Saint Aq Khan is here. (76) You should know, the person who does duty for your father and mother, is here. (77) You should die since you have forgotten these people. (78) Thinking this I came here to visit my Saint." (79) [Aq Khan] ordered: "Give him one and half *dadän* of wheat from the tithe-wheat, three *dadän* of corn, one hundred *jin* of excellent cotton, one *küri* of sesame, and one *küri* of rice. (80) Let the servants bring them to him." (81) They brought these things [to him]. (82) [Qara Nämät] brought these things back, (83) and decided to visit Päzilla Khan Ghoja. (84) He bought two *misqal*[423] of opium, since [Päzilla Khan] was a person who uses opium. (85) He arrived, and Aq Khan[424] had an official called Zeri Bäg. (86) [Nämät greeted]: "Peace upon you!" (87) "Peace upon you. Why you are here, Qara Nämät?" (88) "I came to visit my Saint". (89) [Zeri Bäg] said: "If so, let me try to inform my Saint." (90) Zeri Bäg entered and said: "How are you my Saint? Your slave Qara Nämät has come. (91) He has come to visit my Saint." (92) [Nämät entered, and] sat after having prayed: "Āmin Allāhu Akbār", and then he asked: "I wonder is everything good for you, my

421 Original: *otaχčïla* 'weeding persons'.
422 Here the informant mistakenly uses *guŋ γuǰam* for *Aχχan γuǰam* or *γuǰam* 'my Saint'.
423 *misqal* < Per *mīsqāl* 'The weight of a thing; a gold coin' (= 3.5 gram).
424 Here mistakenly for Päzilla Khan.

qan soɣa salamlɨrɨnɨ qujup / oř̈nudun qopqaŋkin / (112) waj waj / nämitaχun / mijägä čɨqɨŋ / mijägä // (113) waj ɣuǰam / bi'ädäplik vuldu / mišädä o turaj / (114) jaq / anda qisɨŋɨz vommadu / (115) siz digän / hiš näsä kirigiŋiz joχ aǰɨz / (116) u jädä o tuř̈vasɨŋɨz / alla talani aldïda gunakař vomimämmu / digäŋkin / (117) äŋkizïzä / čɨqɨp kep / duwa qip o turuptu // (118) hä / čaqan tutuŋla / (119) nämitaχunɣa / amdan ɣïzadïn äčïqïŋla / digäŋkin / (120) čaqan / ɣïzasï täǰǰakän / (121) ɣïzasïnï äčïqïp / quř̈suɣunu amdan to ɣuzup / (122) hä / qanda däp čikilsiz / nämitaχun / digäŋkin / (123) mašnaχ / ɣuǰam / män ata babamnï waχtïda / hazim ta ɣan digän / sultam mamut waŋ ɣuǰamɣa uzun χizmät qip / bizläni amdam pärviš qip beqip / (124) künümüz amdan bop / (125) hala bügüŋki küngä kä gändä / mäm-mušu küngä qaldïm // (126) kičä / mä̃ jetip / nämät / sä̃ ölsäŋ vuldu / (127) ävilän χuda / ikinänǰisi / päridin χan ɣuǰam ba tuřsa / (128) saŋɣɨzä / atɨ vummajdïɣan ädämma šu hä? / däp / öz özämgä pändä näsähät qip / ɣuǰamdin esällix surap čɨχtɨm // (129) äjalinï qïšqirip / bastiχan däp bɨř uɣlï vařdi / (130) bultuř ülü ketti / (131) šunuŋɣa täǰǰala qï qojɣan / taza juɣɣan sanduχta / baštïn a χïř bɨř sanduχ eŋilvaš vařkä̃ // (132) eŋilvašnï ečïqïŋna däp / bɨř sanduχ eŋilnï ečïqip / (133) ämdi / nämtaχun / mušu kijim kičäχ / mušulani ämdi / mušnuŋ vilän to qïval / däp unï birip / (134) özi mindïɣan bɨř išigi va ulaniki / šu attäx maŋïdïɣan / nänsaχandäx[425] maŋïdïɣan / (135) u išäxni igä tuqumi bilän unï birip / (136) bɨř qul[426] ton kigüzüptu // (137) bunuŋɣa / iki dadän boɣdaj / üš dadän qonaq / iki jüz ǰiŋ paχta / iki kürü günǰüt / iki kürü gürüš iltipat qïptu / mušnuŋ vilä toǰ qïval däp // (138) buldu däp / unï äppirip niŋ-qïɣaŋkin[427] // (139) ä tïsï äŋkizïzä / muzuř̈χan ɣuǰamnïmu juχlap paqaj däp / bu lämǰiŋgä čïqïdu // (140) lämǰiŋgä čïqqaŋkin / ijädä heziz ka däp alajtäm bɨř ka ji va // (141) salam qïp kiř̈gäŋkin / (142) wä älijkim ässilam / hä nämät / kä / (143) sä̃ čïqqapsäŋɣu / digäŋkin / (144) uluɣ ɣuǰamnï esällix sorap čɨχtɨm / digäŋkin / (145) anda vosa / män učuřlap paqaj däp / muzuř̈χäniŋ jinniɣa kiriptu // (146) kiř̈gäŋkin / än äpjun ta tɨp ja?tqaŋkin / (147) salam qïp kirip / waj muzuř̈χan ɣuǰam / qaravaš qullïrï nämät čïqqənikän / (148) majnaχ išixtä turuptu / digäŋkin / (149) waj waj / kiř̈sun digäŋkin / (150) kirip / heliqï jädä / du'a bäǰa kältürüp oltuř̈ɣïnikin / (151) unuŋɣa däptu / hä nämät / sä amdan čïqï qapsäŋɣu? / digäŋkin / (152) waj ɣuǰam / mini hiš näsäm joχ / (153) tuř̈ɣam-pitim mušu / miniki / (154) hä / mä̃ özäm qïrɨχ nä'čä jašqa kiriptimä / ö linamaj / ö učaχmu bulamaj / (155) ä / kiči jetip / ölsäŋ vuldu sän / (156) ävilän χudajim / ikinänǰisi / muzuř̈χan waŋ ɣuǰam tuřtuɣu[428] / (157) saŋa qaliqa vulduɣan ädäm tuřtuɣu / (158) saŋa atɨ vulduɣan ädäm tuřtuɣu däp / (159) ɣuǰamdin esällïχ surap čɨχtɨm / digäŋkin // (160) heziz kani däptu / (161) heziz ka / heziz / mä̃ ujam bujan mindïɣan bɨřïnǰi amdan a?tni äčïqïŋla / däp kep / (162) taza igä tuqumluq a?ttin bɨř a?t / bɨř quř eŋil vaš kügüzüp / (163) unuŋɣɨzä / muzuř̈ɣanniki iminijazχan däp / taza ravrus / muzuř̈χan to qilɣɨlï täǰǰa qï qojɣan bɨř sanduχ eŋilvaš vařkän // (164) unï ečïqip kigüzüp / (165) bunuŋɣa äŋkizïzä / paχtɨdïn üš jüz ǰiŋ paχta / iki dadän boɣdaj / bäš dadän qonaq / qojdin bäš qoj / iki kürï günǰüt / iki

425 *nänsaχandäx* 'like Nänsaχan', *nänsaχan* name of an excellent horse well-known in Lükchün.
426 *qul* for *qur* 'a set of ...', for an explanation see phonology.
427 *niŋ-qïɣaŋkin* < *nemä qilɣandïn kejin*.
428 *tuřtuɣu* ← *turuptuɣu*.



Saint?" (93) "Yes, fine, why did you come here, Qara Nämät?" (94) [He] said: "such-and-such." (95) Reportedly, at that time Päzilla Khan used to smoke opium costing one hundred *jin* of cotton a day. (96) So, [Päzilla Khan] had a son called Abdulezi Bäg, and he had just arrived bringing money for one thousand *jin* of cotton together with ten thousand *jin* of raisins, (97) it was just at the time that he had arrived bringing the money. (98) At that place [Päzilla Khan] said: "If Qara Nämät has come in this way, my children, please give him enough money to buy a betrothal gift from the money of the grape and cotton." (99) Reportedly, they gave him money equal to two or three thousand *yuan* in the present day's currency. (100) He took the money and sent it back to his home. (101) The next day he decided to visit Saint Päridin Khan and went to the Päridin Khan's dwelling. (102) Our younger brother called Hamut Ka Bäg[429] was there. (103) [Qara Nämät greeted]: "Peace upon you, my Ka?" (104) "Peace upon you. Why did you come to Nämitakhun?[430]" (105) [Nämät] replied: " I came to visit my Saint." (106) He said: "I will try to inform him." (107) Then he entered and said: "O my Saint, Qara Nämät has come, (108) saying: 'I have come to visit my Saint'." (109) [Päridin Khan] said: "Let him enter." (110) Päridin Khan was a very devout person, and never misses praying five times. (111) [Nämät] entered and sat down on the seat next to the door, after having presented his gifts, he stood up. (112) [Päridin Khan said:] "Oh, Nämitakhun, come here, come here!" (113) "O, my Saint, it would be impolite, please let me sit here." (114) [Päridin Khan] said: "No, you cannot do so. (115) You are a weak person who has nothing. (116) I would be sinful in front of God (may He be exalted) if you sat there." (117) Since [Päridin Khan] had spoken so, he climbed the [kang[431]], read prayers and sat down. (118) [Päridin Khan] ordered: "Hurry up! (119) Bring your best food to Nämitakhun." (120) Reportedly, his food was already ready. (121) They brought the food and filled his stomach. (122) Then [Päridin Khan] asked: "Why have you come here, Nämitakhun?" (123) "Well, my Saint, at my ancestors time, one called Hazim Tayan served for my Great Saint Sultan Mamut for a long time, and raised us very carefully, (124) so we used to have a good life. (125) Unfortunately, today I have fallen to such a life as this. (126) Yesterday, I went to bed, and spoke to myself: 'Nämät, you should die! (127) First is God, and then my Saint Päridin Khan is here. (128) Do you think he is a person who doesn't support you!' I exhorted to myself in this way, and came to visit my Saint." (129) [Päridin Khan] called his wife, he also had a son called Bastikhan, (130) he had died the year before. (131) They had a very big chest of clothes originally prepared for their son's [marriage]. (132) [Päridin Khan] ordered these clothes be brought there, and [his servants] brought the chest of clothes. (133) "Well, Nämitakhun, these clothes are (for you), arrange your marriage with these clothes", he said, and then gave him the clothes. (134) [Päridin Khan] had a donkey on which he rode, and it ran like a horse, just like a Nänsakhan. (135) He gave that donkey

429 The informant knows this person personally.
430 *Nämitaχun* < *Nämät Aχun*, respectful address form of Nämät.
431 Original has no *kaŋ* 'heated brick platform', but the verb *čïq-* 'to climb' implies that the sitting place was a platform, which is normally called *kaŋ* in Turfan.

kürï gürüš iltipat qildïm / (166) mušnuŋγa to qïval / däp bägäŋkin / (167) äŋkizïzä / otaχčïla äčüšü piriptu // (168) bägäŋkin / unu äp üjigä berip / ämdi kičig aγčamnïmu[432] juχlap bir paqaj däp / bulbul čuqqïγa / šägi bir näsä kiräxlänï taza amdan ǰabdup käpzä / äŋkizä / bulbul čuqqïγa čïqïptu // (169) ijädä äsli älaki[433] ba: / kičï aγčïnï küjösi // (170) qaravaš qullïrï / aγčam / qara nämät čïqïptu / (171) γuǰamnï esällix surap čïχtïm däp / mujnaχ aγčamnï esällix surap čïχtïm däp čïqïptu / digäŋkin / (172) kïršun däptu // (173) tazïm qïp kiriptu // (174) ijädä ula taza čikinip / qol ilkidä taza kä:rï bir näsä qa:maj turǰav vaχtikän // (175) šunda vosïmu / bir dadäm-boγdaj / iki dadän qonaq / jüz jiŋ paχta / iki danä qoj iltipat qïptu // (176) ämdi murtuqqa gowu puǰuŋnï[434] esällix sorap čïqpaqaj / däp kepzä / (177) bir sögän üzümnï äp kepzä / murtuqqa čïqïptu bu // (178) gowu puǰuŋ / muzurχallanï hämïsini apïsï bu / ämdi // (179) ašu sultam mamut waŋnï ajali u / ämdi // (180) šunï jinniγa čïqïptu // (181) äŋkin / gowu puǰuŋγa učurlaptu // (182) wo aγčam / qaravaš qullïrï nämät čïqïptu / mujnaχ käptu / digäŋkin // (183) umu bilidiγənikä hazim taγallanïma / (184) qïšqïrïp äkirip / ähwaliŋ qanda / digäŋkin // (185) u mä:zimma / birä dadän boγdaj / bir iki dadän qonaq / üzüm bir näsä kiräxlä birip / unï jolγa saptu // (186) üjigä käp turup / äŋkin / aχšïmï čiŋwaŋ γuǰamnï[435] juχlap čïqï paqaj däp / dalan karizγa čïqïptu // (187) ä:tïsï ijägä čïqïptu // (188) ijädä muχtär bava ba: / kürä:dä // (189) hä / nämät / čïqqapsäŋγu? / (190) hä / majnaχ / γuǰamnï esällix sorap čïqqan / digäŋkin / (191) hä / mä učurlap-paqaj däp / učurluγaŋkin / čïχsun däptu //

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432 *kičïx aγča* 'small lady', popular name of the youngest child of Jasak Prince Sultan Mamut.
433 *älaki* a corrupted form for *Äli aka* 'Mr. Ali' or *Äli ka* 'Ali Kah'.
434 *gowu puǰuŋ* 'Royal wife Gowu', name of Jasak Prince Sultan Mamut's wife, comprising the personal name *gowu* and her title *puǰuŋ* 'royal wife'.
435 *čiŋwaŋ γuǰam* 'My Saint Qinwang', *čiŋwaŋ* < Chin. 親王 *Qin-wang*, see also *sačinwaŋ*.



to [Nämät] with saddle etc., (136) and then dressed him in a set of clothes. (137) [Päridin Khan] kindly presented him two *dadän* of wheat, three *dadän* of corn, two hundred *jin* of cotton, two *kürï* of sesame, and two *kürï* of rice, telling him to arrange his marriage with those things. (138) [Nämät] said: "Yes!" and brought these things back. (139) Next day he decided to visit Muzur Khan Ghoja as well, and went to Lämjin. (140) He arrived in Lämjin; reportedly [Muzur Khan] had a special envoy called Heziz Ka. (141) [Nämät] greeted him and entered. (142) [Heziz Ka] also greeted him back: "Come on, Nämät. (143) Why have you come here?" (144) "I came to visit my great Saint." (145) [Heziz Ka] said: "If so, I will try to inform him", and he entered the room of Muzur Khan. (146) He found [Muzur Khan] lying there smoking opium. (147) [Heziz Ka] greeted him and said: "O, my Saint Muzur Khan, your slave Qara Nämät has come. (148) He is waiting just in front of the door." (149) [Muzur Khan] said: "O, Let him enter!" (150) [Nämät] entered and sat down there after reading the prayers. (151) [Muzur Khan] spoke to him: "O, Nämät, it is so nice you could come here." (152) "O, my saint, I have nothing. (153) My life is just like this. (154) I found I am more than fourty years old, but so far I have not been able to marry. (155) Then, yesterday I spoke to myself lying on the bed: 'You should die! (156) First is God, and then my Saint Jasak Prince Muzur Khan is here. (157) The person who supports you is right here, (158) the person who does duty to your father is right here.'" (159) Saying this, I came to visit you." (160) [Muzur Khan] ordered to Heziz Ka: (161) "Heziz Ka, Heziz, bring the best horse that I ride when I travel around." (162) [Muzur Khan] presented him with a good, saddled horse, and dressed him in a set of clothes. (163) It is told that Muzur Khan had a chest of excellent clothes prepared for (his son) Iminnijaz Khan's wedding; (164) he dressed [Nämät] with those clothes, (165) and said: "I kindly present you with three hundred *jin* of cotton, two *dadän* of wheat, five *dadän* of corn, five sheep, two *kürï* of sesame, and two *kürï* of rice. (166) You may arrange your marriage with these things." (167) He gave those things, and servants brought them to [Nämät]. (168) Having received the things, [Nämät] went back home carrying the things, and then decided to go to Bulbul Chuqqa to visit Younger Aghcha as well; he came to Bulbul Chuqqa having prepared very good gifts for her. (169) Actually, Äläki, the husband of Younger Aghcha, was there. (170) [Äläki informed]: "O my Madam, your slave Qara Nämät has come. (171) He has come saying: 'I came to visit my Saint, no, my Madam', and came saying this-and-that." (172) [Younger Aghcha] said: "Let him enter." (173) [Nämät] entered and showed his esteem. (174) It was a time when they had become very weak, having very little property left. (175) Despite their situation being like that, she kindly presented him one *dadän* of wheat, two *dadän* of corn, one hundred *jin* of cotton and two sheep. (176) Then he decided to go to Murtuq to visit Gowu Pujung. (177) He bought a basket of grapes, and went to Murtuq. (178) Gowu Pujung was the mother of Muzur Khan and his other brothers. (179) She was the wife of Jasak Prince Sultan Mamut. (180) He went to her place. (181) Reportedly, someone informed Gowu Pujung. (182) "O my madam, your slave Qara Nämät has come, he has come saying this-and-that." (183) Reportedly, she knows Hazim Tayan as well. (184) She called him and asked: "How is your life?" (185) That lady also presented him with one *dadän* of

(192) u ākizā / nāmātkā amdan gāʔ qīp / u sačiŋ waŋ[436] / ununγa mošu / nizamidinni to ni / (193) sā̃ hisaplap / qā čilix bi̇ř nimi kātkidāk ? / digāŋkin / (194) kitidïγan näsä kiräxlani hämi̇sini hisaplap / (195) šu χäs pulla / mušu künniki pulïγa / töʔt bäš miŋ kej biriptu // (196) unu āp / ujigā kāp / ultijip šäńǰaŋ[437] γuǰamnï joχlap čïqï paqaj däp / juwaŋqïγa čïqqaŋkin // (197) ultijip šäńǰaŋ pušeńǰaŋ[438] waχli̇ridi / ämdi / (198) u jiŋ šäńǰaŋ[439] bulamidi / (199) iki qetïm boldï / u / (200) pušäńǰaŋla bo γan nimä // (201) u šäńǰaŋ ämdi // (202) nämät nij čïqiptu // (203) umu / pičandïn jini käʔ qa γan waχtikā̃ // (204) kāp / āŋkizā / hä nämät / nim qïγi̇lï čïχtiŋʔ / digāŋkin / (205) χoš γuǰam / andaχ mandaχ däʔ kitip / (206) iŋki / sini iššiŋni bilivatimä mä / (207) sā̃ özi / χořǰunu joχ diwani vop / hämi̇sidin nurγum-bi̇ř nimä jïγïpsā̃ / (208) taŋ / bunu qulunï däplazä / taza tujrukkä teŋivitip/ (209) qurvan däp bi̇ř ädi̇mi bařdï / uzä iškirisidin äčïqqan // (210) uř / digāŋkin / urup / šu dümbi̇liřni šu qi̇ř qi̇ř čïqiřvittu // (211) waj γuǰam / mä töwä qildïm / (212) mā̃ ikiŋǰi andaq išni qïmajmä / däptu // (213) dajnaχ tö wä qildurup / unï quj piriptu // (214) quj pägāŋkin / u āŋkin / ǰïχ bi̇řimä jïγili kätkāŋkin däp / šädä bi̇ř äjal bařdï / (215) katta ajal u / (216) šunï aldï bu // (217) ämdi / näkämdä disä / mušu šiŋšisäjni iki üčünči jili / tötinči jilliridiki gäʔplä u / (218) šundaχ äptu // (219) hä / u qïmawaz voγaŋkin / tapqan pulïnï bäriki[440] joχkā̃ // (220) andaχ qïp / mandaχ qïp / u χotun bilä tö jilla öj tutup / (221) u χutun tuγmi̇dï / (222) a qïvät hišnimi̇si qa maj / u χutun aǰrišïp ketti / (223) majdaγ voγan //

436 *sačiŋwaŋ* < Chin. 沙親王 *Sha-qin-wang*, a title given by Qing rules to Iskandar (1910-1951).
437 *šäńǰaŋ* < Chin. 県長 *xian-zhang* 'county magistrate'.
438 *pušäńǰaŋ* < Chin. 副県長 *fu-xian-zhang* 'vice county magistrate'.
439 *jiŋ šäńǰaŋ* < Chin. 正県長 *Zheng xian-zhang* 'chief county magistrate', here it occurs vs. 副県長 *fu xian-zhang* 'vice county magistrate'.
440 *bäriki* 'its blessing', *bärikä* < Ar. *barakat* 'blessing'.



wheat, one or two *dadän* of corn, grapes etc. and sent him back. (186) [Nämät] returned home, and decided to visit Qingwang Ghoja as well, and went to Dalan Karez. (187) He went there the next day. (188) Muhtar Bava[441] was there in the yard. (189) "O, Nämät, why have you come here?" (190) [Nämät] said: "I have come to visit my Saint." (191) [Muhtar Bava] said: "All right, I will try to inform him"; he informed [Qingwang], and [Qingwang] said: "Let him enter." (192) He, Saqingwang, spoke with Nämät very well, and then asked Nizamidin to calculate [the cost of] a wedding. (193) He asked: "You calculate, and just tell me how much it costs." (194) [Nizamidin] calculated the things needed, (195) then they gave him about four or five thousand *yuan* cash if we count with the present currency. (196) [Nämät] brought them home and decided to visit County Magistrate Ultiyip, and went to Chuwangqir. (197) At that time County Magistrate Ultiyip was Vice County Magistrate. (198) He could not be selected as Chief County Magistrate. (199) He was selected twice, (200) but only as Vice County Magistrate. (201) Well, he was a County Magistrate. (202) Nämät went there. (203) It was a time when [Ultiyip] had also just returned from Pichan. (204) He came and asked: "Well, Nämät, what are you doing here?" (205) He said: "Well, my Saint", and then explained this-and-that. (206) [Ultiyip] said: "I know what are you doing. (207) As far as I have heard, you have gathered many things from others pretending to be a beggar who has no Xurjun-sack."[442] (208) [He ordered:] "Tie his hands!" and [his servants] tied him to a pillar. (209) [Ultiyip] had a servant called Qurvan who was taken from inner China. (210) [Ultiyip] ordered [Qurvan] to beat [Nämät], and [Qurvan] beat him until ridges appeared on his back. (211) "O, my Saint, I confess! (212) I won't do such things anymore." (213) [Ultiyip] made him confess so, and released him. (214) He released him, but obviously many things had been gathered. There was a lady, (215) she was an excellent woman. (216) Nämät married her. (217) Well, if you ask me when it happened, I'd say it is a story of the second, third, and fourth years of Sheng Shicai. (218) He married in this way. (219) Hey, since he was a gambler, the money he earned was no blessing. (220) Doing this and that, he kept his marriage with that lady for four years. (221) She didn't give birth. (222) Finally, he had nothing left, and they were divorced. (223) It was so.

441 Lit. 'Grandfather Muhtar'.
442 Original: *χorjunï joq diwani* 'a beggar who has no *χorjun*-sack', an idiomatic phrase used to describe poor situation.

22. sidiχ χälpä (1)

(1) sidiχ χälpä[443] mo riya čïqïptu / bu // (2) u kämdä / taza šaŋjo vop tuřyav vaχti // (3) χandoluq rozi mejzin däp bi̇ř ädäm bařdi // (4) ašu mo ridin ütüp / šaŋdawmen däp bi̇ř jä va / morida / (5) šaŋdawmenya bayam-mällädä / a qi̇din bi̇ř jarïda[444] atnï minip bi̇ř ädäm čikägidäx / jälpäxni kijip ämdi // (6) u a?tliq voyaŋkin / keptu // (7) ässalamu elejkum / däp išäxtin čüškäŋkin[445] / (8) sidiχ χälpä / nim däp išäxtin čüštüŋ? / däp / (9) ǰanaplirini izzät qïp čüštüm mā // (10) hä / sā čüššäŋ / mā čüšmi̇säm bomaj[446] // (11) sili čüšmi̇silimu buldu / (12) mā ra zi / dä kitip // (13) özläni isimliri nim buldu? / digäŋkin / (14) soraptu / sän nälik? // (15) mā χandoluq[447] // (16) etiŋ nimä? / (17) etim rozi / dä kitip / (18) özläni isimliri nim buldu? / digäŋkin / (19) mā / sidiχ χälpä digäm-mā / (20) mā gučuŋya[448] kitparimä / (21) jüro[449] billä / mini vilä billä gučuŋya virip[450] pïřqïlap kilna[451] / digäŋkin // (22) u a?tliχ / u išäxlix miŋiptu // (23) miŋip qïri̇χ däp bi̇ř jä va / ämdi / (24) ašo jol tigi / čitäjniki üsti qïri̇χ // (25) qïri̇χqa bayam-mällädä[452] / sidiχ χälpä däptu / (26) bi jädä ädäm u jam-bujan üssä / ussuluq bi̇řmä ičidiyam bi̇ř jä bamo / rozaχun? / (27) mušu öjdä χälpäm / küränčigi bi̇ř tüŋgäm-ba / (28) äšädä ötken keškenge χävir äp tuřduyan[453] tüŋgän mušu / (29) kiri paqïni däp kiriptu // (30) u tüŋgän / ädämgä andaq čirajini ačidiyandäx ämäs / (31) na jti tärsä[454] / šundaχ bi̇řmikä // (32) süjüŋ[455] vamu disima / joχ digüdäx / (33) čijiŋ[456] vamu disima / joχ digidäx / (34) neniŋ vamu disimu / joχ digidäx // (35) andin kin / u aččiyi kip qäptu // (36) suřyul qamča däp / tümüř sap qamči̇niki uččuda / mašnaχ gadamaš tümüř ämdi / (37) unu suřyul qamča däp qujdikā / (38) šundaχ qamči̇ ba / unu qulda // (39) ras[457] taza dümbi̇sigä üš tötni uřyaŋkin / ǰavyi müšüxtäk surā säptu // (40) hämmä nimi̇si bařken / dedu / (41) ačiqivätti taza // (42) unuŋdin bizä / bunuŋdin bizä jā kitip / (43) bi̇řmunčä pulni čïqïrip / al / digäŋkin / (44) mā a majmā / digäŋkin / (45) jänä qamči̇ jisä / digäŋkin / (46) äŋkin

443 *χälpä* < Ar. *xalīfa*, here *χälpä* signifies 'Mr.'
444 *jarïda* ← *jaridar* 'injurred, wounded'
445 *čüškäŋkin* < *čüškändin kejin*.
446 *bomaj* here stands for *bomadu* ~ *bomajdu* < *bolmajdu*.
447 *χandoluq* 'an inhabitant of Khando'
448 *gučuŋ* < Chin. 古城 *Gu-cheng*, name of county in Changji, Old Uyghur name of this place was Bešbalıq
449 *jüro* 'come on', IMPER of *jürü-* 'to go'. Normally, *jürü* also funtions as imperative in the Turfan dialect, however, *jüro* is mostly used by older generations or upper class speakers when they address younger generations or lower class addressees. On the other hand, *jüro* is unique for male, while *jürü* is not gender specified.
450 *virip* ← *berip*
451 *kilna* plural form of 2nd person VOL of *käl-* 'to come'. Usually, VOL of *käl-* is *kilini* in the Turfan dialect, *kilna* is unique for male, older generations or upper class speakers, see also the previous note to *jüro*.
452 *bayam-mällädä* < *bařyan mähällärdä*.
453 *χävir äp tuřduyan* < *χäbär elïp turidiyan* 'one who takes care of ...'
454 *tärsä* ← *tärsa* 'stubborn, obstinate'.
455 *süjüŋ* 2sg POSS of *su* 'water'
456 *čijiŋ* 2sg POSS of *ča* 'tea'.
457 *ras* ← *rasa* 'heavily, strongly'.



22. (The story of) Sidikh Khälpä (1)

(1) It is told that once Sidikh Khälpä went to Mori. (2) At that time he was Shangyo. (3) There was a man named Rozi Muezzin, an inhabitant of Khando. (4) They came to a place named Shangdaomen[458] in Mori. (5) Someone with a fur cap came up from behind riding a wounded horse when (Rozi Muezzin) arrived at Shangdaomen. (6) He came mounted. (7) [Rozi Muezzin] said: "Peace upon you!" and dismounted the donkey. (8) Sidikh Khälpä asked: "Why did you get off the donkey?" (9) "I have dismounted in respect of your honourable person." (10) [Sidikh Khälpä replied:] "I must dismount also if you do." (11) [Rozi Muezzin] said: "You do not need to get down, (12) I am pleased with it." (13) Then he asked: "May I have your name, please?" (14) Then [Sidikh Khälpä] asked: "Where do you come from?" (15) "I am from Khando." (16) "What is your name?" (17) [Rozi Muezzin] answered: "My name is Rozi." (18) Then he asked: "What is your name, please?" (19) "I am the man who is called Sidikh Khälpä. (20) I am going to Guchung. (21) Come on, go with me to Guchung, let's travel there together." (22) One travelled with a horse, and the other one with a donkey. (23) They travelled, and [came to] a place called Qiriq.[459] (24) Qiriq is just below the road and located on the upper side of Qitai.[460] (25) When they arrived at Qiriq, Sidikh Khälpä said: (26) "Rozakhun, is there any place where travelers can drink something?" (27) [Rozi Muezzin] said: "There is a Dungan innkeeper, my Khälpä. (28) He takes care of travelers passing through here." (29) [Sidikh Khälpä] said: "Let's have a look", and they have entered (the guesthouse). (30) The Dungan was not in a mood to smile at anybody. (31) They found him to be a very obstinate guy. (32) He said "No!" when they asked: "Do you have any water?" (33) He said also "No!" when they asked him: "Do you have some tea?" (34) He even said "No!" when they asked him: "Do you have any bread?" (35) Then [Sidikh Khälpä] got a little angry. (36) There is a kind of whip called a Surghul-whip with an iron handle and a very big iron point, (37) people call it a Surghul-whip. (38) He (= Sidikh Khälpä) held such a whip in his hand. (39) He attacked the (Dungan's) back (with this whip), so that he screamed like a cat. (40) Actually, he had everything. (41) He brought foods and drinks there. (42) [Sidikh Khälpä] tried a little of everything, (43) took out a lot of money and asked him to take it. (44) He said: "I will not take it." (45) [Sidikh Khälpä] said: "(If not), you will get my whip again." (46) Then he took [the money]. (47) [Sidikh Khälpä said:] "I am the Shangyo who manages the area around Guchung and Mori." (48) He was also very fluent in Chinese. (49) "I am a Shangyo. (50) This was a place where children, helpless people and weak women pass through. (51) If you by any chance are impolite and won't give anything (to them), I will cut your back like a leather rope." (52) Reportedly, Sidikh Khälpä had goods loaded on seventeen mules and donkeys in Guchung. (53) He had come for loading tax-grain. (54) It was about the twentieth day of the fasting month.[461] (55) They

458 Name of a pass in Mori.
459 Name of a village in Guchung.
460 Goes back to Chin. 奇台 *Qi-tai*, another Chinese name of Guchung.
461 Original: *roza*, most often occurs as *roza aj*, the ninth month of the Muslim calendar.

āptu // (47) mām mušu gučuŋ vilā mori / mušu ätrapni sorajdïγan šaŋju mā̄ // (48) u χänsučïγïmu najti usta ädïmidi / u / (49) män šaŋjo / (50) uššaχ balla / aǰïz äjal kiši / šundaχ ädämlä ütidïγaj-jä bu / (51) nävada kirāx[462] / säm-mušnaχ bi'ädäplix qïp / bïřmä bämïjdïγam-būsaŋ / dümbäŋni tasma tilimä mā̄ siniki / dävitip // (52) uniki gučuŋda oǰǰättä χičïr išäxtä mili vařkā̄ / sidiχ χälpiniki / (53) šädä / taza pän ärtuγa[464] / buřsarïχaγa čiχsaχ / bïř näččä jüz ädäm dügülnüp kittu / dedu // (56) münüp ǰisa[465] digän išäx tutumä däp / tusap tuřγan vaχtikā̄ // (57) sidiχ χälpä čïqïp / häj munup / andaχ qïma / (58) ruzi ramzanda / jet čikildu / (59) aǰïz uruχ va / (60) bula aǰliniki / ikki üštün išäx aγïniki[466] / (61) bïřdin išäx sän munda qïsaŋ / rozi ramzanda / alla talanu aldïda / sā̄ qanda ǰugap bïřsä / digäŋkin / (62) bu däptu / sini čattïγï[467] nimä? / (63) mā̄ nimmïla qïsam qïlimä / digäŋkin / (64) baγlaŋla / däptu // (65) u jädä dumbalamu[468] ba voγaŋkin / münüp šaŋjuni[469] taza čämbärčäs baγlap / qamčï vilä dümbïsigi taza uřvitip / (66) män sini tunu qoγam-būsaŋ / hazïr et / (67) meŋla / digäŋkin / (68) χäχ taza dügläp qupup / maŋγïlï turuptu bula // (69) berïp / a:qïdin bu ba:sa / (70) bula čoŋ davandïn čüšüp / inčikisuda bula hä:mïsi qatïrisïγa o:turup kepzä / (71) eŋkizizä / čo:gün / qazā̄ bïřmïlāni esïp kïpzä / helïqï jädä bïřmïlāni jijšïp o:tuřγan vaχtikā̄ // (72) šaŋjo kägäŋkin / waj šaŋjo keldi däp / hemmïsi käp / ettidin jöläp čüšürüp / äziz ikram bilä / heliqïni na:jti čoŋ kürüp o:turuptu // (73) bïř jädin üš aʔtliχ ädäm päjda vuptu / taχtirapizdinla[470] / (74) bu nïm ädämlākā̄? / digäŋkin / (75) äkiliŋla mijägä / heliqïla digäŋkin / käptu // (76) nimi ädämlä silä? / digäŋkin / (77) biz päzila χan γuǰamnï aččïlïriduq[471] / (78) päzilaχan γuǰamnï minïdïγan etï taγdïn sejlip kiti ülü qaldï / (79) bunï γujamdin esällix sorap ekitparïmïz[472] / digäŋkin / (80) hu ani manaŋni sikïvata / (81) päzilaχan γuǰam aʔt güši jedïγan ädämma? / (82) äkiliŋla mijägä / (83) tarïp / pa:čilap jäŋla / däptu // (84) aʔtni güšini pa:čilap käpzä / aš qaγaŋ-χäχlägä / hämïsigä täχsim qïp birivitiptu // (85) χäχlä jïγlap / bu gösni taza piširip jävitip / (86) a:qïdin ula kittu // (87) a:qïdin äŋkizizä / χandoγa kägändä / (88) heliqï rozi mejzin digän üjni šunda:qïvatqā nimikā̄ / (89) ǰuvanä märtligidin / a:qïdin aǰrama / nimi alamät vüsa lüxčüŋgičä bïřpaqajmu mā̄ / däp kepzä / (90) a:qïdin miŋiptu // (91) heliqï čuvaŋqïřγa ba:γan mällädä / sawut čuǰaŋ[473] digā̄ šu

462 *nävada kirāx* 'if by any chance, just in case', is a compound of *nävada* 'by chance' and *kirāx* (< *kerāk*) 'must'.
463 *bu qaγav-vaχkā̄* ← *bup qaγav-vaχtā̄* < *bolup qalγan vaqt ikän*.
464 *ärtuγa* 'in order to load', perhaps lies for **ärtišqa* or **ärtiškā*, if not, it might also be an infitinitive in *–U / -Uw* as found in Kazakh and Tatar.
465 *münüp ǰisa* 'Police official Münüp', *münüp* 'personal name', *ǰisa* < Chin. 警察 *jing-cha* 'police official'.
466 *aγiniki* < *alγan ikän*.
467 *čattïγï* ← *čattïγïŋ* 'your business'.
468 *dumba* usually means 'big stick', but here refers to 'runner, hatchet man'.
469 *münüp šaŋju* refers to *münüp ǰisa* in the previous line.
470 *taχtirapizdinla* ← *taγtirapizdinla* < *tay täräpizdinla* 'from the side of the mountain'.
471 *ačči* ← *atči* 'horse dealer'.
472 *ekitparïmïz* < *elip ketip barïmïz* 'we are taking and bringing'.
473 *Savut čuǰaŋ* 'Region-head Savut', *čuǰaŋ* < Chin. 区长 *Qu-zhang* 'head of rural district', may also originate from Chin. 处长 *Chu-zhang* 'department head'.
474 Name of a place in Guchung.
475 Festival at the end of the fast-month.
476 Name one of the sons of Lükchün Jasak Prince Sultan Mamut.
477 Name of a village in Pichan, it locates between Sirkip and Lämjin.
478 Lit. 'elder brother Sidikh', but *aka* here signifies 'Mr.'.



were informed that hundreds people had gathered there when they arrived in Bursarikha[474] for loading tax-grain. (56) At that time a man named Munup Jisa tried to collect donkeys there. (57) Sidikh Khälpä came to him and said: "Hey, Munup, do not do that. (58) The Festival of Ramadan Fast[475] is coming. (59) These are helpless people. (60) Each family only possesses a maximum of two or three donkeys, ( 61) if you take one of them, how will you answer in front of God (may He be exalted)?" (62) Munup said: "This has nothing to do with you. (63) I will do what I want." (64) [Sidikh Khälpä] ordered: "Tie this man up!" (65) Since his runners were also there, they tied up Munup Shangyo tightly, and beat him heavily on the back. (66) Then Sidikh Khälpä said: "Tell me right now if you have recognized me." (67) [Then he said to the people:] "Go!" (68) The people began to proceed on their way one after another. (69) Sidikh Khälpä went after them. (70) They passed through the mountain pass and rested around Inchikäsu. (71) They hung up their pots and pans and began eating something together. (72) Shangyo arrived there and all the people came to him saying: "Shangyo has come!" and helped him descend from his horse showing him great respect. (73) Suddenly three mounted men appeared from the mountainside. (74) He asked: "Who are they? (75) Bring them here!" and they came. (76) [Sidikh Khälpä] asked them: "Who are you?" (77) "We are the horse dealers of Saint Päzilakhan.[476] (78) Unexpectedly, our Saint Pazilahan's horse died when it slipped down from the mountain. (79) Now we are bringing it to our Saint Päzilakhan in order to greet him." (80) "I fuck your mother and others! (81) Do you think that my Saint Päzilakhan is a person who eats horsemeat? (82) Bring it here! (83) Chop it up, and eat it!" (84) They chopped up the horsemeat, and distributed it to the hungry people. (85) People cried, cooked the meat and ate it. (86) After that they left. (87) Then they went to Khando. (88) Sidikh Khälpä found Rozi Muezzin had decorated his home very nicely. (89) Seeing this brave man, Rozi Muezzin thought: "Try to follow him until Lükchün without separating from him". (90) He followed him. (91) They arrived at Chuwangqïr,[477] and a person called Savut Quzhang was Quzhang there. (92) He was also collecting donkeys there. (93) When he was sitting there, (94) he was told: "Some people came driving about seventeen or eighteen donkeys." (95) He ordered: "Capture them!" (96) Sidikh Khälpä beat and broke the faces of Savut Quzhang's people who had tried to capture his donkeys. (97) They escaped and told about this saying this-and-that. (98) Savut said: "Who has dared to do this during my time? (99) I should have a look", and he found Sidikh Shangyo there. (100) He said: "Oh, peace upon you, Mr. Sidikh,[478] it is so nice to have you here. (101) My people were impolite to you. (102) I have come to greet you." (103) [Sidikh Khälpä] said: "Nothing happened. (104) They might have done so without knowing.

kämlädä čuǰaŋkā̃ / (92) u išäx tutuvatqā waχkā̃ / (93) u bɨř nimɨgɨ čüšüp otuřγaŋkänduq // (94) wa / mana mušunda / ojjettä on sekkiz išäg hidäp / bɨř joχ käldi / digäŋkin / (95) waj tutuŋlala / däptu // (96) ädämlɨri käp / išɨgini tutumä digā̃ savut čuǰaŋnï ädämlɨrini baš közlɨřni a·rivittu // (97) ula jügüršüp kep / waj / majna majnaχ voldï / digäŋkin / (98) wuj / mini waχtïmda mušunda qildïγan ädäm kimdu? / (99) mäm-bɨřpaqaj / däp ba·sa / sidiχ šaŋju / (100) waj ässalamu älijkum sidiγ aka / abdan čïqï qapla / (101) mini ädämlɨrim özlägä bi'iädäplik qï qujuptu / (102) mā̃ özlädin esällix sorap käldim / digäŋkin / (103) hänäq iš joq / (104) bula bilmeslixtin qï qoγandu / (105) mā̃mu bilmäslixtin uru qodum sini ädämlɨriŋni / bɨřnäččä qamča / (106) äpu qïsaŋ // (107) wa anda vūsa öjgä jūřsilä / däp kep / (108) üjigä äkäp / bɨř qo·ni ö·türüptu // (109) ö·tägändikin / u jädä än hamut palčaχ ba // (110) wa adaš / ähvaliŋ qanda? / (111) qandaχ käldiŋ? / digäŋkin / (112) ähvalim jaχši / (113) miniki je·diγan / ulaχlɨrimγa jedïγan qunaχ[479] / mišägɨ kä·gändä tügɨdi / digäŋkin / (114) waj / ädɨmiŋni ivässäŋ adaš / balla ä·tä bɨř taγa qunaχ qačɨlap bäsun / digäŋkin / (115) buldu däp / öjgä ba·yaŋkin / (116) äjali aldira kitip / bɨř taγa buγda qačɨla piriptu bununγa / qaraŋγučiluχ vuγaŋkin qïznɨγï // (117) bɨř taγa buγdani qačila pägäŋkin / keptu // (118) kä·gänisigä / hä hamut / äjaliŋ najti äχli vařkä / (119) mini to·qildu däp / qarɨmamsä bɨř taγa buγda qačɨla piriptu äjaliŋ / digäŋkin / (120) külüp / heliqï bɨř taγïřni äpirip / qunaq qačila piriptu // (121) äŋkinzä / zijapättin čïqqaŋkin / savut čuǰaŋnï iššigini aldida / qujruγï γalvïřdäx vokätkän bɨř qoj baγlaχlïχ tuřγudäx // (122) hä saviraχun / bu qo·ni amdan biqipsizläγu / digäŋkin / (123) χoš / apam / sidiγ aka / kümänčixlix qïp baqqan / (124) siligä qo·mo lazimmu? / digäŋkin / (125) hä / mā̃ to·qïsam / här biriŋla čïχsaŋla / käsaŋla / mā̃ nimä ötüřmā̃? / (126) maŋa lazim bumaj // (127) hä bunï čaqan äpiri piriŋna / däp qojni aravisiγa säp / bunïmu äpir piriptu // (128) äpirpägändinkin / tazza üzzini toχtɨtiväp / päzilaχannï jinniγa čïqïptu / bu // (129) päzilaχannï jinniγa abdan soγa salamlïχ / bizä äpjün bɨřmɨläni äp čïqqaŋkin / (130) äŋkizizä / sidiχ keptu / digäŋkin // (131) heškimlägä qupup talaγa čïqïdïγan ädäm ämäs / u päzilaχan / (132) talaγa / sidiχ šaŋju keptu digäŋkin / alajtän čïqïp / än salam qïp kuršüp / billä äp äkirip / (133) heliqï jädä / amdan čïqqapla šaŋjo / digäŋkin / (134) majna majnaq / ǰanaplɨrïnï äsläp / (135) mā̃ ädämläni bɨř näčä qamča uru qo·dum / (136) özäm aʔtni güššini γuǰamγa äkitparimä digäŋkin / (137) ačïγïm käp / päzilaχan γuǰam digänniki qoro qoro qujji va tuřsa / (138) hä / silä γuǰamni közgä ilmaj / (139) γuǰamγa[480] aʔt güššinizä jämda? / (140) γuǰamni ümrini uzun bulušila[481] / (141) dölti uzun bulušila / (142) mā̃ änkizä / jitim jisiř aǰïz uruχlaγa bïřvättim // (143) ořnudin jügürü qupu kittu // (144) wa / räχmät šaŋju / (145) qā̃čilix ulaχ vilä ulam bilä maŋimiz? digäŋkin / (146) ojjettä išäx vilä / ojjettä mal ulam vilä maŋimä / digäŋkin / (147) ädämlïřni qïšqïrïp / bunu ojjättä uluγïγa artip maŋaliγɨčä üzümni qačɨla piriŋnä // (148) üzüm täjja vu kätkinikä // (149) ojjättä ulaqqa taza üzümni qačɨlap / u jädin čïqïp / (150) alajtän bäš jïŋ üzümni taza pařlap äčïqïp /moridiki

479 *ulaχlɨrimγa jedïγan qunaχ* 'corn for feeding my animals', SU *ulaχlɨrimγa jäjdïγan qonaχ*.
480 *γuǰamγa* 'to my Saint', here DAT *-γa* is extra.
481 *dölti uzun bulušila* 'May you have long life!', Verb + *-uš* + 2sg POSS-POL is used to express a wish in a very polite way, see 3.2.2.3.2.



(105) I also beat your people with a whip without knowing. (106) I ask you to forgive me." (107) Then (Savut) said: "If so, please come to my house." (108) He invited Sidikh Khälpä to his house, and slaughtered a sheep (for him). (109) Mudy Hamut[482] was also there when he slaughtered the sheep. (110) [Hamut] said: "Oh, brother, how are you? (111) Why have you come here?" (112) [Sidikh Khälpä] said: "I am fine. (113) The corn to be eaten by myself and my animals was finished when we arrived here." (114) [Hamut] said: "Oh brother, send your people, let my wife[483] load a sack of corn for you." (115) Sidikh said: "Good!" and went to Hamut's house. (116) Hamut's wife strained to load a sack of wheat since his storeroom was dark. (117) They returned after she had loaded the sack of wheat. (118) They came and immediately said: "Hey, Hamut, your wife is very clever. (119) Look, your wife loaded a sack of wheat for us, considering that I will hold a wedding." (120) Hamut laughed and brought a sack and loaded a sack of corn for him. (121) They found a sieve-sized big tail sheep was tied in front of the Savut's house when they returned from the banquet. (122) Sidikh Khälpä said: "Savirakhun,[484] I found you have fed this sheep well." (123) [Savut] said: "Well, my mother fed it carefully. (124) Do you need a sheep?" (125) [Sidikh Khälpä] said: "Yes, what shall I slaughter if you come to visit when I hold wedding? (126) I certainly need a sheep." (127) [Savut] ordered (his people): "Hey, bring this sheep immediately!" and they arranged the sheep in Sidikh Khälpä's chariot, and gave it to him. (128) After he had relaxed well, Sidikh Khälpä went to Päzilakhan's residence. (129) He arrived at Päzilakhan's place, bringing excellent presents, including some opium. (130) [Päzilakhan's servants] informed him: "Sidikh has come." (131) Päzilakhan was not a person who receives people outside. (132) Reportedly, he went outside hearing them say: "Sidikh has come", greeted him and invited him into his house. (133) He said: "It is nice to have you here, Shangyo." (134) [Sidikh Khälpä] said: " I have come missing you your Excellency. (135) I beat your people with whips[485] without care, (136) since they told me: 'We bring horsemeat to my Saint'. (137) I got angry and said: 'You should know that my Saint Päzilakhan has many flocks of sheep. (138) Why do you dare to think so little of my Saint? (139) Do you think my Saint eats horse meat?' (140) Wishing you a long life, (141) wishing you endless wealth, (142) I distributed it to the orphans and helpless people." (143) [Päzilakhan] stood up from his seat immediately, (144) and said: "Thank you, Shangyo. (145) With how many animals and servants are you travelling?" (146) "I am travelling with seventeen animals and servants." (147) Päzilakhan summoned his servants and ordered: "Load raisins for his animals, as much as they can carry." (148) Reportedly, it was the season when raisins were exactly ready. (149) He left there with seventeen donkeys loaded with raisins, (150) then went to

482 Translates *hamut palčaχ* in which *hamut* is the personal name and the *palčaχ* 'muddy' is his nickname.
483 Original: *balla* 'children', plural of *bala* 'child', it may also be used to address one's own wife in Turfan as well as in other parts of Xinjiang, most often occurring as *biznïŋ balla*.
484 Here *Saviraχun* (< *Sabir* + *-Axun*) mistakenly for *Savutaxun* (< *Savut* + *Aχun*).
485 Seems to be a wrong statement, since this "beating" was not mentioned in the previous lines.

tuřsun šänǰaŋnï[486] jinniγa kiriptu // (151) waj sidiχ šaŋju kiřdi / digäŋkin / (152) tuřsun šänǰaŋ čoŋ körüptu // (153) kirip olturup / ämdi šänǰaŋ / mā özläni aldïlïřda / mā bi'ädäplix qï qodum // (154) aǰïz uruχ / jitim jisiř / mušu ädämlädä / al muŋ učrüsaχ / kimini bïř jisäx[487] / (155) jet qïlimiz digā ädämläni munup[488] tusuväp / häř gä? qï paχsammu unɨmɨdï // (156) aǰïz uruχ ädämlä jïγlap tuřγan / (157) bu ädämläni jïγɨsï allaγa jitip / aǰïz uruχlani jïγɨsï allaγa jätkändä / jänä šänǰaŋγa bïř iš kä qamusun däp / munupni bïřnäččä qamča uru qodum / (158) ämdi män öz gunajimni tilāp kiřdim / digäŋkin / (159) taza külü kittu dedu / tuřsun šenǰaŋ // (160) taza birinǰi bamaχ iš qïvissä[489] // (161) üzümni aldïγa qujuptu / (162) sini[490] qāčilix ulaχ vilä maŋdïŋ? / digäŋkin / (163) ojjättä ulaχ / išäx χečiř vilä maŋdim / digäŋkin / (164) wa / qačiliγiči bunuŋγa / ojjete uluγγa[491] / taza buγdanï qačɨla piriŋna / däp / (165) heliqi jädä šundaχ jini kägän / däp // (166) u sidiχ šaŋju digänni biz bilsäxla / unuŋγa taqabil kägidäx ädämlä joχkā // (167) γulǰɨγa jašla iŋqilavïγa birip / mušu qïrïχ jättinǰi jil bolduγu / (168) šädin qajtip käp / mušu partijini waχtïda χizmät qïp ülü kätti / u ädäm // (169) sidiχ χälpɨniki hikajisi tügɨdi //

23. sidiχ χälpä (2)

(1) u jiqinqï ädäm / (2) bu šuniki wāqäsi // (3) biz kömij / bu ädämni // (4) bu sidiχ χälpä / öz waχtïda pičanda / bu mašuji[492] digän pičaŋγa šänǰaŋ vop / (5) χoǰa nijazni inqïlavïni aldïdiki gäp / bu ämdi // (6) šänǰaŋ vop turup / bu äŋkiziä / čuvaŋqïřγa ikki kariz čepip / (7) ikki karizni sujini šädä ölčivāp / (8) dašo čoŋ suγa qetip / (9) šädin lüxčüŋgä käp / (10) lüxčündä bïř ikki eriχ / šängän[493] jiri šängän jiri digän ikki eriχ sunï šädin aǰïtip ävāp / (11) χäχkä teŋip qïmmɨγan äskiligi qamɨγan // (12) ädämni urup / šundaχ vop tuřγaŋkän // (13) än / äsmitul mirap däp bïř miravi vařkän / (14) u zalïm mirapkā / (15) undaχ mundaχ ämäs // (16) urup tuřγan / tillap tuřγan / χäχni / (17) šunda qïp tuřduγan ädɨmikā // (18) šundaχ voγankin / šädä bïř čoŋ to voptu // (19) to dizä / u igiz bïř jägä čïqïväp tuřγaŋkin / äsmitul mirap digän mašujini miravi / (20) sidiχ χälpä bïř pijälini quluγa tutu turu / pijälini jägä etiptu // (21) mušu pijälä jägä čüšü kässä / čeqilsa / mā juqalɨγɨnïm / (22) tuřsa / mā teš amā tuřγünum / däpzä / (23) činɨni jägä etiptu // (24) atqaŋkin / pijälä jägä čüšüp hešnimɨ bo maptu // (25) taχlap čüšüpla / u otuřγan äsmitul mirapni širiγγa[494] suřγul qamčɨniki katamušï vilä urupla / äsmitul mirapni putïnï üzivittu // (26) üzüvitipla šu jädinla qečip kirip / (27) käp ořduγa birip /

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486 *tuřsun šänǰaŋ* 'County Magistrate Tursun', such adressing of officials is more popular in the southern part of Xinjiang than the northern and eastern regions.
487 *kimini jä-* 'to emphasize someone', southern dialects use *γimini jä- ~ γemini jä-*.
488 *munup* 'Munup', personal name, identical with *münüp* above. Here the informant clearly pronounces it with back high vowel.
489 *qïvissä* < *qïlvitipsän* 'You did'.
490 *sini* GEN. or ACC of *sän* 'you', here it stands for *sän* 'you'.
491 *uluγγa* 'to his animal/load', here the 3sg POSS suffix *–i* is missing.
492 *mašuji* < Chin. 馬寿義 *Ma Shou-yi* (?) personal name.
493 *šängän* < Chin. 県官 *χian-guan* 'county official', usually refers to a county magistrate.
494 *širiγγa* 'to his leg', in which the 3sg POSS suffix *–i* is missing.



County Magistrate Tursun who was in Mori, specially selecting five jin[495] of raisins. (151) His people informed him: "Sidikh Shangyo has come." (152) Reportedly, County Magistrate Tursun showed him great respect. (153) Sidikh Khälpä entered and sat down. "Mr. County Magistrate, I have created an impolite situation for you. (154) We have to feel sympathy for helpless people and orphans when we see their distress. (155) Munup blocked the road of some people who wanted to go on holidays, not listening to me whatever I would say. (156) The helpless people cried so hard. (157) I beat Munup with whips fearing something would happen to the County Magistrate when those helpless people's crying and wailing reached Allāh. (158) Now I have come here to ask you to forgive my sin." (159) It is told that the County Magistrate Tursun laughed very loudly, (160) and said: "You have done a very good job!"[496] (161) [Sidikh Khälpä] presented the raisins. (162) [Tursun] asked: "With how many animals are you travelling?" (163) He replied: "I am travelling with seventeen animals, donkeys and mules." (164) [Tursun] ordered (his runners): "Load wheat for him on the seventeen donkeys, as much as they can carry". (165) Reportedly, he came back from there in this way. (166) There is nobody that can stand against Sidikh Shangyo once we got to know him. (167) He joined the Ghulja Revolution,[497] you know, it happened in 1947. (168) He returned and worked for the party,[498] and then he passed away. (169) The story of Sidikh Khälpä's has come to an end.

23. (The story of) Sidikh Khälpä (2)

(1) He was a person who lived recently. (2) This is his story. (3) Naturally, we have seen this person. (4) In Sidikh Khälpä's time, Ma Shouyi was the County Magistrate of Pichan County. (5) It took place before the Khoja Niyaz's Revolution.[499] (6) (Ma Shuyi) dug two karez at Chuwangqïr when he was County Magistrate. (7) He measured the water there, (8) and joined it to the big river, (9) and then led it to Lükchün. (10) He allocated two ditches of water to himself saying it was for the field of the County Magistrate, (11) forced people to pay for it, and did everything bad that he could. (12) He also beat people, and continued in this manner. (13) Reportedly, he used to have a Water-manager named Äsmitul Mirap.[500] (14) He was a cruel Water-manager, (15) not simply cruel but extremely (brutal). (16) He always beat and cursed at people. (17) He was such a man. (18) Once, (someone) held a big wedding. (19) At the wedding Äsmitul Mirap, Ma Shuyi's Water-manager, sat on a high seat. (20) Sidikh Khälpä threw a teacup, which he was holding. (21) He thought: "If this teacup breaks when it falls on the ground, it means I will be finished; (22) If it remains unbroken, that means I

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495 Five *jin* equals 2.5 kg. Original: *ǰiŋ* < Chin. 斤 *jin* 'Chinese unit of weight' (= 1/2 kilogram).
496 Lit. "I found you did first finger (= big toe) job!"
497 Refers to the Ghulja Revolution which is mostly called *üč vilajät inqilavi* "The Three Districts Revolution' (1944-1949).
498 Here refers to the Chinese Communistic Party.
499 Refers to the farmers revolution that happened in 1931 under the leadership of Khoja Niyaz Haji (1887-1938) of Qomul.
500 Mirap < Per. *mīrāb* 'water manager, irrigation commissioner', here is Äsmitul's title.

guŋ ɣuǰïnï jinïɣa kiriptu bu // (28) u kämlädä / mašuji vilä waŋniki ädämlïri taza qijišip tuřɣav-vaχliridi ämdi // (29) berip / wa uluɣ ɣuǰam / mä mašujiniki miraviniki putinï üzüvattim / (30) ämdi päna tiläp özläni jiniɣa käldim / (31) qutuluš üčün käldim / digäŋkin / (32) andaχ vosa amdan boptu / däp / (33) heliqïnïŋɣa / taza jambuluχ aʔttin bïř aʔt birip / (34) bïř quř ton kigüzüp / (35) bunuŋ qulïɣa χeli jïχ pulni birip käpzä / (36) ämdi mišädin[501] panalïɣidäx jiriŋ vüsa qeči čikät / digäŋkin / (37) buldu däp / taɣïsïnï üjgä / ürümčigï qeči čikittu / bu // (38) ürümčidä pïřqïlap jüřgäŋkin / mašuji ävalni e tip üsti üstingä / (39) bu šäŋǰaŋ voɣaŋkin // (40) šundaχla tuřyanda / χäχtin / jäti säkiz on jaji pajiliri vilän qušup käp / ürümčigä čiqaɣan nimikǟ // (41) šu kämlädä sanǰidikänduq / sidiχ χälpä / (42) sanǰida bïř gänzidä o tuřɣïnikä // (43) šä din / ičkirisidin čïqqan äskärlädin bïř on äskärni billä äp kägäŋkin / (44) ula čambaškǟ / heliqï äskärlä // (45) heliqï sidiχ χälpä ba gänzigï bïř ikki čambaš kirip / (46) üstini taχta pärlïvatqan gänzikǟ / u / (47) taza putinï qizil siřɣa säp turup / heliqï čambaš taza majnaχsïɣa[502] köxläp čïqïp / (48) putinï heliqï pärlivatqan pängä paqqidä täpälïvirip / taχlap čüšüptu // (49) sidiχ χälpä majdaχ qařpaχsa / bula čambaškǟ // (50) nimïla qïlɣïnim bilä mini tutqïdäx / däp kitip / (51) äŋkizïdä / sizlä bizä täχïř qïliŋlä / (52) mǟ mušu tuřqïda bïřmïnï qodi / jävasam / (53) män silägä bojsunup / (54) nägïla äpasaŋla äpiriŋna / digäŋkin / (55) anda vüsa buldu / däp / (56) ɣizani jaʔ kätkänisigla qolni tutpiriptu // (57) qolni bajlap/ änkisigä / mušu tujuqqa äkäp / (58) mušu tujuχta bïř kičä saχlap / lüxčüŋgä apaɣaŋkin / (59) lüxčündä / šä dä turup / (60) lüxčündin pičaŋɣa äpirivatqankin / (61) pičanda tuřɣanisïɣa / qumul buzuluptu // (62) bïř jil voldï / ikki jil voldï / däp tuřɣan mällädä / (63) bu bijädä zijaŋkäšlix qïmïsun däp / tuřpaŋɣa äkägäŋkin / (64) šu jädä χuǰï nijazvaj[503] kep / (65) mušu lüxčün tuřpallamu buzulu kitip / (66) än sulaχtin čïχti / bu // (67) bašlam bašlïq[504] qïlɣan iši šu / unuŋ // (68) šä din[505] čïqïp / u äŋkizïdä / ga siliŋɣa[506] länǰaŋ vup išläp tuřdi / bu // (69) sidiχ χälpä najti juɣan / gaŋguŋ ädïmikǟ[507] //

501 *mišädin* < *mušu järdin* 'from this place'.
502 *majnaχsïɣa* 'like this, so', for *-sïɣa* see 3.4.3.3.
503 *χuǰï nijazvaj* refers to Khoja Niyaz Hāji, *vaj* has a clear ironic meaning, usually is added to personal names.
504 *bašlam bašlïq* compound of *bašlam* 'beginning' and *bašlïq* 'beginning', signifies 'first time, at the beginning'.
505 *šä din* < *šu järdin* 'from that place'.
506 *ga silïŋ* < Chin. *Ga Si-ling* 'Young commander', the nickname of a famous Chinese-Muslim warlord Ma Zhongying (馬中英).
507 *ädïmikǟ* ← *ädïm ikän* < *adäm ikän*.



will leave peacefully." (23) He threw the teacup on the ground. (24) The teacup landed on the ground but happened nothing. (25) Then he jumped down, beat Asmitul Mirap with the iron-point of a Surghul-whip, and broke his leg. (26) After that he ran away from there, (27) and came to the palace, to Gung Ghoja. (28) It was a time when Ma Shuyi and the Jasak Prince's people were opposing each other. (29) He said: "My great Saint, I have broken Ma Shuyi's water-manager's leg. (30) Now I have come here to you in order to have protection, (31) I came here in order to escape." (32) [Gung Ghoja] said: "If this is so, it is good." (33) Then he gave him a very costly horse,[508] (34) also presenting him with a set of clothes. (35) He also gave him a lot of money, (36) and said: "Escape from here if there is any place where you may find protection." (37) He said: "All right" and fled to Urumchi, to his uncle's place. (38) He stayed in Urumchi, and Ma Shuyi informed higher officials one after another. (39) You know, he is a County Magistrate. (40) Reportedly, he sent about seven or eight or ten yamen runners to Urumchi. (41) At that time Sidikh Khälpä was in Changji. (42) It is told that he was just sitting in a restaurant in Changji. (43) They came with ten soldiers who were from Inner China. (44) Reportedly, these soldiers were boxers. (45) One or two boxers entered the restaurant where Sidikh Khälpä was. (46) Reportedly, the roof of this restaurant was decorated with board. (47) One of the boxers put his feet on the red glaze and jumped (towards the roof), (48) kicked in the board used to decorate the roof and jumped down. (49) Sidikh Khälpä saw this, and knew they were boxers. (50) He thought: "It is certain that they will capture me whatever I do." (51) Then he said: "Please wait for a moment. (52) They brought me something just now, let me eat it. (53) Then I will obey you, (54) and will go with you wherever you bring me." (55) [They] said: "If so, it is OK." (56) He allowed them to tie his hands after he had his food. (57) They tied his hands, and brought him to Tuyuq. (58) They kept him one night at Tuyuq, and then brought him to Lükchün. (59) He stayed at Lükchün, (60) later they brought him to Pichan. (61) Reportedly, the people of Qomul rebelled[509] while he was staying in Pichan. (62) Just when he was counting: "One year passed, two years passed", (63) they brought him to Turfan fearing that he would be framed. (64) At this time Khoja Niyazway arrived, (65) Lükchün and Turfan also joined the rebellion. (66) He was released from jail. (67) It was the first thing that (Khoja Niyaz) did. (68) He left the jail and worked for a while as Company Commander for Ga Siling. (69) It is told that Sidikh Khälpä was a very tall and heroic person.

508 Original: *jambuluχ aʔt* 'the horse of *yambu*', refers to a very costly horse. For *jambu* cf. Jarring 1964: 147.
509 Refers to the farmers Rebellion led by Khoja Niyaz Hāji, see the previous note.

24 jaγnï juzari

(1) bir küni o turup[510] het voptu // (2) het voγaŋkin / molla zedin / hetlïγïŋ qanda? / (3) het voγam-bilä hešnimi joχ γuǰam / digäŋkin / (4) qavəγïŋnï äkäl digäŋkin (5) jaγ qujudïγan qavaqnï äkägäŋkin / (6) ädämlirni ka lərnï hämmisni sijiŋna däp / sidürüp tošqazγudäx qïlγan mäłłädä / üstigä bir jïŋ čigit jeγγin[511] qujup biriptu // (7) bä gäŋkin / äkäp pöškäl salmïz däp qazaŋγa qujsa / waž waž küjjüx vokätkäŋkin[512] / (8) heliqï jädä / bu nimä alamät? / sesiχčilïχ vokätti / digäŋkin / (9) majdaχ majdaχ qïptu däp // (10) aŋγičä sultan mamut waŋnï čišši ayrï kittu / (11) čiši ayrï kätkäm-mällädä / hešqanda taʔp kilamaj / jïγlap kittu // (12) ässalamu älikum uluχ bigim / digäŋkin / (13) wä älikum ässilam / mulla zidin / kä[513] / digäŋkin / (14) nim bolla[514] uluχ bigim? / äǰäp nala qïp kitiplaγu? // (15) qarəmamsä mulla zidin / čiššim jama ayrï kätti // (16) mä uluχ bigim bilä beǰiŋgä baγam-mällädä / beǰiŋdin män χanni jindin[515] taza amdan čiši ayrïγini dorisini aγaš kägän / (17) hazir saqijtidu özlänikin / digäŋkin / (18) buldu däp / äkäp baq digäŋkin / (19) taza quru kätkän gandini tepïp / qaγazγa jö gap äkeptu // (20) mušunï čišläp / süji čïχsa jütkitipla tuřsüla / čišleri tuχtap qałdu / digäŋkin / (21) hä buldu däp / helqï jädä taza sujini jütkiti turuptu // (22) änkizizä tuχtap / mäʔs vop uχla kittu / bu // (23) bir kämlädä uχunup / mulla zidinnni qïšqïrïŋla / digäŋkin qïšqïrïptu // (24) mulla zidin / säm-bägän dura äǰajip kilištiγu maŋγa / (25) bu qandaχ duridi bu? // (26) hä / bu uluχ bigim bägän jaγnï juzari bu / däptu // (27) ho andaχči / mandaχči / ikkinči közüm kö misun sini / (28) hazir čïχ / däp heliqïnï qoǰlap qo ləvatqankin[516] / (29) bu taza pamlap turup / bir jilda bäš qitim bulamdu / on qitim bulamdu / turpaŋγa maŋïdïγïnikin / bula // (30) turpaŋγa maŋγaŋkin / mušu jaŋχinï nimisidä länggä däp bir jä va / (31) šu länggädä waŋla kä sä čarčaŋ qildïγan däpzä / šä dä[517] atajtän jä varkä // (32) šä dä bir tamnï taza tišip / küttigä[518] osma qujup / küttini mašdaq čiqïrï qujup o turuptu / bu // (33) waŋla käp qarəsa / bu nimi alamät bu? / kimkin? / digäŋkin / (34) mulla zidinkin / digäŋkin / (35) äkäp / qandaχ qïγəniŋ? / digäŋkin / (36) uluχ bigim közüm kö misun sini digäŋkin / küttümnimu bo sa kö sun däp majdaχ qïvatimä // (37) bir dadän buγdaj iltipat qiptu //

510 *bir küni o turup* lit. 'sitting one day', this is a common expression for 'once' in spoken Uyghur. Similar expressions are *bir küni turup* 'staying one day', *bir küni qupup* 'getting up one day'. Here *o turup*, *turup* and *qupup* seem to function as a strengthening element.
511 *čigit jeγγin* 'the cotton-seed oil', ACC of *čigit jeγi* 'coton-seed oil'.
512 *küjjüx vokätkäŋkin* < *köjük bolup kätkändin kejin*.
513 *kä-* 'come' ← *käl-*
514 *nim bolla* < *nemä boldila*? 'What happened for you?'
515 *jindin* 'from his place', ABL of *jan* 'side' + 3 POSS.
516 *qo ləvatqankin* < *qoγlivätkändin kejin*.
517 *šä dä* < *šu järdä* 'at that place'.
518 *küttigä* < *köt* 'buttocks' + 3 POSS + DIR, usually it is pronounced as *küttigä*.



24. Oil cake

(1) One day people celebrated a religious festival. (2) Since it was a festival day, [the Jasak Prince asked]: "Molla Zedin, how is your holiday?" (3) [Molla Zedin] said: "I have nothing, my Saint, though all are celebrating the festival." (4) [The Jasak Prince ordered]: "Bring your kurbitsa!" (5) [Molla Zedin] brought his oil-kurbitsa. (6) [The Jasak Prince] ordered his servants: "Urinate!" and they poured in one *jin* of cottonseed oil to where the kurbitsa was nearly full, and then gave it to [Molla Zedin]. (7) [Molla Zedin] took the oil, brought it home and tried to make a thin loaf of bread. He poured it into a pot, but it burned making sizzling sounds. (8) Then [Molla Zedin] asked: "What has happened? It stinks so." (9) [Someone] said: "They did such-and-such". (10) Before any days had passed, the Jasak Prince Sultan Mamut had tooth pain, (11) he cried out unable to endure the pain when his tooth ached. (12) [Molla Zedin greeted him]: "Peace upon you, my Great Bäg?" (13) "Peace upon you. Come in Molla Zedin." (14) [Molla Zedin] asked: "What happened my Great Bäg, curiously you are complaining so loudly." (15) "Look, Molla Zedin, I suddenly have a toothache." (16) [Molla Zedin] said: "I brought back a very good medicine for tooth ache from Khan's place when I went to Beijing with my Great Bäg. (17) It will cure your (toothache) soon." (18) [The Jasak Prince] said: "Good, bring it here." (19) [Molla Zedin] found a piece of dried excrement, wrapped it with paper, and brought it [to the Jasak Prince]. (20) [He] said: "Please chew this, and change it if water comes from it, so your tooth (ache) will stop." (21) [Sultan Mamut] said: "All right", and continuously changed [the excrement] when water came from it. (22) A little later his tooth pain disappeared, and he went to sleep having been poisoned.[519] (23) Some time later, he awoke and ordered: "Call Molla Zedin!" (24) [He] said: "Molla Zedin, the medicine you gave to me worked very well against my tooth ache. (25) What kind of medicine was it?" (26) [Molla Zedin] answered: "It is the cake of the oil that you gave to me." (27) "Piss off, you bad man! Don't let me see your face anymore! (28) Go away immediately!" he expelled him cursing him so. (29) [Molla Zedin] made a careful plan; reportedly, [the Jasak Princes] went to Turfan five or ten times in a year. (30) When they went to Turfan, there was (along the way) a place called Länggär near Yanghe. (31) There was a special resting place for the Jasak Prince. (32) Reportedly, [Molla Zedin] got through a hole in a wall there and painted his buttocks with osma completely, and sat there showing his buttocks. (33) The Jasak Prince and his people arrived and saw him, and asked: "What is going on? Who is that?" (34) [People] said: "Clearly it is Molla Zedin." (35) [The Jasak Prince] called to him and asked: "Why are you doing this?" (36) "I am doing this in order to at least let your Excellency see my buttocks, since my Great Bäg said: 'Don't let me see your face anymore.'" (37) [The Jasak Prince] kindly presented him one *dadän* of wheat.

519 Original: *mäʔs vop* 'having been become drunk'.

25. čüvün

(1) bu čüvün qandaχ vuldu? / digäŋkin / (2) va ɣuǰam / ädäm ba jädа čüvüm-ba / (3) ädäm joχ jädä čüvün joχ / digäŋkin / hä däptu // (4) bir küni lüxčündün hasaɣa iškalap čiqiptu / (5) čiqip o:turup / tamaka tatətam bop[520] / tamakini ta:tiptu // (6) ta:tqaŋkin / bir jädin guŋŋitä čüvün käp sultan mamut waŋni pišanisigä qunuptu / (7) qonɣaŋkin / sultan mamut waŋ / hä mulla zidin / sä̃ bu ädäm ba jädä čüvün ba / ädäm joχ jädä čüvün joχ dividiŋ / (8) bijädä ba:ɣu bu čüvün? / digäŋkin / (9) uluɣ bigim ädäm bo:mɨɣam-bilä / mä̃ ädäm turšam / (10) digäŋkin / bir dadän buɣdaj iltipat qiptu //

26. at as

(1) hä / mulla zidin / jiraχ jä:din mimalla kä:sä / mulla zidin / bu mimallanï etïnï harva vüsa esip bajla qoj disä / (2) töt putini taza čušäp turup / esip / putin säŋgiltip esï qo:ɣïdäk // (3) bu qandaɣ qïɣənïŋ? / (4) ɣuǰamni ämir pärmani / (5) esi bayla qo digäŋkin / esi bajla qo:ɣunum // (6) kä:gän mimallanï etïɣa amdä oʔt sep pä / disä / taza čoɣ oʔtni[521] ečiqip / oqurɣa qujuvatqïdäk / (7) aʔtla ürküp / üzüp qečip turɣan / (8) šundaq qïlïdikän //

27. kino

(1) buniki kinosini kö:düm / (2) kinoda jaman ašurvittu // (3) mulla zidinni / waŋniki täjjilirni[522] hämmisini eŋilvašlärni oʔtta kö:dürüp / jalaŋyaš hajdap / waŋni aldɨɣa äkäp / mašdaχla // (4) biz bilmiz / (5) u molla zidin bilä bilłä ojnap jürgän ädämlärni biz bilmiz / lüxčündä // (6) u molla zidin digän / šu paraŋ sep-piripla / χoš ɣuǰam däp // (7) hä molla zidin / (8) χoš / (9) göš möš tegdimu saŋɣa? / (10) ɣoǰamla jäp qo:ɣan ustuχan čiqip pišanämgä täggi / digidäk // (11) dajnaχla gäʔp büsa qïldu u / (12) ančilix imkan joq / (13) ula tut / öltäla disä ö:türvatdïɣan waq turšа / u kämlädä // (14) uni / molla zidinni juqutu qo:sa / šar[523] šarlädin kägän jättaŋlani u jeŋivaldïɣan boɣaŋkin / uni birmä qïmajdïɣ-ɣnkä̃ // (15) gändini vä:gini raskä̃ u //

520 *tamaka tatətam-bop* 'has to smoke tabacco', *tatədan* intraterminal form of *tart-* 'to smoke', SU *tartïdïɣan*.

521 *čoŋ oʔt* 'fire', usually occurs as *čoŋ* 'flame'.

522 *täjji* < Chin. 台吉 *Tai-ji*, lowest order of Mongol nobility. This title is given to the first rank officials in the Lükchün Dukedom. Usually it has two types: *čoŋ täjji* and *kičik täjji*, both take responsibility for the general affairs of the dukedom.

523 *šar* 'city; country' < Per. *šahr*.



25. The Fly

(1) [The Jasak Prince] asked: "How and where does a fly appear?" (2) [Molla Zedin] answered: "O, my Saint, a fly appears where a human being is; (3) a fly doesn't appear where there is no human being." [The Jasak Prince] said: "I see." (4) One day, [the Jasak Prince] left Lükchün and went hunting at Hasa.[524] (5) They arrived there, and wanted to smoke and smoked tobacco. (6) When he was smoking, suddenly came a fly from somewhere else making whiz-whiz sounds, and landed on the Jasak Prince's forehead. (7) Jasak Prince Sultan Mamut asked: "Hey, Molla Zedin, you said: 'A fly is there where a human being is, and a fly doesn't appear where no human being is. (8) Why have we found a fly here?" (9) "Though my Great Bäg is not a human being, I am a human being, [that is why there is a fly here]." (10) [The Jasak Prince] kindly presented him a *dadän* of wheat.

26. Hanging horses

(1) Once some guests came from faraway and (the Jasak Prince) ordered: "Hey, Molla Zedin, find a chariot and tie up the guest's horses by hanging them." (2) So, he tethered the horses feet, and hung them by their feet. (3) (The Jasak Prince asked:) "Why did you do that?" (4) (He answered:) "This was my Saint's order. (5) I was told to tie up them by hanging them, therefore I tied them up, and hung them." (6) Once, he was told to give grass to a guest's horse, but he brought burning charcoal and poured it into the manger.[525] (7) The horses were frightened and ran breaking their (ropes). (8) Reportedly, he always does such things.

27. (Molla Zedin's) movie

(1) I have seen his movie. (2) I found the movie an exaggeration. (3) [In the movie] Molla Zedin always burns the Jasak Prince's Tayji's clothes in the fire, and takes them in front of the Jasak Prince naked, and so on. (4) We know this. (5) We know the people who played and grew up with Molla Zedin at Lükchün. (6) Molla Zedin is a person who talks interestingly and never fails to say the words: "O, my Saint." (7) (Once the Jasak Prince called:] "Molla Zedin." (8) [Molla Zedin replied:] "Yes!" (9) "Did something reach to you, I mean something like meat?" (10) "The bone thrown by my Saint contained meat that reached to my forehead." (11) He says such things. (12) There was no possibility (for him to act like in the movie). (13) It was an era in which they would have killed him immediately, if (the Jasak Prince) just said, "Capture him!" (14) Since he was able to defeat the debaters from others cities, (it was considered not good) if they missed Molla Zedin; obviously, therefore they never did anything to harm him. (15) Reportedly, it is true that he gave excrement (to the Jasak Prince).

524 Name of a place at the southern part of Turfan.

525 Words for grass and fire are homonym in the Turfan dialect as well as in SU, and both has the form *ot*.

## 5.3 Texts from Yanghe

28. tuřpannï do·γələri

(1) bu tuřpannï do·γa mirapnï jütkāštā / šundaq qïlïdikānduq // (2) bu bïř do·γənï jütkŭsā / nuřγun pul ākïřdïγan iškān // (3) mušu / tŭχsunnu doγələřni bïřneče qïtïmla jütkāp / šundïγïšlanïmu qïlγïnikā // (4) do·γənï jütkügāŋkinla /[526] altun kümüš kïřdïγa gāpkā // (5) bu do·γənï jütkāp / jütāj[527] bā·gändin kinla kiridikā // (6) ikkila tïräptin alïdikā bula / (7) jiqili qa·γučima / mini jiqiti qo·musun dāp / parənï biridikā // (8) kim altun kümüšni jïq ākā·sā / šunuŋγa do·γəliqnï biridïγa gāpkā // (9) tuřpanda šu gaχtïda / uttuz jittimu / uttuz sekizmu / do·γa varikenduq de·du // (10) tušāntu[528] bujčā sorajtan čïγï varikānduq / šu gaγladima // (11) bu do·γa jütkāštā / nuřγun pul toplivaldikā // (12) jaŋχidiki irajim tānǰaŋ[529] do·γa vuptu // (13) do·γa vuγaŋkin / bu a·dāmni jiqitimiz dāp/ jaŋχidiki mā·tum mirap / taγa vasqan ata vasqalla kilišamïγaŋkin[530] / ürümčigā čïqïp / ülkülük hükümättin jütejni ep beriptu // (14) irajim do·γənï jiqittim / mātnuřni do·γa qïldïm dāp jütejni ep beriptu // (15) jütejni apaγandïn kin / šānǰaŋ jamulγa tapšuřγandïn kin / mujdaγ qarəsa šundaγdāk // (16) ānkin / jaŋχïγa apařγandïn kin / irajim do·γənï tārāpdařleri zā / mātnuřnu qulluγa čüšü kïtidan būsaq / pütün jaŋχïni qamčïdap aram bā·midu // (17) jaman taz bu digāŋkin / (18) āmdi qanda qïlmïz / digāŋkin / (19) bu hamut haǰï / zajit haǰï / sawut haǰï digällā / hā·misi bïř aγa ini χāχkā // (20) irajim do·γa digā / zajit haǰïnï oγli·kā // (21) ā·tā qupup / jütājni ākāp / qïzïl qaγaznï čaplap / mātnuřnï märägdāv jürgidāg / χāχlā // (22) sini jiqitqam-bŭsa / sawutaǰïnï uγlï na·jipnï do·γï qïsaχla vumamdu / digāŋkin / (23) wuj nïm di·silā āmdi / digāŋkin / (24) šunï qïsaχ vuldu / digāŋkin / (25) bunï qanda qïlmïz? / (26) na·jip digā bu hükumät iššïγa arəlašmi·dïγa / küttigā ištammu ki·me jürdïγa bïřmi tuřsa bu / digāŋkin / (27) mātnuřnu qamčïsini puratsaχla buldu bu / digāŋkin / (28) kičïsi / χājrullam rāhmätlik vilā dadam rāhmätlik / duŋ duŋ išikni urup kā·sā / bu jatqidāk // (29) sini do·γa qïlduq bijnaχšam[531] / disā / (30) ah / saraŋ vo qapsämmu nimā / digidāk / (31) qandaγ do·γa vulmā / digāŋkin / (32) woj / ā·tï qupup / mātnuř qamčïsnï ojnutup sini därvazaŋγa kā·midïγan būsa / saŋγa qulïγïmnï kis piřmā / (33) mātnuř do·γï vuldu / märägdävatidu digāŋkin / (34) qoχ kitip / rasmu bu gāp? / (35) hā / ras / äm qanda qïlmïz? / digāŋkin / (36) sanduχnï ečipaq / (37) ma·wu guduŋ aravïlïrïŋla taŋ atqïčā jamulγa birï posa vuldu / digāŋkin / (38) sawut aka dāp bïř dānǰasï[532] vařkā / (39) bu a·dām / jeti sekis guduŋ aravïγa ašlïχnï bisiptu / (40) andïn na·jipnï sanduγïnï ašturup / altun kümüš jambuleřni elïp / dadam āŋ-

526 *jütkügāŋkinla* < *jötkigändin kejinla* 'after having changed'.
527 *jütāj* < Chin. 御旨 *yu-tai* 'Imperial order'.
528 *tušāntu* 'Turfan, Pichan, Toxsun', goes back to Chin. 吐善托 *tu-shan-tuo*, the shortend form of 吐(魯番) *Tu-lu-fan* 'Turfan', 善(善) *Shan-shan* 'Pichan' and 托(克遜) *Tuo-ke-xun* 'Toxsun', taking the first character of every place name.
529 *irajim tānǰaŋ* personal name, consists of the given name *irajim* < Ar. *Ibrāhīm* and the title *tānǰaŋ* < Chin. 団長 *Tuan-zhang* 'commanding officer of a regiment'.
530 *kilišamïγaŋkin* 'since they have not got along well', SU *kelišälmigändin kejin*.
531 *bijnaχšam* < *bügün aχšam* 'this evening'.
532 *dānǰa* < Chin. 店家 *dian-jia* 'inn-keeper, shop-owner'.



28. The Darughas of Turfan

(1) Reportedly, Darughas and water managers of Turfan were appointed as follows. (2) One had to pay a lot of money if a new Darugha was to be appointed. (3) They have changed the Darughas of Toxsun several times, and they did it this way. (4) If a Darugha was to be changed, a lot of gold and silver had to be paid. (5) [Money] was paid soon after the *yutai* was given. (6) Evidently, they used to receive money from both sides. (7) The one to be dismissed used to give money afraid of being dismissed. (8) They offered the Darugha title to whoever brought the most gold and silver. (9) It is told that there were about thirty-seven or thirty-eight Darughas in Turfan at that time. (10) It is likely that they governed here as in Turfan, Pichan and Toxsun (three blocks). (11) They used to collect a lot of money by changing Darughas. (12) Reportedly, Ibrahim Tänjang of Yanghe became Darugha. (13) After he became Darugha, Water-manager Mätum and his uncles and paternal relatives went to Urumchi since they couldn't get along well (with Ibrahim Tänjang), and came back having received a *yutai* from the provincial government. (14) They came with a *yutai* claiming: "I have dismissed Darugha Ibrahim and appointed Mätnur as Darugha." (15) They then submitted the *yutai* to the county magistrate's *yamen*, they looked at it and found that was true. (16) They brought this to Yanghe, but the supporters of Darugha Ibrahim said: "If we fall into Mätnur's hand, he will beat everyone in Yanghe with a whip and we will be upset. (17) He is a bad scald-head." (18) [People] said: "What shall we do now?" (19) Reportedly, those who were called Hamut Haji, Zahit Haji and Savut Haji were brothers, (20) and Darugha Ibrahim was the son of Zahit Haji. (21) The next day they brought the *yutai*, but found that people were pasting up posters (of announcement) and congratulating Mätnur. (22) [Someone] said [to Ibrahim]: "We may establish Savut Haji's son Nayip as Darugha if they have dismissed you." (23) "What are you talking about exactly?" (24) [They] said: "It would be nice to make him (Darugha)." (25) "How can we make him (Darugha)? (26) Nayip has nothing to do with government matters, and he is a guy who could not even put trousers on his buttocks." (27) [Someone] said: "We just need to let him smell Mätnur's whip." (28) In the evening, the late Khäyrullam and my late father knocked on [Nayip's] door, and found him sleeping. (29) When [they] told him: "This evening we made you Darugha",[533] (30) he said: "Oh, certainly you are crazy. (31) How I can become a Darugha?" (32) "Hey, if Mätnur doesn't come to your door tomorrow brandishing his whip, I will cut off my ears for you. (33) Mätnur will become Darugha, and [people] are congratulating him." (34) [Nayip] was frightened and asked: "Is that true?" (35) "Yes, it is true." "What should we do now?" (36) "Just open your box, (37) these Gudung-chariots have to arrive in *yamen* by daybreak." (38) Reportedly, he had a housekeeper called Savut Aka, (39) and he loaded grain into seven or eight chariots. (40) Then they had Nayip open his box and took his gold and silver, my father [and others] had to appear in the county magistrate's *yamen* by daybreak with the seal of the provincial government about dismissing the Darugha,

533 Lit. 'We made you Darugha'.

kinzä / on adä aʔtnï minip / kičičä šäŋǰaŋ jamulγa / taŋ atqïčä ülkülük hükumättin do·γənï jïqïttuq däp tamγïnï apa·γan ädämni do·γï qïldan gäpikä // (41) märäġdäv jürijdu mätnuř do·γənï jaŋχida // (42) kičičä / ta·tuχni nijaz šäŋǰaŋnï jamulγa äkägändin kin / ävväl bu tümuř asïqal digä ädämni tipip / altun kümüšni äjaliγa aqa deřvazïnï čikip / äkä·gän bïřnä·siläni süŋgütivitiptu // (43) hä digäŋkin / (44) bu mätnuř do·γï vuldan iš vüsa / ä·tï bu jaŋχi karïznï qamčïdap / kantïla vile bïř vop / jerïmïnï üzi ep / jerïmïnï jamulγa apiřdu / (45) kantïlanï biši bu / digäŋkin / (46) bajlanï uγuřlajdu bu // (47) u gaχlada šundaγ qïldïkä / qo·ni bišini äkäp tašlap bä·sä / it šunï γaǰïlap qa·γïdäk / andïn bajlanï kigizgä jügäp qujup / toχmaγdap / altun kümüš jambulanï bulap čikitidan iškä // (48) mundaγ jaman oγrinizä do·γï qïlïmïzmu / däp digäŋkin / (49) hä / bu bomaptu bu / (50) taŋ atqïčä / on aravïda bu altun kümüš tařtuq a·qa išiktin kiřkitpaγïdäk / (51) bu nimï alamät disä / (52) mijda mijda iškä / digäŋkin / (53) bunï küruvitip / tümuř asïqalni jiniγa kä·gändin kin / jaŋ ǰaŋǰuŋ küruwitip / andaχ vüsa kimni qïlïdikän / disä / (55) biz mujda / na·jip do·γï däp adämgärčiligi va / javaš / χäχni küŋül büldüγan mušundaγ adämni do·γï qïlmïz däp / hazïř jaŋχi karïznï a·dïmï kïlvatidu / hä·mis qumuřlup / digäŋkin / (56) mätnuř bulduγan büsa / biz tuřpan bazaγa jeni kïlmiz däp / mušdaγ dävatïdu / digäŋkin / (57) šu gaχlada / χičïř χävärčikänduq de·du / (58) bïř kïči kündüzlädä / ürümčigä čïqï puldikänduq[534] // (59) bu χičïrni kučïdä / helïqï altun kümüšni ep / jaŋ ǰaŋǰuŋnï jinïγa čïqqaŋkin / jaŋ ǰaŋǰuŋ χäʔtni kürüp / ašu χaχ himajä qïγan do·γənï do·γï qï päsun däptu / (60) mätnuraχun do·γï qïγalla ätkäs däptu // (61) ä·tïsi / bu altun kümüšni küččidä[535] / na·jipnï do·γï qïldïm däp jütejni bä·gändin kin / na·jipnï išiggä čaplaptu // (62) awalqï küni / mätnuř mirapnï do·γï qïlduq däp märäġdäv jüřgän ädäm / pičïř pičïř pičïř pičïř na·jip do·γa do·γa vuptu däp jüřgüdäk / (63) bu nimi iš / disä / ras / (64) tuřpaŋγa kä·sä / hä / pütün jaŋχi karïznï ädïmi käp jitivaldi / (65) sän digä bïř čoŋ oγrikäsä / (66) sini do·γa qïp qo·sa / bu jaŋχi χäχni[536] nä·gä sïγdurum män / (67) bunï helïqï mätsajit akälani küčätligini sitivatqïnikä / töt tümänlik helïqï / (68) irajim tänǰaŋnï jiqïtïmïz däp / nuřyun zimillïrimu ba·čïγi vakänduq u mätnuřlanï / hä·mïni jä kittu // (69) bu iš dawamlïšïp / imin šäŋǰaŋ ïγař šäŋǰaŋ däp / bu nim qïsa / jänä mušu toχti mirapla / imin zajitnï jiqïtïmïz / (70) qïzïl pačaq[537] bu / (71) äχmätǰa qasimiγa / jigïřmi sekiz tümän sekiz miŋ sekiz jüz sexsen sekiz puŋnï χälïχtin jïγïp / äχmäǰan qasimiγa ton kigüzimiz däp / bizni jüsejdek u·rup je·ketken bu / däp / (72) ändin / bunï jiqïtïmïz däp tuřvaldï / änkin // (73) bunï ičïdä / ismajil äpändimu ba· // (74) bïř növättä / imin šäŋǰaŋnï jiqïtïmïz däp / ǰamalïχanumnï jiqïtïptu // (75) tujuq hä·mïsi imin šäŋǰaŋnï jiqïtïmïz däp / ǰamïlaχunumnï jiqïtqandïn kin / (76) tujuq sähnidä / mā imin šäŋǰaŋni qullajmä däp turivaγaŋkän // (77) šu jä·dä / ismajil äpändilä ǰïli vop jini kïłdu // (78) bu imin šäŋǰaŋnï jiqïtïmïz däp äriz qïp turïvaγaŋkin / bunï pičannï töt kučči·da tutqa nimikä // (79) aχšam-

534 *čïqï puldikänduq* < **čïqïp bolidu ikänduq*.
535 *küččidä* LOC of *küčä* 'street', SU *kočida*.
536 *jaŋχi χäχ* 'people of Yanghe', usually *jaŋχiliq* < *jaŋχi* + *-liq*.
537 *qizil pačaq* lit. 'red leg', is a copy of Chin. 赤脚 *chi-jiao* 'red leg', it was used in deregatory sense by Guomindang and reactionary forces to refer to the Liberation Army.



and then *yamen* appoints the one who has brought the seal as Darugha. (41) People are still congratulating Mätnur at Yanghe. (42) All night they brought gifts to the County Magistrate Niyaz's *yamen*, and found a person called Tömür Asiqal there, and then passed the things they brought to [the county magistrate's] wife from the back door (with his help). (43) [County Magistrate Niyaz] said: "Well." (44) They said: "If Mätnur becomes Darugha, tomorrow he will beat all the people at Yanghe Karez with his whip, collude with thieves, taking half for himself and presenting half to the *yamen*, (45) he is the head of thieves. (46) He steals rich people's [treasure]." (47) Reportedly, they did this at that time: They threw a sheep's head to the dog, and dog stayed there gnawing on the sheep's head, and then they wrapped the rich people in carpets, beat them with sticks and escaped with their gold and silver. (48) They said: "How we can make such a dangerous thief Darugha?" (49) [The County Magistrate] said: "It is not good." (50) [He found] that gold, silver and other presents had been transported there with ten chariots from the back door by daybreak. (51) [The County Magistrate] asked: "What is happening here?" (52) [Someone] explained: "This-and-that." (53) [The County Magistrate] saw them and came to the place of Tömür Asiqal, and had him write a letter to General Yang, stating: "It is a matter of such-and-such." (54) General Yang read [the letter] and asked: "If so, who do they want to make [Darugha]?" (55) They said: "Now all the people of Yanghe Karez are coming here claiming: 'There is a kind and sympathetic person called Nayip Darugha, he has human feelings and we want to make him our [Darugha].' (56) They said: 'We will return to Turfan town if Mätnur becomes Darugha.'" (57) Reportedly, a mule was used as an information carrier at that time. (58) It could arrive in Urumchi within a day and night. (59) With the aid of a mule, they came to General Yang with the gold and silver. General Yang read the letter and said: "Let them appoint the person whom people support." (60) He said: "The appointment of Mätnur Akhun to the position of Darugha is not valid anymore." (61) The next day with the power of the gold and silver, [General Yang] gave the *yutai*, stating: "I appoint Nayip as Darugha", and they posted it on Nayip's door. (62) People who had congratulated Mätnur declaring: "We made Mätnur Darugha' one day before, were now conversing in whispers: "Nayip has become Darugha." (63) [Mätnur] wondered if it had really happened, but [he found] it was true. (64) He went to Turfan, but [was informed:] "All people of Yanghe Karez came here and laid down. (65) Evidently, you are a big thief. (66) If I appoint you to the position of Darugha, where shall I put all the people of Yanghe Karez?" (67) It is told that [Mätnur] sold uncle Mätsayit's sapling grove for fourty thousand *yuan*. (68) Mätnur's family seems to have much land, but they sold all of it in order to dismiss Ibrahim Tänjang. (69) Reportedly, this matter continued; once the County Magistrate Imin was praised as an excellent county magistrate, again Water-manager Toxti and others said: "We denounce Imin Zahit, (70) he is a red leg. (71) He gathered 288 thousand and 88 *fen*[538] from the people for Ahmatjan Qasimi and has eaten our (treasures) mowing us down just like mowed chives." (72) They insisted

538 *fen* < Chin. 分 *fen* 'unit of money equals 1/10 of yuan', but it was introduced after the 1950s.

lïγï / bu tuřpannï arəsï[539] dändä[540] / bu imin šänǰaŋnï ädämleri / gänzidä ǰamalïdïn länǰaŋni[541] ašχanɨsïda čanï ičip kep / qanda qïlmïz? / digändin kin / (80) imin šänǰaŋdïn jigiřmi sekiz tümän sekiz miŋni alïmä bügün / tosqan nimikä // (81) andïn / iskändář hakimγa kirip / qïzïl pačaq bu / (82) äχmäǰa qasimiγa ton kigüzimiz däp / biz χälqnï pulïnï jiγïvaγan / digändin kin / (83) andïn / bunï qalduru qujdu // (84) quřvan tüŋgännï[542] inisi isqa / saχčïnï ǰu ǰɨŋikä[543] / puǰüǰaŋ[544] / (85) ämdi qanda qïlmïz? / digändikin / (86) bula jänä kičičä pïlan tüzüp / kö nä usul bujičä iš qïlïni däp / (87) qanda qïlmïz / digäŋkin / (88) na jipnï šänǰaŋ qïsaχla bumɨdmu // (89) andïn / umu ämälda vumajdïγan nimä voγaŋkin / kičičä bu gajit do γənï ečiqïp / altun kümüšni isqařγa ekirip / nimɨ qïlγaŋkin / (90) šu waxtida bïř χänsu šänǰaŋ kä gɨnikä / bu altun kümüšni küči vilä / imin šänǰaŋni jiqïtqaŋkin / (91) tajlaχla[545] äŋkin / bu ismajil äpändini aldam χaltəsïγa čušü kittimiz däv / bula quruq qäp / jene sanǰïγa čikätmɨdimu // (92) bula ajda qïp / (93) kijin bu do γa jütkäštä / dadam rähmätlik šambulšumni[546] äp bo γɨnikä / üš χičïř vilä / (94) äp boγandïn kin / do γɨ qïlïmïz sini disä / pütün küččini šänǰaŋ jamulγa tïqïptu // (95) haziř jilpaŋni[547] jiri däp täʔxlä vaγu / šu täʔxläni hä mɨsini äkätkɨnikänduq // (96) dadɨmlamu / helïqï sunï pulï suγa ketti / qaldï qetïqnï bäš pulï / däp jaqaŋ[548] voldi / baǰgiř voldi däp / bizä bɨřmä qïγan čeqi varikänduq / (97) a χɨřsïda / sini do γɨ qïlmïz däp / hä mɨsini tïqïvittu / (98) tïqïvetip / äkep dadam rähmätlikni märäğdäv jürsä / učinči küni ivrajim haǰïnï märäğdäv jürğüdäk / (99) bu nimi alamät disä / (100) härämgä vaγan gaχtïda / ivrajim haǰïmla taza jigiřmi säř altunni äkävaγɨnikä dedu // (101) ämdi ruzimät jaqaŋnikigä ütü ketse / biz sawut haǰïlani mäχsät do γɨlani ävlatlerγa kün joq / bundikin ämdi / (102) äm bunï qanda qïlmïz? / digäŋkin / (103) ä / bizä bɨřmä qïmɨsaq bo midu / (104) bašqa bɨřmɨmu qa mɨdï / äšädä härämdin äkägän ikki čükä altun ba / jigiřmi sä altun / digäŋkin / (105) altunnï kičɨsi apaγɨnikänduq / maqul däp / üčinči küni ununγa pakijnitejlix viriptu // (106) šununγa / šu zamanlada / huquqnï setivalidïγan zamalla šundaγ ötkɨnikä //

539 *tuřpannï arəsï* name of a village very near the present Pichan town, usually it is called *turpallïγ arəsï*.
540 *dän* < Chin. 店 *dian* 'shop, inn'.
541 *ǰamalidin länǰaŋ* personal name, consists of the name *ǰamalidin* (< Ar. *Camal-ad-dīn*) and the title *länǰaŋ* (< Chin. 連長 *Lian-zhang* 'company commander').
542 *quřvan tüŋgän* personal name, consists of the personal name *quřvan* < Ar. *Qurbān* and the nickname *tüŋgän* 'Tungan, Hui-Muslim'.
543 *ǰu ǰɨŋikä* < *ǰüǰaŋ ikän*, *ǰüǰaŋ* < Chin. 局長 *ju-zhang* 'bureu chief'.
544 *puǰüǰaŋ* < Chin. 副局長 *fu ju-zhang* 'vice bureu chief'.
545 *tajlaxla* 'foals', here refers to a family of this nickname in Yanghe.
546 *šambulšum* <?.
547 *jilpaŋ* < ?, a nickname.
548 *jaqaŋ* 'tax-collector', presumably originates from Chin. 押衡 *Ya-heng*.



on overthrowing him. (73) Mr. Ismail was amongst them. (74) Once, they wanted to dismiss County Magistrate Imin, but instead they dismissed Jamal Akhun. (75) All people of Tuyuq claimed to reject County Magistrate Imin Akhun, but in the end dismissed Jamal Akhun. (76) And then in Tuyuq they went to the stage declaring: "We support County Magistrate Imin". (77) Mr. Ismail was angry with this and came back. (78) As we know, they arrested him at the crossroads of Pichan town, since he (= Mr. Ismail) still threatened to overthrow County Magistrate Imin. (79) In the evening, supporters of County Magistrate Imin gathered in a restaurant at Turpalliγarisi, at the Jamalidin Länjang's restaurant to drink tea, and discussed what should they do. (80) since (people) went to County Magistrate Imin and asked him to pay back 288 thousand (units of currency) within a day. (81) And then they entered the (office) of County Magistrate Iskandar asserting to him: "He is a red leg, (82) he has gathered our common people's money in order to dress Ahmatjan Qasimi." (83) Then [Iskandar] dismissed him. (84) Reportedly, Qurvan Dungan's younger brother Isqa was chief police officer, excuse me, deputy chief police officer. (85) [One of them] asked: "What do we do now?" (86) They discussed how to deal with it, and decided to act in the old way after planning through the night. (87) [One of them] asked: "What shall we do?" (88) "We just need to make Nayip county magistrate." (89) Then since he was also a person of no real capacity, they invited Gayit Darugha during the night, and brought the gold and silver to Isqar. (90) Reportedly, at that time a Chinese county magistrate came, and they overthrew County Magistrate Imin with the power of the gold and silver. (91) Taylaq's family claimed: "We were cheated by Mr. Ismail", they left for Changji, as you know, since they had not received (any benefits). (92) They did this. (93) Reportedly, later my late father received the Shambulshum (?) by presenting three mules when they planned to change Darugha. (94) When he received it, people wanted to make him Darugha, but (the people against him) sent all their treasures to the county magistrate's *yamen*. (95) You know, there are vineyards called Yïlpang's on the land now, and those vineyards were all taken (as a bribe) at the time. (96) My father's case was just as is told (in the proverb): "Water's money was spent for water, left only five cents earned by yogurt", it is likely that he gathered something else when he was Yaqang (tax collector). (97) Finally, he spent all his (possessions) because the people told him: "We will make you Darugha." (98) Then he spent (all of his possessions), but on the third day they found people were congratulating Ibrahim Haji when they had just been congratulating my late father. (99) They asked: "What is this?" (100) It was said that Ibrahim Haji's supporters brought back twenty *sär* of gold[549] when they went to Mecca. (101) [They] said: "If (power) passes to the family of Rozimät Yaqang, life will not be good for the families of Savut Haji and Mäxsät Darugha anymore." (102) [One of them] asked: "What do we do now?" (103) "Well, we just need to present something. (104) We had nothing left other than two twenty *sär* bars of gold." (105) Reportedly, they brought the gold during the night, and [the *yamen*] said: "OK", and on the third day they gave him

549 *sär* is a weight unit, which equals ca. 35 gram.

29. nijaz ustūnu parəŋï

(1) burun tuřpanda nijaz usta däp bɨř adäm barikänduq / (2) bu ädämni tikkučilik hünüri varikänduq / (3) bu bazada o:tuřup sejpuŋčilïq[550] qïp / tikkučülük qïptu // (4) bu ädäm / burun azaraq dini mäxtäplädä uquγan ädɨmikänduq / (5) bu adäm äjali vilä ikisi ti:ride ǰuva tikip tuřmuš kečiridikänduq / (6) ǰuva tikip kün ütküzüp jürüptu // (7) šu waχlada / tuřpannï ikki šäřni arlïγ digäj-jädä / ǰäbär mulla mičiti däp bɨř mičit varikänduq / (8) bu mäsčitni bɨř dädän iki küřlik aχ jiri varikänduq / (9) bunï häř χil zira'ät teridikän / jene baγlïřda täxlɨri varikänduq // (10) bu nijaz usta äjali vilä olturup / he / biz ǰuva tikip / ti:rini jamapla künimiz šunuŋ vile ütüřmu? / bɨř amal qï paχsaq vumamdu? / digäŋkin / (11) äjalï däptu / nimä amal qilimiz? / digäŋkin / (12) ǰäpiř imammu qerï qaldï / (13) mušu mičitni imamäččiligini bɨř tatïvasaq vumamdu / däptu // (14) qanda ta:tivalimiz? / digäŋkin / (15) häj / män bɨř o:lap baχtim / digäŋkin / (16) hä / däptu // (17) üjidä bɨř χurəzï varikänduq / (18) bu χorazni ö:türini disä / äjalï bu χorazni ö:türüp nimɨ qilïmïz? / (19) ämdi bɨř mikijan äp tuχumïnï jejni disä / χurazni ö:türini dedilaγu? // (20) he / tuχum toχuj özligidin küpijdïγan bɨř amal taptim / däptu // (21) bɨř aχšəmï / mičittä bamdatqa čïqmajdïγan / dimɨsä χuptäŋgä čiχma:dïγan pa:siχla varikän / bɨřnäččä / (22) tamaka ol[551] čikip / bäŋ čikip / toχoj soqušturup / šundaχ jürüjdïγalla varikän // (23) šuladin tōt bä?šini tepïp / aχšəmï χurazni ö:türüptu // (24) ö:türüvzä[552] / mušunda digäŋkin / bäŋgilädä toχuj güššigä imraχ voγaŋkin / hämijip kitpaγïdäk ligäŋgä qarap / (25) hä toχtap tuř / kiččikkinä däjili va / tüχtap tuř digäŋkin / (26) hä nimɨ iš va nijizusta? / äjäp bu juγan χuraznï ö:türvättilaγu? / digäŋkin / (27) silägä bɨř mäslät va / mušu imamčiliχni qï paχsam demä / digäŋkin / (31) buldu / biz kö:sïti paqïnï däp / (32) helïqï aχšəmi heliqï bäŋgɨlä šo:pəni[553] ičip / unï tügtiptu // (33) bɨř näčči kün ötkändin kin / bɨř oγlaq varikänduq / χutun oγlaχnïmu ö:türüp bɨřmä qï paqïnï // (34) oγlaχtïnmu aǰrap kitimizmu? / digäŋkin / (35) oj-jigiřmi ǰamatkä / namazγa čiχma:dïγan türk[554] a:dämläni jïγïp / oγlaχnï ö:tägändin kin / (36) nimɨ iš va ustam? / digäŋkin / (37) mujdaγ / imamäččilïxni bɨř äpiř paχsaŋla vomamdu / digäŋkin / (38) oγlaχni güšini jäp / buldula däptu // (39) šunuŋ vilä üčünči növättä / imamnï taza bɨř čiŋqiřma mä:sini tikip / bɨř to sällɨ perijïni jütkäp / aχšəmï bɨř toχujni ö:türüp čaqïrïp / imamaχunum / mušu imamäččilixni bɨř jil bɨř paχsïla vumamdu? / däp / (40) heliqilanï aldïda qojγɨnikänduq / (41) mijdaγ bɨř qarəvitip / buldula disämla vumamdu / (42) čiŋqiřma mäsi vilä / perijе vilä sällɨni ävasam / ä:tä bɨř gäp bomamdu // (43) ä:tɨsi χurazni güšini jigän / oγlaχ güšini jigällä qupup / ässalamu älajkum / imammu čoŋ vu qaldï / (44) nijaz ustamnï birä jil imam qï paχsaχ vomamdu? / digɨnikänduq / (45) oγlaχ güšini jigällä / na:jti ubdan buldu / däptu // (46) imammu äŋkizä / boptu ämɨsä / bɨř jil qï paχsa qï paχsun / däptu //

550 *sejpuŋčilïq* 'job of tailor' < Chin. 裁縫 *cai-feng* 'tailor' + *-čïlïq*.
551 *tamaka ol* 'tabacco and others', *ol* adds the meaning 'etc., others', most often appearing after nominals, e.g. *pul ol* 'money and others'.
552 *ötürüvzä* < *ötürüp* (< *öltürüp*) 'killing' + CLIT *zä*.
553 *šo:pənï* ACC of *šo:pa* < *šorpa* 'soap'.
554 Here *türk* means 'illiterate'



the certificate of appointment (?). (106) So, at that time, it was a period in which one could buy power with money.

29. (The story of) Niyaz Usta

(1) Once upon a time, there was a person named Niyaz Usta in Turfan. (2) Reportedly, this person was master at sewing. (3) He sat at the bazaar and did tailoring. (4) Before that he had studied a little at religious schools. (5) It is told that he and his wife lived by (the earnings obtained) from sewing fur coats. (6) He lived by sewing fur coats. (7) At that time in Turfan, at a place called *Ikki Shärni Arliγi*,[555] there was a mosque called Jäbär Mullah's Mosque. (8) This mosque had a plot of land large enough to be planted with one *dadän* and two *küri* of seeds. (9) People used to plant many kinds of crops in these fields, moreover [this mosque] had grapevines in the garden. (10) Niyaz Usta consulted with his wife: "Hey, should we spend our whole life sewing fur coats and mending leather? Wouldn't it be good to try and find another way?" (11) His wife said: "What should we do?" (12) [Niyaz Usta] said: "Jäpär Imam has become old. (13) How about we take the position of the mosque's Imam?" (14) "How could we take hold of it?" (15) "I've tried to think about it." (16) [His wife] said: "I see." (17) Reportedly they had a cock at their house. (18) He said: "Let's kill the cock", but his wife asked: "Why should we kill the cock? (19) I was just planning to buy a hen and eat its eggs, why you are saying we should kill it?" (20) [He] said: "I've found a way in which the chicken and eggs will multiply." (21) At the mosque there were some ill-behaved people who didn't go to morning prayers, nor did they participate in the evening prayers if somebody didn't force them. (22) They spent the day by smoking tobacco and hashish and cock fighting. (23) One evening, he found four and five of these people and killed the cock. (24) He killed the cock and said: "this-and-that", then he saw the hashish smokers coming closer to the tray and looking at the chicken, since the hashish smokers love chicken. (25) [Niyaz Usta] said: "Wait a moment, I need a little of your time, wait a moment." (26) They said: "What can we do for you, Niyaz Usta? Why have you so curiously killed this big cock?" (27) "I have something to consult about with you. (28) How about you recommend me for the position of Imam? (29) The present Imam has become old. (30) I want to try out this Imamship." (31) They said: "All right, let us try to recommend you." (32) That evening the hashish smokers ate the soup up. (33) Reportedly, they also had a goat, and some days later, he said: "O my wife, let's try something else and also kill the goat." (34) [His wife] said: "Should we also lose the goat?" (35) He gathered ten or twenty illiterate people who don't go to the mosque or to the prayers, and killed the goat. (36) [They] asked: "What can we do for you, our master?" (37) He said: "Such-and-such, how about you let me take the Imamship temporarily?" (38) They ate the goat and said: "No problem." (39) So, for the third step, he sewed some leather socks, prepared a turban and long coat, and then in the evening killed a chicken and invited the Imam: "My Imam Akhun, how about you just give me

555 Lit. 'between two cities'.

(47) ätisi mušu gäp buptu / (48) pišin buγan waχtïda / nijaz usta sällini jügäp / kikiřtäxni qïrïp / mä rapni aldïda o tuřvaptu // (49) allahu äkbär / allahu äkbär allahu äkbär däp täkbiřni suqušïγïla / dikkitila qupup / mä rapqa ütüp / allahu äkbär däp qulaq qeqïvaptu / nijaz usta / (50) heliqï imam qeri a däm bŭγaŋkin / imam mušunda qŭpqičä / allahu äkbär däpla qulaqnï qeqï kittu / nijaz usta / (51) imammu olturupla qaptu / imamäččiliktin ajrap kitiptu / šunuŋ vilä // (52) nimigä imamäččilikni talïšïdu disä / heliqï bir dadän ikki kürilik jär va ämäsmu / šu jä imamγa tä vä vuldu // (53) andïn bu / χudaja šükri däp / bir dadän ikki kürilik jä ni terïp / (54) bir jilda qajtuř pirimä däp / näčči jildïmu qajtuřpämäptu // (55) näčči jillaγičä imam bop / ǰuva tikidïγan išlamu tügäptu // (56) šunuŋ vilä bu ädäm baj vop / tuřpanda nijaz usta baj vop tuřγankän // (57) unuŋ hazirmu qïzlïřmu ba / bijädä // (58) bir dadän ikki kürilik jäni jäv jürgändin kin[556] / ottuz učinči jili tuřpaŋγa waŋ šäŋǰaŋ däp bir šäŋǰaŋ keptu / (59) bu šäŋǰaŋ küčüx je dïγan šäŋǰaŋikän / (60) änkin sujuγ ašqa šikä sep ičidïγan šäŋǰaŋkin / bu // (61) bu ikki šäŋǰaŋ jaŋχiγa baγaŋkin / hä däp pičanni šäŋǰiŋï oγlaχ jimä digüdäk / bu küčüx jimä digüdäk / (62) bu sujuγ aš tamaχ iti päsä / šikä sep ičimä digüdäk / (63) äŋkizä dadam rähmätlikmu juřtnu išlïřγa arlïšïp jurgän vuγaŋkin / taza maz birmikän bu / nädin pejda vuγandu? / däp qujivikänduq / (64) tuřpaŋγa äkilip / bunï aŋnap mosul vajni üjidä juttisïγa urup jerivittu / dadam rähmätlikni / (65) mosul vaj kürüp / dadamlani eγinisï voγaŋkin / woj bu ruzimät jaqaŋγu / bu doj / däp ba γaŋkin / (66) dadam šunda γärätlik ädimikä / (67) šundaχ däpla / juttisini silalivirip / iššäxni minip kitäliväginikä // (68) andïn bu šäŋǰaŋ / ǰinšurinniŋmu[557] / jaŋ ǰaŋǰuŋniŋmu[558] tuqqinikänduq / ičkirini bir jirdin äkägän // (69) näčči mapa altun kümüškä setiväp üš jillïγini / kä ginikä // (70) bu bir jil ütü kittu / bu jini kä mäptu / (71) jaŋ ǰaŋǰuŋ digällägimu tapšurup / iškiřsidiki ämäldarlaγimu äp kitidan iškänduq / bu // (72) bunuŋ vilä / bu jambu kä migändikin / bu waŋ šäŋǰaŋ bir jil tuř peqïp / andïn bu jambo nädä? / qanda vu kätti bu jambo? / däp / (73) u hiš näni bilmela / dä mandala kägändikin bu / (74) tuřpanni äsli gästiliřni jïγip jürgändikin / nijaz ustumo tuřpannï bařlïq ädämlirdin bo qaptïγu / bu / (75) imamäččilikni tapšurup biřvitiptu bu / ba voγandïn kin // (76) šäŋǰaŋ čaqiřγandïn kin / qajda qïlmiz? / majda majda iš vařdi / digäŋkin / aχunla bu bajla ǰimmitä o taγïdäk // (77) tuřpanda zipiraǰi hapizaǰi däp ikki baj va / mäsunχahaǰi däp üč baj va / (78) čaqiř peqïptu / ǰim // (79) bir aχšimi jänä jiqqandïn kin / bu nijaz šäŋǰaŋ än / bu jambulani bunda qïp tapamajmïz / (80) tŭχsun däp bir jä va / šijädä noγa tassaq[559] // (81) šu gaχlada / tŭχsun najä bommiγinikä / ottus üčünči jïllïrï / (82) šu jäni no γa tatsaq / jambumu kildu / hämmi nimi kildu / digäŋkin / (83) qïrïγ ällig muǰaŋnï tajaχ jasitimä

556 *jäv jürgändin kin* < *jäp jürgändin kejin*.
557 *Jin šurin* < Chin. 金樹仁 *Jin Shuren* personal name, he became governor of Xinjiang after Yang Zengxin's assassination (1928) and ruled until 1933.
558 *jaŋ jaŋǰuŋ* 'General Yang', consists of sirname *jaŋ* < Chin. 楊 *Yang* and the title *jaŋǰuŋ* < Chin. 將軍 *jiang-jun* 'general', refers to Yang Zengxin who was the civil and military governor of Xinjiang from 1911-1928.
559 *noγa tatsaq* stands for *moγa tartsaq*, however, such alternation of an initial *m* with *n* is not common in the Turfan dialect.



this Imamship for one year?" (40) Saying this, he presented the things to the Imam. (41) [The Imam] sharply looked at [those things] and thought: "Is it not good if I just say 'OK'? (42) I will take the leather socks and long coat first, then let's see what happens tomorrow." (43) The next day, those who have eaten the chicken and goat stood up: "Peace upon you! This Imam is old. (44) How about we let Niyaz Usta do the Imamship for about one year?" (45) Those who ate the goat said: "Very nice." (46) Then the Imam also said: "All right, if this is to be, let [him] do it for one year." (47) This happened in the morning, (48) at the time of noon prayer,[560] Niyaz Usta bound the turban, tested his throat, and sat down in front of the *miḥrāb*.[561] (49) Soon after [the Muezzin] praised God by saying Allāhu Akbar Allāhu Akbār,[562] Niyaz Usta immediately stood up, came to the niche and pressed his ears.[563] (50) Since that Imam was an old man, Niyaz Usta completed pressing his ears saying Allāhu Akbār until the Imam stood up. (51) The Imam just sat there, and lost his position of Imam after that. (52) If one were to ask why he wanted to be Imam, you know, [the mosque] had a plot of land large enough to be planted with one *dadän* and two *küri* of seeds, and it belonged to the Imam. (53) Then he thanked God, and planted that land large enough to be planted with one *dadän* and two *küri* of seeds. (54) He had promised to return the land after one year, but did not return it though many years passed. (55) He was Imam for many years, and stopped sewing fur coats after that. (56) Doing this, this man, this Niyaz Usta became rich in Turfan. (57) His daughters are still living here. (58) Reportedly, when he had been eating off that land large enough to be planted with one *dadän* and two *küri* of seeds, in 1933 a County Magistrate called Wang came to Turfan. (59) Reportedly, this County Magistrate ate dog. (60) There was another county magistrate who ate noodle soup with sugar in it.[564] (61) Reportedly, these two county magistrates went to Yanghe, and the magistrate of the Pichan County insisted on eating goat, but [the other one] wanted to eat dog. (62) He said: "I want it with sugar" when people prepared noodle soup for them. (63) Then, since my late father also dealt with the affairs of that village, he said: "How boring this (man) is, where did he come from?" (64) He heard this and took my late father to Turfan and beat him on his thigh at Mosulbay's house. (65) Mosulbay saw this and approached them saying: "Isn't he Rozimat Yaqang?" Reportedly, he was my father's friend. (66) It is told that my father was a very energetic person. (67) [My father] said: "Yes, it is I", and just felt his thigh and left there riding his donkey. (68) This Country Magistrate was a relative of Jing Shuren or General Yang, and he was taken from China proper. (69) Evidently, he bought this [position] for three years with many chariots of gold and silver, and came here. (70) One year passed, but [the money] didn't come back. (71) He had to pay General Yang and others and also bring (money)

560 Designates about 2 o'clock.
561 *miḥrāb*, Arabic, refers to the principal place in a mosque, where the Imam prays to the people with his face turned towards Mecca.
562 'God is Most Great'.
563 Refers to how Imams press their ears with their hands at the time of prayer.
564 Lit. 'This is a country magistrate who eats soup after having inserted sugar'.

däp jasɨtïptu / mo tajɨɣïču[565] // (84) äkep özi jaji vopzä / toχsuŋɣa berïptu / taza közäjnäkni tarťïp ikki jaji vilän // (85) waŋ šäŋǰaŋ kep mišägä mo tarťipiřdan[566] boldï / digändikin / (86) pütün tüχsunnu bajleri altun / jumbu / kümüšni äkep / näččä miŋ mo jä:ni moɣa ta:tturuptu // (87) bu kümükkä jatqa jambulanï hämmɨsi torok torok čïqɨrïp / bu nijaz šäŋǰaŋ özi ämälda berïp vop / nečči tümän mo jä:ni mo:ɣa tarťturuptu // (88) ta:tïvatqandïn kin / bu toχsun ilanlïq / qadiř χoduŋ[567] dä qujmuzmu / hämɨsi mo:ɣa tarťïlïp / jä:gä a:linïp hükumätni ändäŋziskä[568] tizimlikkä čüšü kittu // (89) čüšü kätkändikin / nuřɣun altun kümüš jambula kä:mämdo / (90) bo ämdi bɨř qïsmï kipoptu[569] / ämdi qanda qïlmïz? / (91) ämdi bɨř qïsmïn qanda qïlmïs? / (92) sän äqillïq ädɨmikänsä sä / digändikin / (93) toχta / isellikke qa:ɣɨnï kildu / digäŋkin / (94) qanda kildu? / digäŋkin / (95) isellikke terïvaɣan je:ge aš qujduɣa iš vař ämäsmu / (96) taza qamčəsï jaman jajidin qïrïɣällixni toχsunɣa ivätiptu / (97) mušu terïmïɣan jä:gä aš tapšuruŋna disexla / kä:mämdu bo // (98) bɨrnečče bajni urup qamčədïɣɨnikänduq[570] / bu bajla mušu terïmɨɣan jä:ni baǰa tapšuruštun üčürtivässäŋ däp / bɨrmunčä jambu keptu // (99) änkizä / üš ma:pa jambumu tušuptu / (100) üš jilmu tušuptu // (101) waŋ šäŋǰaŋ nijiz šäŋǰaŋni ürümčigɨ bɨř čïqïp käsäŋ / digändikin / (102) hä buldu / ürümčigɨ čïqïp kilni däp / dawančïŋɣa bɨř jä:gä čïqïptu // (103) turu kitïp / hej nijaz usta / tuřpannï sän sušsaŋ vumamdu? / (104) tuřpannï surajdïɣa ädäm sänlikänsä // (105) šunuŋ vilä / mo:ɣa ta:tïlɣandïn kin / toχsunma bɨř na:jä voptu šu bana säväp bilä / (106) nijiz usta jaŋ ǰaŋǰuŋɣa čïqïp / tuřpannï mušu nijaz ustəla sušsa voɣïdäk digändin kin / šäŋǰaŋlïɣïni virïp / (107) ta hazïrɣïčä tuřpanɣa ujɣuř šäŋǰaŋ vo:ɣɨnikä // (108) bu ädäm šäŋǰaŋ vup kep / šiŋšisejni gaχtïɣa kägändä jiqïl qaptu qaraŋ // (109) bu ädäm tuřpandïn ürümčigi čïqïp / jütäjni elïp tuřpaŋɣa šäŋǰaŋ vuptu / (110) šäŋǰaŋ vop tuřpanni šundaq adïl sorap ütüptu // (111) bɨř küllä voɣanda / toχuj soqušturup / tuŋgalla vilä toχuj soqušturup / jäř ǰidälläri bup kätkändikin / (112) χä?lä / tüŋgänni χoɾɨzi jiŋïvaldi / ujɣuřnï χoɾəzï jiŋïvaldi däp / mušunda nimɨ qïlɣandïn kin / (113) tüŋgänni teqïmïɣa taŋšini qujup / šulaɣa jalətïp / (114) šundaɣ išlani qïlɣɨnikä bu ädäm // (115) bu ädämni šiŋšisej jiqïtï qujuptu / (116) jiqïtï qo:ɣandïn kin / šäŋǰaŋlïqma qaldï / tügɨdi / mušu lüxčün jaŋχilanï bɨř ajlïnïp / eɣinilä vilä bɨř kürüšü kilej däp / (117) bɨř aǰɨz qutuř a?tni minip / lüxčün jaŋχilani karïzlani ajlinip / aχunbejni karïzïɣa kä:sä / bu aχunbejni karïzïɣa zajitaǰi bajla kep / (118) šundïn kin / χänsula bunï nišenǰaŋ nišenǰaŋ de:dïɣa bo qapto // (119) nijaz usta / nijaz qa:rikä / u ädämni ismi // (120) zajitaǰi bu doɣəla ubdan miman qïp joɣa septu / (121) nijiz šäŋǰaŋ keptu däptu // (122) u jädïn bïrä kilomitiř nejnïɣa kä:sä / šivi däp qara bɨř / igiz igiz kildïɣan bɨř a:dämlä / mäχloχla vulduɣan / (123) bu ädämlä najti pɨχsïq / (124) bɨř a:dämlä kä:sima / išix üssima / qečï kitïp / mujdaχla qïlïdikänduq // (125) jaŋ-

565 *mo tajɨɣï* a wooden frame measuring five feet, (Chinese) used for land measures.
566 *moɣa tarťipiřdan* < *moɣa tarťïp beridïɣan*.
567 *qadiř χoduŋ* name of a village in Toχsun, it is usually called *χoduŋ* < Chin. 河東 *he-dong* lit. 'east of the river'.
568 *ändäŋza* < Chin. 案档子 *an dang-zi* 'archive'.
569 *kipoptu* < *kelip boluptu* 'finished arriving'.
570 *qamčədïɣɨnikänduq* < *qamčidïɣan ikänduq*.



back to the officials in China proper. (72) Since the *yambu* had not returned, the Country Magistrate Wang waited for one year and asked: "Where is the *yambu*? And what happened to the *yambu*?" (73) He arrived in this way without knowing anything. (74) He gathered all the important local people in Turfan, and Niyaz Usta also became one of the rich people of Turfan. (75) He gave back the Imamship after he became rich. (76) The County Magistrate called them and said: "What should we do? There is a matter of such-and-such", but the Akhuns and the rich people sat silently. (77) In Turfan there were two rich people called Zapar Haji and Hapiz Haji, both were counted as rich people along with Masumkhan Haji. (78) He invited them, but everyone still kept silent. (79) One evening, he gathered them again and the County Magistrate Niyaz said: "We cannot earn these *yambus* by doing this. (80) There is a place called Toxsun, how about measuring the lands there?" (81) At that time, namely about 1933, Toxsun was not a county yet. (82) [He said]: "*Yambu* will come, everything will come, if we measure the lands there." (83) [Niyaz Usta] had fourty or fifty carpenters make wooden frames. (84) He acted as the *yamen* runner, wore black glasses and went to Toxsun with two other *yamen* runners. (85) He said: "The County Magistrate Wang has decided to come here to measure this land for you." (86) All the rich people in Toxsun brought their gold, *yambu* and silver, having measured many thousands of *mu* of lands. (87) They brought out *yambus* that had been saved away, and the County Magistrate Niyaz went there as an official, and measured many thousands of *mu* of lands. (88) After they measured, this Ilanliq of Toxsun, and so-called Qadir Hodung were all measured, naturally having been also registered to the government's account. (89) After (those lands) were registered, naturally came much gold and silver. (90) [County Magistrate Wang] asked: "Part of them have been collected, what should we do now? (91) What should we do with the other part? (92) I have found you to be a clever person." (93) [Niyaz] said: "Please just wait, the other part will come early in the next year." (94) "How will it come?" (95) "You know, next year tax must be paid on the cultivated lands." (96) They sent about fourty or fifty *yamen* runners with heavy whips to Toxsun. (97) "It will come if we ask them to pay in grain for the lands yet uncultivated." (98) They whipped some rich people, and they came with many *yambus*, asking for the tax account to be erased that was to be taken for those uncultivated lands. (99) Then his three chariots of *yambu* were also returned, (100) naturally his three-year term came to end. (101) The County Magistrate Wang once asked the County Magistrate Niyaz to travel to Urumchi (with him). (102) Niyaz said: "Yes, let's go to Urumchi!" and came somewhere near Dawanqing.[571] (103) [Wang] kept silent for a long time, and then said: "Niyaz Usta, how about you govern this Turfan? (104) I have found that you are the right person to govern Turfan." (105) After the lands were measured, Toxsun also became a county. (106) Niyaz Usta went to see General Yang, and [Wang] said: "I find that only Niyaz Usta could govern Turfan", and then [Yang] appointed him to the position of county magistrate. (107) After that, Uyghurs have been acting as county magistrates in Turfan

571 Originates from Chin. 大坂城 *Da-ban-cheng*, name of a pass between Turfan and Urumchi.

χida gasilaχunum[572] däp bir a däm bulduyinikänduq / (126) bu ädäm bir küni aχunbegni karizïya kep / ula ubdan miman qïp / (127) dašu širni karizïya kä:sä / sitnijazvaj mätnijazvaj digini šunda qarap / ö:ni iččig[573] kirkitpayïdäk[574] / (128) kitperïp / ma aχunbegni karizïya kä:sek bajla ubdan ča qodï / (129) bu bajlama bir ässilamu älejkum disä / kürüšü ütü kessex vumasmïdi däp ütü kitip / (130) šu ädäm / mušu karizla kälgüsi puraχčilïχ vop kitürmiki digäŋkin / mana bügüngi kägäv-vaχtïda / tusiχanïya a:linï / puraχčilïχ vo ketti / (131) čoŋ a:dämläni / ülüma:lanï gäp sözleri najti urulluχ buldukä // (132) bu iradi vilä / nijiz šäŋǰaŋmu širni karizïya kä:sä / heliqi bajla alǝjïp / dozaχ šotǝsïdäx čïqïp qarïjïp turyudäk / (133) nijiz šäŋǰaŋ kivatqandikin / bu nijaz šäŋǰaŋ šäŋǰaŋliχtïn jïqïlï qaldï däpzä / biri bir täräpkä kir kitpayïdäk // (134) hä: däp / u jädin ütü kitip / zedin karizïya qarayuǰïya kep / qarayuǰïda eyinilä vilä kürüšü kitej däp nimi qïsa / (135) jolda mejnigusta[575] däp tümürčilik qïldan addi bir a:däm barikänduq / (136) lekin u a:däm käŋ / a:dämgärčiligi va / mimandos a:dmikänduq // (137) nuryun bajla / hä bu nijaz šäŋǰaŋ jïqïlï qaldï däp nazirïnï sa:mapto / (138) bu addi saddi bir diχan / bu nijiz šäŋǰaŋ ki qaptu / (139) hawa ïssïq / ussuluq ičip / arimelïp ütü kessun däp / (140) öjgä čaqïrïp / bir oγliγïni ö:türüp / bir kičï qondurup maŋdurivätkinikänduq // (141) tuřpaŋya berïp bir mäzgil ütkändikin / šiŋšisej bašqa šäŋǰaŋnï qï peqïp / heč kilištürä:migändikin / nijazla sorǝsa vuγidäx däp / jänä nijiz šäŋǰaŋni šäŋǰaŋ qïptu // (142) hä bu hoqoq jänä käldi / ämdi qanda qïluř digäŋkin / (143) jamulda tuřsa / püttün jaŋχi karizniki jaɟilïrï / märäx vusun märäx vusun däp / jamulγa kep märägdeptu // (144) bir küni šunda qarǝsa / jaŋχi karizni bajleri / jigirmi ottus a?t vilä keptu / (145) heliqï mejnigusta digä a:dämmu keptu // (146) qařsa širni karïzdiki bajlamo ulunup šu qatada tuřyudäk // (147) ä:tïsi / waj χuda märäx qïsun / χuda märäx qïsun däptu / (148) šunda qara peqïp / helïqï mejnigustini üttura üjgä ekirip / bir kün miman qïptu // (149) märägdäp kägällä turu kittu / (150) aš gaχti vuptu / čüš voptu / (151) quřsaχla eččip / bu šäŋǰaŋ silämu čïqïp tamïγ ol bol ičiŋna digä gäpnima qïmaj / heliqï adɨmgärčilik qïyan mejnigustini üjigä äkirip / zijapät qïlïp / šu künni ötküzivittu bu ädäm // (152) heliqï bajla / biz tuřsaq äjäp bu bir ajiz kämbäγälni äkiřkättiγo / däp / (153) bula birläp birläp qečïp / äsäjdul aka digänni deŋïya berïp o:turuptu // (154) kičä vuγanda ikki saχči kep / düŋ düŋ düŋ düŋ išikni uřyudäk / (155) bu nimä däp qařsa / ikki saχči kirip / jaŋχi karizdin kägän setnijazvaj digä qa:sïŋ? / digäŋkin / (156) waj mana män däp / ǰan imanï čïqï kittu // (157) maŋ / sini šäŋǰaŋ čaqïřvatido / (158) qa:γənï šu kičɨsi täräp täräpkä qečï kittu / (159) heliqïnï jamolγa epirip / hä setnijaz baj digä sämmo? / (160) hä / (161) nijaz šäŋǰaŋ digä mana män / (162) bu ädämni / ätä tuŋgän mičitni sekkiz edem kütüdan[576] tawutni äkilsä / (163) bunuŋya säkkizdin on altä a:dämgä bir kejdin pul vïř-

572 *gasilaχunum* personal name, comprises of *gasil* (< ? Ar. *Wāsil*) + *Aχun* (< Per. *Axūnd*) + 1sg POSS *–um*.
573 *iččig* ← *ičigä* 'to the inside'.
574 *kiřkitpayïdäk* < *kirip ketip baryudäk*.
575 *mejnigusta* personal name, corrupted form for *mäŋlig usta* 'Master Mäŋlik'.
576 *kütüdan* intraterminal PPle of *kötür-* 'to lift, carry', SU *kötüridiyan*.



to this day. (108) You see, he (Niyaz Usta) was eliminated during Sheng Shicai's period. (109) Then he came from Turfan to Urumchi, got the certificate of appointment and became the county magistrate of Turfan. (110) He governed Turfan fairly well after he became the county magistrate. (111) Once people engaged in cock fighting with Dungans, and there were many quarrels over land. (112) People exclaimed: "Dungan's cock has won! Uyghur's cock has won!" (113) Then (Niyaz) poured black mulberry juice in a Dungan's groin and had the people lick it. (114) He did such things. (115) Sheng Shicai dismissed him. (116) After he was dismissed, he thought: "My job as county magistrate has come to an end, let me meet with friends travelling in Lükchün and Yanghe." (117) He rode a weak, ugly horse and travelled in karezes to Lükchün and Yanghe; one day he came to Akhunbey's karez, and Zahit Haji and other rich people were also there. (118) After that, the Chinese respectfully called him Ni Xianzhang, Ni Xianzhang.[577] (119) Originally, his name was Niyaz Usta or Niyaz Qari. (120) Zahit Haji and the Darughas sent him back showing him great hospitality. (121) They [did so] saying: "Country magistrate Niyaz came". (122) If one came to within one kilometer one reached a place where some tall, black creatures called Shiwi lived. (123) They were very stingy. (124) Reportedly, they usually ran away if someone came or passed through their door. (125) At Yanghe there was a person called Gasil Akhunum. (126) One day (Niyaz) came to Akhunbeg's karez, and they fed him well. (127) Then they arrived at Shir's karez, and those called Sitniyazway and Matniyazway entered the house just looking at him so. (128) He thought on his way back: "The rich people received us well when we were at Akhunbeg's karez. (129) Wouldn't it have been wonderful if those rich people had also greeted us, and we could have met each other", he thought this as he passed through there. (130) Since Niyaz said: "Those karez will probably begin stinking in the future", apparently today they began to stink. (131) Obviously, great people's and religious master's words are found to be so rational. (132) Thinking this, County Magistrate Niyaz went to Shir's karez, but the rich people just stayed there staring at him and he showed his black face just like the steps of the hell. (133) Seeing that County Magistrate Niyaz and his people were coming, they left one after another, and they thought: "County Magistrate Niyaz was dismissed." (134) [Niyaz Usta] said: "All right" and passed through there, and then came to Zedin Karez at Qaraghoja in order to meet with his friends. (135) Reportedly, midway resides a very ordinary blacksmith called Meynig Usta. (136) But he was generous, humanistic and hospitable. (137) Many rich people didn't care about Niyaz, considering he was dismissed from the position of County Magistrate. (138) However, this ordinary farmer thought: "County Magistrate Niyaz has come here. (139) It is hot, let him drink something and have a rest, and then he may leave." (140) Thinking this, he invited Niyaz to his house, killed a kid, and had him stay at his house for the night, and then sent him back. (141) Niyaz returned to Turfan, and some time later Sheng Shicai tried to appoint another [to Niyaz's position], but found he was not able to manage it, and then

577 *Ni* is the shortened form for *Niyaz* whereas *Xianzhang* 'County Magistrate' is his title.

dïγa iš vūsa / birigä bäš kejdin pul virsä / (164) özäŋgä bir quř kipän[578] täjjařlajsä däp / nimi qïγinikänduq / (165) ätisi bazaγa čïqïp / qäz elip / taza on jigirmi jaʔšni äkeptu // (166) tuřpanda tüngän tawutïnï sekkiz ädäm kütüřdu / eγïř / (167) heliqï piχsïq setnijazvajni tawutqa sep / kipälläp / sekkiz adäm tuřpan šarïnï bir ajlandurup čiqqankä // (168) setnijaz čiŋ digä män däp / taza sazaji qïvatqinikä // (169) andaχ vūsa / sän bäšüz dadän ašni taŋ atqičä mišägä äkilsä / digäŋkin / (170) bunï öjliřni päčätläp / šu waχta šundaγ išlamu boγinikäču / (171) üš kün tirik adämni tawutqa sep ajlanduruvatqinikänduq // (172) bu ädäm ikkinči qetïm šäŋǰaŋ vuγav vaχtïda / biz kö gän bu ädämničo / qizil jüz ädimidi // (173) jaŋχiγa ba γandïn kin / ismajil doγa digä a dämnikigä čüššä / bu bajla qoγun äkiptu / (174) bajla aχunbegni karïzdiki / pänǰänni karizdiki / majnaγ majnaγ seřtmis digälläni äkiripto / (175) bu nijiz šäŋǰaŋ / bu širla qanda qïluř däp / qulaq šädikin dedu // (176) mujdaχ jassa / bir waχtïda / sügängä mijmaχ mijmaχ sujma / ka va / pijaz birmiläni ep / birsi kiriptäk / (177) nijaz botuŋdäx[579] birsičo / kirip / setnijazvajniki nimisi kiriptu / digäŋkin / (178) mujdaχ qarap körü peqïp / heliqïdäk birmiläni äkiřgändikin / (179) ätä jaŋχidiki atařman čapařmänleřni / aχunbajnï karïzïγa säpář qïlmïz däp čïqïpto / (180) čïqïp / uttuř aχunbajnï karïzïγa čüšüptü / (181) bajla ulanï mimaŋ qïlïp qïlγandïn kin / qařsa setnijazvaj jene joχtäk / (182) andaχ vosa / setnijazvaj joqqo? (183) setnijazvajni čaqïř peqïŋna / digäŋkin / (184) uzun sät zäŋgigä ŭχšaš ävlatlaču ula / igiz qařlaq / širni ǰamatï dä qu ducho / heliqï qelin // (185) qo qup / ässalamu älikum digäŋkin / (186) hä sitnijaz baj / ba mu sän? / (187) kipänni savattïŋmu? / digäŋkin / (188) titräp kittu / heliqï ädäm / (189) tawutqa sep / kipäŋgi sep / tuřpanda sazaji qïlduřvatmidïmo // (190) χoš / (191) kipänni tašlivattïŋmu üjjüŋdä ba mu jä? / digäŋkin / (192) χoš / däp / (193) andaχ vūsa / aχunbajni karïzda χamaŋγa bir tuγnï tikip / pütün pi ri naχšisï e tidan dapčilanï jïγïp / teza aʔt qamčisnï äkep täjja vuγaŋkin / pi ri naχšisnï e tiptu // (194) nijiz šäŋǰaŋ taza setnijazvajni qullïγγa suquptu // (195) hä sitnazvaj[580] / pirrig čüšmämsä / (196) sini piri qïldanγa tikkän tuγ bu / däp / (197) teza qamčänï soqqänikänduq / qarap tuřγïdäk / (198) čüšä däp / čüšü kep / tüt tireptin qamčänï suqup kep / daʔpni güldurlütüp / naχšänï e ti kittu / (199) setnijazvajnï bir kün pire o nitivatqänikä[581] de du // (200) šä dä / bu hikajini šä dä däp biriptu / (201) män γerip buγanda / mini čirajimγimu qarəmïγa bu / (202) bunuŋ χäχkä räχmisï kilüřmu / däp / (203) piri ojnitivatqa nimikä //

578 *kipän* < Ar. *Kafn* / *kafana* 'white shroud used for wrapping a corpse'.
579 *nijaz botuŋ* personal name, consists of the given name *nijaz* and the nickname *botuŋ* < Chin. *baotong* 'boss' (?). Usually, such a nickname is given to fat people.
580 *sitnazvaj* alternative of the personal name *sijit nijaz baj* or *sitnijazvaj*.
581 *pirä onitivatqänikä* ← *pirä ojnitivätkän ikän* 'He had (Sitniyazway) perform shamanistic rituals.'



he appointed Niyaz to the position of County Magistrate again, considering it better to let Niyaz manage the affairs of Turfan. (142) He obtained power again, and people waited to see what he would do then. (143) He stayed at *yamen*, and all the *yamen* runners of Yanghe Karez came to congratulate him: "Congratulations! Congratulations!" (144) One day he saw rich people of Yanghe Karez come with twenty or thirty horses. (145) The one called Meynig Usta also came. (146) He saw that the rich people from the Shir's karez were also amongst them. (147) The next morning they greeted him: "God bless you! God bless you!" (148) He looked around, and invited Meynig Usta to his central room, and received him for a whole day. (149) Those who came to congratulate him waited there for a long time. (150) It was mealtime, then noon. (151) They became hungry, but the County Magistrate didn't even say: "You may go to eat something", but just received Meynig Usta, holding a banquet for him who showed his humanity, and spent the whole day with him. (152) The rich people thought: "Strangely he has received this poor, weak man although we are here", (153) and then they left one after another and stayed at Uncle Äsäydul's guest house. (154) In the evening, two policemen came there and knocked on the door. (155) They wondered if something had happened, and saw two policemen asking: "Who is Sitniyazway that came here from Yanghe Karez?" (156) [Sitniyaz] extremely annoyed and said: "That is me." (157) "Come with us, the County Magistrate is calling for you." (158) The others left in different directions during the evening. (159) [Niyaz] brought him to the *yamen* and asked: "Are you the one called Sitniyaz Bay?"[582] (160) "Yes, that is me." (161) "This is the County Magistrate Niyaz." (162) He told him: "Tomorrow, bring a bier carried by eight persons from the Dungan's Mosque, (163) and pay five *yuan* for every sixteen persons, the double of eight persons, if they used to pay one *yuan* before, (164) then prepare a white shroud for yourself." (165) The next day [Sitniyaz] went to the bazaar, borrowed money, and brought ten or twenty youths. (166) In Turfan eight persons carried the Dungan's bier since it was heavy. (167) Reportedly, the stingy Sitniyazvaj was put in a bier having been wrapped in the shroud, and the eight persons took him through Turfan city. (168) He was disgraced, and (Niyaz) had him called: "I am the stingy Sitniyaz!" (169) Then [Niyaz] ordered: "If this is so, bring five hundred *dadän* of grain here by daybreak!" (170) You see, at that time things like this happened, even his house was sealed. (171) Niyaz had a healthy person carried for three days in a bier. (172) We saw this person when he became the county magistrate for a second time; he had a red face. (173) He went to Yanghe and stayed at Ismayil Darugha's house, and rich people brought him sweet melons. (174) Rich people brought (big sweet melons) called *sertmis* from the Ahunbeg's karez as well as from the Pänjän's karez. (175) County magistrate Niyaz wanted to know what the Shirs do. (176) Someone entered carrying a basket with very small unripe melons, pumpkins and onions when he was sleeping. (177) Someone just like Niyaz Botung came and said: "Sitniyazvay's presents have come." (178) He looked at them, and saw he had brought these kinds of

582 *Bay* 'rich, rich man', here it is used as the honorific title of Sitniyaz. However, its alternative *vaj* as seen in *Sitnijazvaj* has ironic meaning.

30. pirä

(1) bir kün nijiz šänǰaŋ jaŋχiya kep jassa / mušu taχta körüktä / guř guř bir bu:riläni a:wazi kevatqïdäk // (2) patimämni[583] kǒjnägi / säxsän jä:dä jamaq ba / bu a:lämdä jamälïq qïsaŋ / u a:lämdä suraq ba / allahu ja / allahu däp / pi:rini[584] sürän qïp turša / (3) munda tïŋšap / bu nimi alamät bu? / digäŋkin / (4) bu mä:lidä nuran büwi däp bir ejal va / (5) šu nuřyun büwiläni jiyïp hälqä qïvatïdu / digäŋkin / (6) jürüŋna / beri paqïni / däp taχta kö:rükkä birip / (7) tïŋšəsa šundaχ bir χil muŋluχ awaz čiqïvatqïdäk / (8) hä däp / bir kičä šä:dä šulani muŋuni aŋnap jini käptu // (9) jini kep / küzligi aš qujduya gaχtïda / nišenǰaŋ saŋya[585] čïqqudäk / (10) kämbiyäl uruq ajïzla kä:sä / mujunda qarap / qerilänikini birmä qïvitiŋna / däp härküni bir ikki qitim čïqïp qarajdikänduq / (11) qata:da o:turup kitidan išken / nečči kün // (12) bir küni qarəsa / bu nuram-büvi bir χalta birmini tutup / jälnini uzaltïp o:tayïdäk / (13) heliqï hälqä qïyan nuram-büwi šä:dä o:tayïdäk / sämätni apəsï // (14) nijaz šänǰaŋ üjigä kirkitip / palan buřǰəda ja:lïq sayan qařlaq bir ajal o:turuptu / šunï čaqïrïp kiriŋna / digäŋkin / (15) ikki är čiqïp / qupsïla äjlä / silini šänǰaŋ čaqïřdu / (16) waj anam / waj atam / nimisigä mini šänǰaŋ nimi qïldïyandu? / (17) waj qoχmaj paχsïlara / däp äkirivikänduq / (18) taza ütturüya äkirip / ubdan miman qïp / jajïlaya / ašu ajalnï χaltəsïdiki ašni elïp / qä:yizni ečïqperïŋna / däptu // (19) šunuŋ vilän bu / bazadin näčči jüz ejalni jiy pirip / hälliq[586] qïlduruptu / (20) nuřyun jařdäm qïp / (21) šu pijazčïlanï mäjlisidä o:turašlïq vop / qïzïni pijazčïla mäjlisigä ja?tlïq qïp / (22) hazirmu bir qïzï va / pijazčïla mäjlisidä //

583 *patimäm* < Ar. *Fāṭima* + 1sg POSS *–(A)m*. This song relates to a story concerning the Prophet Muhammad's daughter.
584 *pi:rini* ACC of *pirä* 'a shamanistic séance', see Jarring 1964: 230.
585 *saŋ* < Chin. 倉 *cang* 'store-house'.
586 *hälliq* an alternative of *hälqä* 'circle'.



things. (179) [Niyaz] left for Akhunbay's karez with his henchmen. (180) They went directly to the Akhunbay's karez. (181) The rich people received them well, but they found Sitniyaz was still missing. (182) [Niyaz] asked: "If this is so, why has Sitniyazvaj not come? (183) Call Sitniyaz here." (184) All of their family members were tall and black just like black people, I mean the Shir's relatives, and they were also shameless. (185) [Sitniyaz] came in fear and greeted him. (186) "All right, Sitniyaz-bay, where have you been? (187) Did you take off your white shroud?" (188) Sitniyaz (heard this and) trembled terribly. (189) You know, Niyaz had disgraced him in Turfan by wrapping him in the shroud, and putting in the bier. (190) He said: "Well, you are welcome." (191) [Niyaz] said: "Did you throw the white shroud away or are you still keeping it at your house?" (192) He just replied: "All right, please continue." (193) Then Niyaz asked to have a flag raised at the threshing place at Akhunbay's karez and gathered all dap players who sang Shamanic songs, he [asked to] have a whip used for running a horse brought (riding crop), and then had them sing Shamanic songs. (194) County magistrate Niyaz bit Sitniyazway's ear. (195) "Hey, Sitniyaz, why don't you perform Shamanistic rituals? (196) This flag was raised here in order for you to perform Shamanistic rituals." (197) Niyaz whipped Sitniyaz, but he just stayed there looking at him. (198) He ordered him to dance, and whipped him savagely, (they) played tambourine, and started singing. (199) He had Sitniyazvay perform Shamanistic rituals all day. (200) Reportedly, he told this story there himself. (201) "He did not look at my face when I was needy. (202) I wonder if he cares for anyone." (203) Reportedly, he had him perform Shamanistic rituals (in this way).

30. Shamanistic ritual

(1) One day, County Magistrate Niyaz came to Yanghe and went to bed, he heard the howling of wolves coming from the direction of Taxta Bridge.[587] (2) Somebody was singing a Shamanistic song:

Patimam's skirt, bears patch at eighty places,
If you do bad in this world, you will be questioned in the next world
Allāhu ja Allāhu!

(3) He heard this, and asked: "What has happened?" (4) [They] said: "There is a lady called Nuran Büwi[588] in this village, (5) she is making *halqa*[589] and gathering many *büwis*." (6) He said: "Let's go and have a look!" and went to Taxta Bridge. (7) They heard [the song], and found a pleasant voice coming [from there]. (8) He heard their songs the whole night and returned. (9) In the autumn the County Magistrate Niyaz used to go to the storehouse when people paid their grain-tax. (10) He used to go there once or twice a day to check, and give orders (to his runners) to solve old people's problems

587 Name of a bridge at Yanghe.
588 *büwi* < Chag. *bibi* 'lady', in Uyghur it refers to ladies who practice both Shamanistic and Islamic ritual. Here it clearly refers to a female Shaman.
589 *halqa* 'circle', a form of Shamanistic ritual, in which the believers most often sing composing in a circle.

31 alla jarīm

(1) bir̆ kūni simizgä čīχsa / jaŋχi karīzγa / simizlä[590] kiväz čaγlavatqïdäk // (2) nijiz šäŋǰaŋ ba sa / gür̆ gür̆ bir̆ a vaz kivatqïdäk / (3) bu nimɨ alamät? / disä / (4) bu čaγlam qïγan on jigir̆mi a dämzä / waj jarïm χijalïŋnï bilip bo madu disɨču / gür̆ gür̆ däp / bä?s qïp kiväz čaγlavatqïdäk // (5) kiväz čaγləyanda mušunda bir̆ naχšɨ va / däptu / hä däptu // (6) aχunbekni karīzïγa ba sa / ijädɨmu šundaχ e tivatqïdäk / (7) ijädïn šir̆ni karīzïγa ba sa / bu taza zaγrɨ nanni epirip / erïqnï bujda dügdɨjip o tayïdäk / (8) kiväz čaγlap heri kitivassa / nijazni čilišini däp unəmïγïdäk // (9) bir̆ kūni / he mätnijaz / gaχtïda bä säŋ vumamdu ča ni / disä / (10) täŋtüš čïγi va / (11) šikä čüškän mäjlidä bä mimämmu / (12) šikä čüšmɨsä qanda jigiŋla kildu / digidäk / (13) qačan čüšidu bu šikä? / disä / (14) qur̆sūγuŋla taza ašqan mäjlidä / qunaχ nenï šikä vuldu / digidäk // (15) šunuŋ vilä / qur̆saq ečï kätkä a däm / nannï taza jigidäk // (16) nijaz pakani jiqïtïni däp / mätnijaz vilä čilišini digidäk / (17) bu kūni / bułdu čilišini däp / ča nï ičmästin čilišiptu / (18) ča ičivaɬ / disä / (19) jaq / čelišivap andïn ičej / digidäk / (20) aččïγida taza tutup / ikki mitir̆dïn igiz ädɨmidiču šir̆vaj / ujiniγa toγlap / bu jiniγa toγlap / tätür̆lä qojγunikänduq / bišši bir̆ jädä / putti bir̆ jädä / eriqqa čüš kitivatqïdäk / (21) qanda voldï mätnijaz? / digɨnikänduq / (22) saŋγa küčüm jetmɨgidäk / (23) män qišlïγï to paχnï güšini jimä[591] / sän zaγra jigɨniŋ vilä küčüm jätmɨgidäk // (24) šunuŋ vilä / jene bir̆ kūni qïšlïγï aš qujduγan gaχtïda qarəsa / jaŋχida alla jarïmni[592] e tidïγalla / aš qujγɨlï bäš unï ki qaptudäk // (25) jürüŋna däp / äšχanɨγa kirip / otuγuštïn jigirmini täjjarlaŋna / däptu / (26) hä bułdu däp / jigir̆mi utuγuš täjjarlaptu // (27) čaqïr̆tsa / qo qup / kiri paqïni däp kiriptu // (28) zaγrɨ nandïn bir̆ni tep kiliŋna disä / bunï nimɨ qïlmïz? / digidäk / (29) biligä zaγrɨ nannï čigi qo mɨsa kōŋni teš tur̆mɨγïdäk / digidäk // (30) zaγrədïn bir̆ni čigip / qo dïn bir̆ni sujup / qur̆sūγini toχlap / jamulnï a qɨda jä va / qunaχ čaγlaŋna / däptu // (31) bula jimmitïla čïqïp qunaχnï čajlaptu / (32) hej / biliŋlaγa zaγrɨ nammu tügüldi / qur̆suγuŋlamu toχlandi / (33) jaŋχida e tqan alla ja rïmnï bir̆ essaŋla bumamdu / digɨnikänduq / (34) heliqï e tqɨnimïznï aŋnəyan čeγi varikänduq däp / taza e tqɨnikänduq / ikki kün tur̆panni jirivittu[593] dedu // (35) kijin u ädäm tur̆panda ballɨr̆nï uqutup / šu gaχlɨrikänduq tur̆panda mäxtäplä ujušmüla qurulγan / (36) šäŋǰaŋ gaχtïda / tur̆panda mäxtäplänï ujušmɨlanï qur̆γɨnikänduq // (37) hazɨr̆mu ikki qïzï uqup / ürümčilädä χizmät qïp kitivatidu //

590 *simizlä* 'fats, fat peaople', refers to people who bear nickname *simiz* 'fat, thick'. *Simiz* is also the name of a village in Yanghe where *simizlä* live.
591 *jimä* 'I eat', 1sg intraterminal form of *ji-* < *je-* 'to eat', SU *jäjmän*.
592 *alla jarïm* originally means 'God is my lover', but here simply means 'o my lover', consists of *alla* (< Ar. *Allāh*) and *jarïm* (*jar* < Per. *yār*) 'lover' + 1sg POSS *–(X)m*.
593 *jirivittu* < *jerivetiptu*.



when he saw poor, emaciated and weak people. (11) People had to sit and wait there many days. (12) One day, he found Nuran Büwi sitting there with a sack of grain dangling from her breasts. (13) He saw Nuran Büwi who made *halqa* sitting there, she was the mother of Sämät as you know. (14) County magistrate Niyaz entered his residence and said: "A light-black lady with a head-scarf is sitting at such-and-such a corner, call her here!" (15) Two people went there and said: "Please stand up older sister, the County Magistrate is calling you." (16) "O my mother, o my father, why is the County Magistrate calling me there?" (17) They said: "Come without fear!" and brought her there. (18) [Niyaz] invited her to his living room, fed her well, and then ordered the *yamen* runners: "Take the grain in this lady's sack, and bring the receipt here!" (19) He had gathered many hundreds of women from the bazaar, and had them make *halqa*. (20) He helped her very much. (21) She used to stay at the Piyazchi's village,[594] marrying her daughter to someone in the Piyazchi's village. (22) Now one of her daughters is still living in the Piyazchi's village.

31. My lover

(1) One day [Niyaz] went to Simiz at Yanghe Karez and found the people of Simiz hoeing cotton. (2) Country Magistrate Niyaz went there and heard loud voices. (3) He asked: "What is happening?" (4) They found ten or twenty people hoeing cotton vigorously and calling out: "Hoo! Hoo!" and composing the song: "O my lover, your mind could never be known." (5) They explained: "This is a song to be sung while cotton-hoeing", [Niyaz] said: "I see." (6) He went to Akhunbeg's karez and found they were also singing the same song. (7) He went to the Shir's karez from there, but found him just sitting alone at a ditch's edge holding a loaf of maize-bread. (8) People became very tired hoeing cotton, but Shir insisted on wrestling with Niyaz. (9) One day [someone said]: "Hey, Mätniyaz, how about you serve the tea on time?" (10) It is likely that they were cohorts. (11) [He replied:] "Is it not good to serve it when it becomes sweet like sugar? (12) How can you drink[595] without waiting until it becomes sweet?" (13) "When does it become sweet?" (14) He said: "When you are very hungry, maize-bread tastes like sugar." (15) Hearing this, the hungry people ate the bread with much appetite. (16) He said: "Let's push Short Niyaz[596] down! Let's wrestle with Mätniyaz!" (17) He said: "OK!" and wrestled with him without drinking tea. (18) People asked him to drink tea, (19) but he said: "No, first let me wrestle, then I will drink tea." (20) He held him tightly, you know Shirway is more than two meters tall, then shook him to this side and that side powerfully and then threw him back, people found [Mätniyaz's] head was here but his feet were there, and (the body) fell into the ditch. (21) He asked: "How was it Mätniyaz?" (22) "It has proved that I am not in your power. (23) Winters I eat veal, but I am not in your power though you eat maize-bread." (24) Another day, on the days of winter grain-taxation, (Niyaz) looked and found that

594 Name of a village at Yanghe, lit. 'the village of onion planters/sellers'.
595 Original *jä-* 'to eat'.
596 Original: *niyaz paka*, in which *paka* 'short' is the nickname.

32 toχuj soqušturuš

(1) nijaz šäńǰaŋni gaχtïda / ujγuř vilä tüŋgänni toχoj suquštuřdan bɨř iši varikänduq // (2) bɨř küni šunda čoŋ medanda toχoj suquštuřdan bop / tüŋgänni toχojïγa göš väginikän / ujγuřnu toχujïγa χimiř väginikä / (3) suqušup bɨř jägä baγan gaχtïda / ikkisila qïzïl χoraz čeγikänduq / bɨřmunčɨliri tüŋgänni jiŋïvaldi däptu / bɨřmunčɨliri ujγuřnu jiŋïvaldi däptu // (4) bu dätalaš bu kätkändikin / suqušup šäńǰaŋ jamulïγa kiridu / (5) nimi ǰo da?[597] / disä / (6) majnaχ / toχoj suquštürup / ikkisila qïzïl voγaŋkin / ujγuřnu jäŋdi / tüŋgänni jäŋdi däp ǰo da vop kitpařdu / digäŋkin / (7) majnaχ qarəsa ujγuřlamu tüŋgänni jäŋdi digidäk // (8) andaγ vüsa / sän nim bägän? / disä / gö?š vägän / däptu / (9) sän nim bägän? / disä / män χimiř vädim / digidäk // (10) bu ikki toχujni ötürüp qarəsa / qoqqan toχojnu nimisidin gö?š čïqïptu / (11) qoqazγinni ičidin χimiř čïqïptu // (12) ujγuřnikimikä?[598] / disä / (13) ujγuřnikikä däptu / (14) qoqqan tüŋgännikikä / däptu / (15) hä däp / (16) bazadïn taŋši ekiriŋnä däp / tüŋgänni ikki teqimïγa sürüp / ujγuřlani äŋkin / hä jalaŋnä däp / jalitivitiptu / (17) silä ämdi mišädä / häqiqï ras gä?pni qïmaj / tüŋgängä bulušqandikin / taŋšinïmu jalaŋnä däp / jalətïptu / (18) adilaraq ädimikänduχču / u //

597 *ǰoda* < ? Chin. 叫打 *jiao-da* 'quarrel', lit. 'call and beat'.
598 *ujγuřnikimikä* < *ujγuř* + GEN *-nikï* + CLIT *mu* + COP *ikän*.



five or ten people who had sung *O, my lover*, had come from Yanghe. (25) He said: "Come on!" and went to a restaurant, and then ordered his servants to get twenty hoes ready. (26) They said: "Yes!" and prepared twenty hoes. (27) He called them, but they came with fear. (28) Niyaz asked them to find one maize-bread, but they asked: "What should we do with it?" (29) He said: "It is likely that they won't feel at ease unless maize-bread is tied around their waist." (30) He bound the maize-bread (to their waste), slaughtered a sheep, filled their stomachs and said: "There is a field at the back of the *yamen*, hoe the corn there!" (31) They silently went there, and hoed the corn. (32) Niyaz spoke to them: "Now that maize-bread is bound to your waist, and your stomachs are also filled. (33) How about you sing the *O, my lover* song that you sang in Yanghe." (34) They wondered if he had heard what they sang, and sang with enthusiasm, reaching all over Turfan with their voices for two days. (35) Later, Niyaz educated his children in Turfan, and it was exactly at the time schools and associations were established. (36) Evidently, he established schools and associations in Turfan when he was the county magistrate. (37) His two daughters received education, and now both are working in Urumchi.

32. Fighting cocks

(1) When [Niyaz] was county magistrate, Uyghurs and Dungans had a custom of fighting cocks often. (2) One day, they planned a cockfight, having fed Dungan's cock with meat and Uyghur's cock with dough. (3) The two cocks fought quite long, it is likely that both cocks were of a red colour; some people said: "Uyghur's cock won!" but others said: "Dungan's cock won!". (4) People quarreled over angrily, fought each other, and finally went to the County Magistrate's *yamen*. (5) Niyaz asked: "Why do you quarrel?" (6) Someone explained: "People fought cocks such-and-such, and now they have been quarreling saying: 'Uyghur's cock won! Dungan's cock won!' since both cocks were of a red colour." (7) He also heard some Uyghurs say: "Dungan's cock won." (8) He asked [the Dungan]: "What did you give [to your cock]?" and [the Dungan] answered: "Meat". (9) Then he asked [the Uyghur]: "What did you give [to your cock]?" and [the Uyghur] said: "Dough." (10) Then they killed both cocks and found meat in the [stomach] of the cock that was defeated, (11) but dough in the [stomach] of the cock that won. (12) He asked: "Has the Uyghur's cock won?" (13) They answered: "Yes, that was the Uyghur's cock!" (14) "Was the defeated one of the Dungans?" (15) People said: "Yes." (16) He ordered them to bring black mulberry jam from the bazaar, wiped it on that Dungan's two thighs, and ordered them: "Lick it!" and had them licked it. (17) He said: "You didn't tell the truth when speaking in favour of the Dungans, now you lick this black mulberry juice as well!", and then he had them lick it. (18) Reportedly, he was a rather just person.

33 jär ǰodasï

(1) bir küni / bir jädä bir üš burǰa jä ni talïšïp / (2) bir tüŋgänni jiri varikänduq / (3) u χujsu[599] här jili qïr jöʔtkigidäk / (4) tupənï qujyandïn kinla / bu qïr a qiya sürlüpla tuřyandïn kin / bu ujyuřnu jiri ba yansiri azla kitipayïdäk / (5) bu ǰo da tügimäptu / tügimäptu // (6) bir küni ikki jaji čïqïp qarap tuřsa / helïqïndäk sürüpla tuřyan / sürüpla tuřyan / (7) ujyuřnu aziji kitpayïdäk / tüŋgänni küpij kitpayïdäk / (8) ǰo danï a rïšqa bo miyaŋkin / ikkisini ajrïp bir jamulya sulap / bir buluŋyizä qïstiši peqïŋna qeni / (9) qäčilik qïstïšïsilä däp / mušundaq qïp / aχïrsï šu jä nimu toyrəlap ötkinikä // (10) bu ädämni nuřyun parïŋï vařdi / (11) šu untulu kittu / (12) bu ädämni parïŋï tügä qaldï //

34 hušuř äpändi

(1) pičan najisnïŋ lämǰindä / čuwaŋqïř däp bir jiza vařdi // (2) mušu jä dä bir uqomušluq ädäm ötkinikä // (3) bu a däm oj-jigirmi jašlaya kirgändä / üzi tuyma äqillïq vuyaŋkin / dini mäktäplädä χäʔt jizišni üginiveptu // (4) kijin bu adäm ǰämijättiki jaman illätläni täŋqït qïv jürüptu // (5) bir küni tuřpanda bir jubuř[600] digäm-bir ti za čïqïptu / (6) bu jubuř ti zini bu hušuř äpändi bïsïptu / bu / (7) basqandïn kijin / bu tizini üχšaš išlitiviriptu // (8) išlitip bir jägä ba yanda / basqan mijidin bir az aškarlïnï qäptu / (9) aškarlïnï qäp / bu ädämni tuřpan ja mulya sulap täkšürüp nim qïsa / bu pulnï jubuřya üχšaš basqan // (10) basqallïyï ispatlanyandïn kijin / oŋ küzni tuřpan jamulda čikivatidikin (11) ülüm ǰaza sïya bujruyiniken / pulda bu pul čikivatidikin (11) ülüm ǰaza sïya bujruyiniken / pulda bu pul ǰa[601] digän χat vuyašqa qutulu qeptu // (12) näččä jil türmidä jitip / ununǰdun qutulu čïqïdiken // (13) jürüp jubuř ötmäjdïyan bop / ürümčigä čïqïp jänä pul vasïdu bu / jaŋziŋšinni waχtïda // (14) pul visïp bunï išlitip jürgäŋkin / bu jänä tuřmigä kiridu / bu // (15) kirgäŋkin / saχ küzigä jiŋnini säčip / saχ küzini midirmidïyaŋ-qïp / češmen küzini mujdaχla birmä teŋsä midirajdïyan qïyaŋkin / (16) bu češmen köz / bir küzi qaro / küzi kö mijdïyä ädimikä / digäŋkin / (17) qasu saχ yüsa šunï čikivitiŋna däp ämir qïlyaŋkin / (18) jaŋ ǰaŋǰuŋni waχtïdima / tuřmida šu burun čikilgän češmen küzini čikip qutulu čiχkitidikä[602] bu // (19) bu tuřmüdin čïqïp / ürümčidä kučidä kitivassa bir közäjnäk satədan[603] χänsu dükändä o tayïdäk / (20) šä gä taza šilä pini kijipzä / šunda kiriptu // (21) da közäjnäxni al / (22) äp nim qïyaŋkin / mujda tařtï peqïp / qančä disä / tašejnex dep hazïrnï pulïya birä miŋ kej birmä digäŋkin / (23) turu kitip / tuřmüdun jeŋi čïqqanda jinnida nädä pul vusun / mini bir küzüm kömäjdu / jerïmïnï alïmä / jerïmïnï uštu pä digidäx / (24) jerïmïnï sä a saŋ / jerïmïnï mä qandaχ satəmä / däp / (25) jerïm közejnexni pučulap bä mäptu / šunuŋ vilä kätkän dejdu // (26) šunuŋ vilä endin / juřtqa verïptu // (27) baj bajla qïmaya tikišip / bajlanï jä lirni közläp qïmaya salidikin bajla // (28) mujda qarïsa šä šädin bajla kep / qïmïř ojnap / (29)

599 *xujsu* < Chin. 回族 *Hui-zu* 'Hui nationality'.
600 *jubuř* < Chin. 油普儿 *you pu-er* (?) 'name of a currency valid during the Yang Zenxin period. *pu-er* is the copy of *pul* < Per. *pul* 'money'.
601 *ja* < Chin. 仮 *jia* 'false'.
602 *čiχkitidikä* ← *čïqïp ketidikän* < *čïqïp ketidu ikän*.
603 *satədan* intraterminal Pple of *sat-* 'to sell'.



33 Land quarrel

(1) One day there was a fighting [a quarrel] over a triangular field. (2) It was a Dungan's field. (3) Reportedly that Dungan[604] moved the ridge between plots every year. (4) The Uyghur's field gradually became narrower since [the Dungan] poured dirt there moving the ridge between the plots very often. (5) This quarrel was never settled. (6) One day two *yamen* runners went there and found [the Dungan] was still moving [the ridge] just as told, (7) the Uyghur's field gradually became smaller, but the Dungan's field bigger. (8) They were not able to settle this quarrel, [Niyaz] locked both [Dungan and Uyghur] in one room in the *yamen*, ordering them to crowd into a corner. (9) He said: "I see how much you can crowd", and finally solved this land quarrel correctly. (10) There are many stories about this person, (11) (but) most of them are forgotten. (12) This is the end of this person's story.

34 Mr. Hushur

(1) At Lämjin of Pichan County there is a village named Chuwangqir. (2) Reportedly, a wise man lived there. (3) Since he was a talented and wise person by birth, he learned writing at religious schools at the age of about ten or twenty. (4) Later this person often criticised shortcomings of society. (5) Once at Turfan there appeared a local currency called *yubur*. (6) Reportedly, Mr. Hushur counterfeited a quantity of this currency. (7) He used it just like the real one soon after he made it. (8) He used it so, but later the crime was exposed by the ink used for printing. (9) After it was exposed, they locked him in the *yamen* of Turfan and found he had printed counterfeit notes, which were exactly the same as real *yubur*. (10) They proved it was counterfeit, and punched a hole in his right eye at the Turfan *yamen*. (11) Originally, he was sentenced to death, but he was not put to death because (the counterfeit currency) had written on it: "This currency is fake." (12) He was released after sitting in jail for some years. (13) Later, the *yubur* was no longer used and he came to Urumchi and again counterfeited currency during the Yang Zengxin Era. (14) He was put into jail again because he had counterfeited currency and used it. (15) As he sat (in jail), he made his healthy eye immovable, inserting a needle into it, and then made his blind eye movable when something touched it. (16) [The jail keepers] said: "This is a blind man whose only eye cannot see." (17) They ordered the healthy eye punched. (18) During General Yang's period he was released again, having been punched in his blind eye once more. (19) When he was released from the jail he saw an optician's shop when he was walking in the streets of Urumchi. (20) He entered wearing a very formal hat. (21) (He asked:) "Give me those glasses." (22) (The optician) gave him the glasses, and he tried them on and asked: "How much are they?" (The optician) wanted about one thousand *yuan* if one converts the price to present day (Chinese) currency, stating that they were stone glasses. (23) He stayed there for some time, you know, he had, of course, no money since he was just released from jail and he said: "One of my eyes is blind, I will just buy half, break them

604 Original: *xujsu* 'Hui nationality'.

hušuř äpändi birinči qetimda ulanï pullïřnï utuveptu / (30) ulanï altun kümüš pullïřni ečikittu[605] // (31) bɨř mäzgil ötkändikin / hušuř äpändi pulumuznï utuvep qeči ketti / bu / (32) mušunï bɨř ja·lajnï bunï ämdi / däpzä // (33) pulnï utuvaɣaŋkin / közejnexnï taqap kändäxnï kijip / lüxčün mušu ätrapta taza juɣan atnï minip ojnajdïɣa boptu // (34) bɨř tušäntunu bäš altï bajlɨrizä jiɣïliväp / ürümčilädin kep / hušuř äpändi mujda utu kittu digäŋkin / ojnajmïz däp ojnaptu // (35) ojna ojna u növät jïχ pulmu äkämäptu / bu hušuř äpändi utuř qujuptu / (36) ävälqi pulleřni χäšlidïɣinnï χäšläp bišiqtuřvittu / (37) bu nöwät quruχ baɣaŋkin / nä nimɨgä nimäŋ va äčiχ paq adaš / digäŋkin / (38) pulla vilä bu pälläni[606] tügɨtamajmä / (39) bɨř zimin ba· / šu ziminnï tutu pämisäm bo·miɣidäk / digäŋkin / (40) hä buldu / qenï ziminïŋ? / däp // (41) ä·tä ö·gün üš kün ötkäŋkin / a?tlani miniŋlä däp äčiqïp / änkin / (42) ziminïŋ qenï? / däp / (43) mana mu zimin digä mušu / däp / pičan lüxčünnu ottuřluɣuda nečči saj taɣ / (44) jetti qïzla ɣuǰam / čivansaq / qavansaq / tuɣansaq / däp tüt täräpni kü̱stüp[607] / mana mušu jä·lä hä·mɨsi miniŋ / (45) silägä möhüř qïp pirimä däp / möhüř qïp biriptu // (46) bu jä·läni χuŋčilɨtïmïs disä / quvansaq tuɣansaq digällä / munu jä·läni ismi / (47) bu bɨř ǰäŋgal / bika tuřdan jä·lä bu / (48) munu saraŋmu saχmu däp / qïmařdinmu pändinmu qutulu kätkɨnikä //

605 *ečikittu* 'brought and went away' < *elïp čïqïp ketiptu*.
606 *pällä* ← *pänlä* (< Chin. ? *pän* 'tax?' + Pl. *–lär*).
607 *kü̱stüp* 'pointing' ← *kösütüp* < *körsitip*.



in half and give it to me." (24) "How can I sell the other half, if you only buy half?" (25) (The optician) would not sell half (of the glasses) and he left. (26) So, he went to his hometown. (27) Reportedly, at that time rich people seduced other rich people to gamble, seeking to take their land. (28) He saw rich people coming there from the cities for gambling. (29) At first, Mr. Hushur won their money, (30) and took away their gold and silver. (31) Some time later, (the losers said:) "Mr. Hushur has won our money and gone away. (32) Let's teach him a lesson." (33) After winning, he wore glasses and good uniforms and began to play around Lükchün, riding a big horse. (34) Five or six rich people all of Turfan, Pichan and Toxsun counties gathered – one even came from Urumchi – and they said: "Mr. Hushur has won so much, we should gamble with him", and they gambled with him. (35) (They) gambled and gambled, and Hushur lost this time, but he had not brought much money this time. (36) He ran out and hid the money he had won the previous time. (37) This time he went there empty-handed, and they asked: "What do you have, my friend? Bring it." (38) "I cannot pay back the debts with money. (39) I have land, and it is likely that I have to pay with it." (40) (They said:) "OK, where is your land?" (41) Three days passed,[608] and he then asked them to ride their horses and led them (somewhere). (42) "Where is your land?" (43) "This is my land", and he showed the many dried riverbeds and mountains between Pichan and Lükchün. (44) He showed four places, namely Yetti Qizla Ghujam,[609] Chiwansaq, Qawansaq and Tughansaq, and said: "These places are all mine. (45) I will give them to you with my seal", and he gave away those lands after putting his seal (on a deed). (46) He intended to pass those places to them with a legal contract,[610] Quwansaq and Tughansaq are the names of those places, (47) and both of them were jungle and useless places. (48) (They said:) "Is this a normal man or a crazy man?" Then (Hushur) was got ride of both gamble and his debts by doing this.

608 Original: *ätä ögün üš kün* lit. 'tomorrow, a day after tomorrow and three days'.
609 Place name, lit. 'my seven-girls Saints'.
610 Original: *χuŋčilat-* 'to have a legal contract'.

35 hušur äpändi kamunada

(1) bu azatlïqqa čïqqandïn kin / kamuna voptu / (2) kamuna vuɣaŋkin / bir küni jaŋχidïn räjäp ša[611] / sulta imin ikki eɣinisi čïqïptu // (3) čïqqandikin / šu arlïχta / jaŋχida o turup / unu oɣli ɣuǰi muχpul digä / umu ti za vasqan // (4) bu ata ävladïn qaɣan ti zi vesiškä däp / hükümat ǰazalap nimi qïɣandïn kin / burun tuřduɣan jiri lämǰin čuwaŋqïřɣa čïqï kätkä // (5) dadüj gaχlada ša dä turup / bir kün andïn χorazni biqïp / toχoj suqušturup jürgän ädimikä // (6) χorəzïnï qïznaqqa äkiri qujuptu / (7) äkiri qujup ütuřsa / bir eɣinisi čïqïp / (8) äjaliz ä / ičigi zä / manda ča pa qajnïtimä däp kiřkätsä / hušuř taza eɣiniliř vilä paraŋ sep o tuřsa / χurəzï kot kot däp čillaptu dedu // (9) čilləsa / arlïqta o turup / he xotun / qeššïŋɣa birsi kiřvaldimu? / (10) toχuj qanat sörävatamdu? / däptu // (11) u mana mujdaχ qïzïχ paraŋlani sep ütidïɣa ädimikänduq // (12) bir küllä vuɣanda / kamunada išläv jürüp / bu maxoda qoj kala at bir nä silä ba voɣandïn kin / qoj kalila ǰimmitïla joq vo kitiš vo qaptu // (13) qïma ujušturuptu bu ädäm / maχočïlani[612] / (14) ujušturup biri qo nï ečiqïp jäptu / biri tüpaχnï ečiqïptu / (15) bu iš eviǰ elïp / maχolanïmo eriq utuřvittu / bu igidačiliq qïp tuřyalla // (16) bunï küräš qïlïmïz / qolɣa äpäsun disä / (17) mã jädä turaj / (18) mä eɣiř a däm / quluŋlada äp kita majsilä digidäx / küräš qïvatsa // (19) bir küni maχočïladïn ambařčïladïn utuvep / čïqïš / bu miniki / digidäk // (20) woj / bu dadüjni ambiřï maχoji tuřsa / disä / (21) män ilkimge ep utuvaldim bulanï / (22) čïqïŋla bijädin / män igidařčïliq qïlïmä bijägä / digidäk // (23) šu gaχladiki tüzümgimu qarəmaj / qïzïχčïliq qïlimä däv / mujdaχ jürgidäk // (24) šunuŋ vilä bunï buzuχ unsuř däp qalpaχ kigüzüp ötkänikän //

36 güdäklä quši-yï (1)

(1) taqqa / tuqqa / zänǰïř / halqa /
halqidïn / bulqa //
ǰüǰäm pišti bal šikär/
χan qïzï χaman qïzï //

(2) güldüř güldüř pätmänčük /
baɣ ičïdä sägänčük /
dadam ba / dadam ba /
dadam etï bo za[613] /
jančuɣïda soza[614] /
män turaj / sän čïq /
čimildi-yïm / čim čïq //

611 *ša* < Per. *šāh* 'king', it is very often added to man's name in the Turfan-, and Qomul regions, e.g. *Tümür ša*, *Toxti ša*, etc.
612 *maχoči* 'stable-keeper, shepherd'.
613 *boza* < Chin. 包子 *bao-zi* 'steamed stuffed bun'.
614 *soza* < Chin. 鎖子 *suo-zi* 'lock'.



35 Mr. Hushur during the commune

(1) After liberation,[615] the commune was established. (2) After the establishment of the commune, one day his two friends, (namely) Rajap Sha and Sultan Imin of Yanghe, came (to visit him). (3) They came, you know, he was staying at Yanghe during this period, and his oldest son Ghuji Muhpul also used to counterfeit currency. (4) The government considered that his counterfeiting of currency was inherited from his parents and punished Hushur, and he had to return to his hometown of Chuwangqir at Lämjin. (5) Reportedly, during the *Dadüj* period,[616] he spent his time by feeding and fighting cocks. (6) Once he locked his cock in a storehouse. (7) One of his friends came when he had brought the cock there and just sat down. (8) His wife went inside to boil water and prepare tea, and the cock cackled when Hushur was chatting with his friends. (9) He heard the cock cackle and [asked his wife] sitting in the yard. "O, (my) wife, did somebody come to your side? (10) Or is the cock flirting with you?" (11) He was such a man who spent his time speaking in such interesting ways. (12) Once upon a time, when he is working at the commune, the commune's sheep and cows began to disappear without a trace. (13) Reportedly, he had organized the stockmen to gamble. (14) After (the gambling) was organized, someone took a sheep and ate it, and another one took a cow (and ate it). (15) This escalated, and the stable-keepers even lost the stable. (16) People said: "We want them to be criticized and arrested."[617] (17) Hushur said: "Let me stay on the ground, (18) I am a heavy person, you can't take me in your hands", he told (them) this though they were politically criticizing him. (19) One day he beat (at gambling) the stockman and warehouse managers and said: "This is mine, go out!" (20) [People] said: "No, clearly this is the warehouse of the brigade." (21) But he told them: "I have won it, it belongs to me. (22) Get out of here! I own this place." (23) He tried to make such jokes without caring for the rules and regulations of the time. (24) Therefore he was considered "an evil element" and had a label put on his head.

36 Children's song (1)

(1) Horseshoe, hook, chain and ring
from ring the hammer
mulberry ripened, (tasting) honey and sugar,
o Khan's daughter, o threshing girl.

(2) Purr-purr sand-lizard
there is a hammock in the garden.
I have a father, I have a father,
my father's name is *boza*,
and in his pocket is *soza*.

615 Refers to the establishment of the Peoples Republic of China in 1949.
616 The second largest collective unit existed from 1958 to 1982.
617 The original phrase *qolɣa al-* denotes both 'to take on hands' and 'to arrest'.

(3) jamɣuř jaɣlaq /
öškä saɣlaq /
asmandɨki ǰugannïŋ /
ämčɨgi jumbulaq //

(4) aq bulut / qara bulut /
zira'ätlä sařɣajdi /
dïχalla zař jïɣlədï /
jamɣuruŋnï jaɣsaŋču /
o nadïɣan bala bamu? //

37 güdäklä qušïɣï (2)

(1) aptap čïq / aptap čïq /
äski čapan söräp čïq /
äski čapan bo mɨsa /
jeŋi čapan söräp čïq /
jeŋi čapan bo mɨsa /
bulut ke nidä marap čïq /
marašqa jol bo mɨsa /
bäš balaŋnï söräp čïq //

(2) aq taš / kök taš /
dařjadɨki süzük taš /
o nadïɣan bala bamu? /
eɣïlïŋda kala ba mu? //

(3) čüčüräŋ / čüčüräŋ / qa nadu /[618]
apam maŋɣa bä mïdu /
üzzi bïřni jimi du /
qazzan kütini jallajdu //

38 güdäklä qušïɣï (3)
(1) älläj balam / kütti poq /
eřtaj dïsäm / latta joq /
latta digä / ögüzdä /
čïqaj dïsäm šuta joq //

618 For the Kashghar dialect variant of this poetry see Jarring II, 115.



Let me stay, you go out,
oh my blinking-eye, blink and blink![619]

(3) Rain is oily,
goat is female.
That lady's breast in heaven
is round and round.

(4) White cloud, black cloud
crops became yellow,
farmers cried so sad,
please rain your rain,
is there a child to play?

37 Children's song (2)
(1) Come sunshine, come sunshine,
come by dragging an old caftan!

If you have no old caftan,
come by dragging a new caftan!
Come by watching from the back of clouds!
If there is no way to watch,
come by dragging your five children!

(2) White stone, blue stone,
the pure stone in the river,
is there a child to play?
is there a cow in your pen?[620]

(3) Your dumpling is boiling, your dumpling is boiling,
my mother does not give me of it.
She does not eat one herself
but licks the bottom of the pot.

38 Children's song (3)
(1) Go to sleep, my child whose buttock is shit,
I want to clean it, but there is no cloth.
Cloth is on the roof,
I want to climb, but there is no ladder.

619 Original: *čïmčïq* 'blink of an eye', its last element *čïq* is homonym with *cïq-* 'go out' in the previous line.
620 Words for "cow" and "child" rhyme in the original.

(2) šuta digā̃ / däräχtä /
kisäj disäm palta joq /
palta digä bazada /
alaj disäm pulum joq //

(3) pulum digä sanduχta /
ačaj disäm kilit joq /
kilit digä akamda /
äkiliškä ča rä joq //

39. mijimχan (1)[621]

(1) tünügün čüš mäjlidä /
gülni tüvidä jatqan /
nimni[622] ančɨ qīlīsä /
hämmɨmiz aq ustuχan //

(2) boran čīqqan aχšɨmī /
säxsän jambunī a'γan /
qara boran kä gändä /
bäštamγa[623] ilip qašqan //

(3) mijimχanγu / mijimχan /
nimišqa qīz epqašqan //
uγulnisa söz ügätti /
šunɨ män ilip qašqan //

(4) epqašmɨsam bulurkän /
epqašqɨnīm zijadä //
qīz epqičip ölmäkkä /
pütü kätkā̃ iradä //

(5) mijimχan bäg balɨsī
äräμsimχan anɨsī
jandīn iziz mirivan
rušän közni qarɨsī

621 This poetry narrates a historical tragedy that happened in Lükchün at the beginning of 19th century. It was related that Miyimkhan (a descendant of Jasak Prince Aq Sultan), and Jasak Prince Yunus's daughter Kängsikhan loved each other, but their parents did not agree to their marriage due to some old historical problems that existed between the two families. Kängsikhan escapes with Miyimkhan bringing 80 *yambus* from her family. Very soon they were captured by *yamen* runners, and were sentenced to death by Kängsikhan's father.

622 *nimni* ACC of *nemä* 'what', SU *nemini*.

623 *bäštam* name of a village located between Dighar and Yengikariz in Pichan.



(2) The ladder is on the tree
I want to cut, but there is no ax.
The ax is at the bazaar,
I want to buy, but I have no money.

(3) My money is in the chest,
I want to open it, but there is no key.
The key is with my brother,
but there is no way to bring it here.

39. Miyimkhan (1)

(1) Yesterday at noon time,
he laid down beside a flower.
Why you are doing so?
all of us are white bone.

(2) That evening when it was windy,
he got eighty *yambu*.
When black storm came,
he bought her and escaped to Bäshtam.

(3) Oh Miyimkhan! Miyimkhan!
Why have you escaped bringing a girl?
"That is the instruction by Oghulnisa,
that is why I have escaped bringing (the girl)."

(4) "It would be good if you had not escaped bringing her,
escaping ( with her) was extreme.
To die for having escaped bringing a girl
certainly you are doomed."

(5) Miyimkhan is a Bäg's son,
Äräμnisakhan is her mother.
She is kind, and more precious than life,
is the black of (his) bright eye.

(6) lüxčün digä juŕtmidi /
qïz balli̇rï ǰutmidi /
mïjimχannnï at sörǧändä /
mürä bisip joqmidi? //

(7) öz mejli vilä qašqan /
qašqandïn tana lamdu? //
säxsän jambusï bo mi̇sa /
läŋ putïnï χan alamdu? //

(8) tuŕpan julï qum davan /
qum davanda bi̇ŕ ǰugan /
mïjimχannï at sörǧändä /
jïγla qaldï / bi̇ŕ tüŋgän //

(9) ässalama älikum /
mïjimχannï šä risi[624] /
nimi ančı̇ tügime du /
bu läŋ putïnï γalvi̇sï?[625] //

(10) baqqa kiŕdim disina[626] /
gülnï üzdüm disina /
mälla ja yuz e timämmu /
sämma dostum essina[627] //

(11) qïjïm dadam bo sidi /
jïŋï ävättä[628] turuŕdi /
äpridin waŋ bo sidi /
šeri'etkä bu ruŕdi //

(12) käŋsiχančä bola ma /
izani taŕtmamsilä? /
balaŋladïn ubdammu /
bäštamni satmamsilä? //

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330 *šä risi* 3d person POSS of *šärä*, for *šärä* see vocabulary.
625 *γalvi̇sï* 3d person POSS of *γalva* 'quarrel, scandal', SU *γalvä*.
626 2sg IMPER of *dä-* 'to say, tell'.
627 *essina* < *ejtsina* (< *ejt-sun-a*), 2 sg IMPER of *e t-* < *ejt-* 'to sing'.
628 *jïŋï ävät* < *jeŋi avat* name of a village near Turfan city.



(6) Is Lükchün a country?
Are the girls there so evil?
When Miyimkhan was dragged by a horse,
why didn't they stand there with her?

(7) She has escaped with her own will,
can she deny the escape?
If she doesn't have eighty *yambus*
would Khan[629] take her, a lame foot?[630]

(8) The road to Turfan is sand pass,
at the sand pass there is a young lady.
When the horse dragged Miyimkhan,
left a Dungan crying.

(9) Peace upon you, let me begin
the Miyimkhan's story.
Why doesn't it end for so long a time
the scandal of this lame leg?

(10) Say "I entered the garden,"
say "I picked the flower."
Why should I sing alone,
oh my friend! Please join in my singing!

(11) If my grandfather Qijim was here,
would he have stayed at Yengi Awat.
If Jasak Prince Äpridin was here,
would he have ordered to Shari'at.

(12) Not being able to act as Käŋgsikhan,
wouldn't you feel ashamed?
Is it better than your child,
why don't you sell Bäshtam?

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629 'Khan' here refers to Miyimkhan.
630 Reportedly Käŋgsikhan was disabled at birth.

(13) siŋgim / muřtuq karīzī /
ǰu darinγa daŋda[631] tuřsa /
bäštamlanī kim a:sun? /
tůt ätrapi haŋ tuřsa //

40. mijimχan (2)

(1) mijimχan häm käŋsiχan /
bir mäǰlidä čuŋ boγan /
ula:nī sap jürikigä /
ašīq utī tutašqan //

(2) bu ikki a:šīq mä:šuq /
hasa šä:rigä qašqan /
hasa šä:rigä berip /
julγun tüvidä jatqan //

(3) waǰ balam / ǰinim balam /
kijik boγan hämrajiŋ /
tušqan boγan hämrajiŋ /
ǰinim balam mijimχan /
jajī boldī tu:zůγuŋ /
waǰ balam / ǰinim balam /
qanda qilaǰ χudajim //

(4) bu išni nä:ri jaman? /
täqtirgä šu pütülgän /
za:lim / mäl'un gaŋ γuǰam /
silänī atqa sörätkän //

(5) čida:mädim[632] älämgä /
esilvala:[633] bo:nuŋγa /
bu azapqa qo:γučä /
eli kät mini qo:nuŋγa //

(6) sini sö:rigän atla /
ölmästin tirik qaldī /
mudiš ǰawuz bäglämu /
üzgärmästin qäqaldī //

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631 *daŋ* < Chin. 当 *dang* 'mortgage'.
632 *čidamädim* NEG possibility form of *čida-* 'to bear, endure' in the 1sg past, SU *čidijalmädim*.
633 *esilvala* OPTAT of *esilip al-* 'to hang up for the sake of ...'.



(13) All karez of Singgim and Murtuq,
are deposited at Ju Daren.[634]
Who will buy a place like Bäshtam,
its four sides are abysses.

40. Miyimkhan (2)

(1) Miyimkhan and Käŋgsikhan,[635]
were grew up at the same village.
To their pure heart
caught the fire of love.

(2) These two lovers,
have escaped to Hasa city.[636]
Coming to Hasa city,
laying under the tamarisk.

(3) Oh, my child, o my life!
Goat became your friend,
rabbit became you friend.
Oh, Miyimkhan, my lovely child!
Yamen runner became your snare.
Oh, my child, my lovely child!
What shall I do, Oh my God.

(4) What is wrong with this matter?
It was so doomed by fate.
cruel, cursed Jasak Prince,
let the horse drag you.

(5) I could not endure suffering,
let me get entangled with your neck.
Better to bring me to your bosom,
than to put me through such suffering.

(6) The horses that have dragged you,
left alive and did not die.
Evil, wild officials,
left here unchanged.

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634 *Ju Daren* consists of the family name *Ju* and his honorific title *Da-ren* 'your excellency'.
635 This part of the poetry reportedly was sung by Miyimkhan's mother Ärämnisa[illegible]fter her son was sentenced to death.
636 Also called Hasa Tam, a ruin of an ancient city located to the north of Pichan

41. iskändärni muŋüzi va

(1) bir hekajdimu bařyu / üsüp[637] malkam ejti pirdiγā / bizni jaŋχida // (2) bir padšanī beššīda muŋüzi vařkänduq / (3) iskändärni muŋüzi va / muŋüzi va däp / čečīnī aγallanī kallɨsīnī avatidikänduq / muŋüzi va disä / χaq bilivamɨsun däp // (4) äm / bir čičän birsigɨ kä qep / (5) ajalī jīγlap / ämdi siniŋmu kallaŋnī avatsa / mä balam bilä qandaχmu qīlurmä? / (6) nimištu?[638] nimdäp baγanliki satirašnīŋ / čečīnī aγanniŋla bišni[639] aldu? / disä / (7) mä bir beř paqaj / (8) nim bo:sa / silä vilä birgɨ ötküdäk ümürüm bŭsa / qajtīp kilurmä / däp keptu // (9) berīp / čečīnī höl qīp tarɨsa / iki tal muŋüzi va:däk // (10) japir däp siliγɨnikänduq / (11) nim didiŋ? / digɨnikänduq / (12) padišaji alämniki beššida ta:jɨsī va:kä / šunuŋγa hājran qaldīm // (13) ustura käp / šä:gä jeqəllašqanda özämni tutuvaldim / šuŋa japir didim / padišaji a:läm / digɨnikänduq / (14) nim didiŋ? / digɨniken / (15) ikindilāp sorəγanda / padišaji a:lämni beššida ta:jɨsī vařkā / däptu // (16) hä / däp / än / sän bulduγan ädɨmikänsā / bundun kin / sā mini čečīmnī al / digɨnikän / (17) hä däp / unu kallɨsīnī a:maptāk // (18) jīq buγdaj / görüš biränimläni birip / jolγa sä qujuptāk / (19) bunə bundun kin mušundaq tu:nsaŋ[640] / mini čečīmnī sā al / (20) aldīda čečīmnī a:γalla / muŋüzi vařkā dividi / kallɨsīnī avatqan // (21) waj padšaji a:läm / mundaq adäm özläni bir disɨ vuldu / padišaji a:läm / (22) ča?članī arɨsdɨmu padšaniki ta:jɨsi vařkā / däptu // (23) šunuŋ vilä jeni käp / (24) dimāj disä / äjali hājäp jen käpsä / qanda bir χususijät vilä jen käldiŋ? / disä / (25) däj disä / ballərī aŋna qa:sa / kallɨsīni avītidu // (26) an bomaj / iššip juγura kätkā u // (27) bir tivipni jinnīγa verīp / tummurin tutazsa / sini ičiŋdä bir dä?t vařkä / (28) šunī čiqirvassaŋ / bu iššīqlɨrīŋ jenī kitidu / digäŋkin / (29) bunī čiqaγɨlī vumijdu / digɨnikā / (30) jiraqqa berīp / bir quduqqa säŋgilāp / ša:dä dävassaŋ buldu / (31) ičiŋdä bir jušrun nim ba:kin / däp // (32) hä däp / ašu tirän quduqqa iŋišip / iskändärni muŋüzi va / iskändärni muŋüzi va / däp üš qetīm šunda digɨnikänduq / (33) ijädin kä:gičä iššīqlɨrī jenīp / tüzül qeptāk // (34) ijädim-bir qīmiš ünü čiqīp / digän gäptin / (35) bu qəməšnī kisip / qojči balla nä[641] qīp čalsa[642] / iskändärni muŋüzi va / däp avaz vägidāk / naχša // (36) unī iskändär aŋnap / nä:din taptiŋ? / disä / (37) mujdaχsigä / (38) sän didiŋmu? / disä / (39) waj padšaji a:läm / män dimɨdim // (40) sän bunī kimdin aŋnɨdiŋ? / nä:din taptiŋ? / disä / (41) sā če paq / disä / (42) iskändärni muŋüzi va / dä?p čiqqaŋkin / (43) satrašqa padšalīqnī birvitip / özi joq vop kätkɨnikā // (44) äm šulanī selišturup qīlγanda / iččidä gä?pni čiŋ solap qīlγanmu / amdin[643] āmāskā //

637 *üsüp* personal name < Ar. *Yūsuf*, SU *jüsüp*.
638 *nimištu* ← *nimā ištu* < * *nemä iš dur*.
639 *bišni* 3d person POSS ACC form of *baš* 'head'.
640 *tu:nsaŋ* < *tonɨsaŋ* 'if you think /consider ...'.
641 *nä* 'flute' < Per. *nāy*, SU *näj*.
642 In most all dialects of Uyghur *l* in a syllable-final position in monosyllabic verbs is deleted when negation and condition suffixes have been added, it is also true for the Turfan dialect. However, here in *čalsa* this deletion process does not take place.
643 *amdin* ← *amdan* ~ *abdan* 'good'.



41. Iskandar has horns

(1) It is also told in this story, which my older brother Yusup used to tell often (to us) at Yanghe. (2) Reportedly, a king had horns on his head. (3) (The king) killed those who cut his hair and (seeing the horns) said: "Iskandar has horns! Iskandar has horns!" because he feared people would knowing he had horns if they told others. (4) One day the turn (of cutting the King's hair) came to a wise man. (5) His wife wept and said: "What shall I do with my child if the king now kills you too? (6) What does this mean? Why does he kill every barber who has cut his hair?" (7) "Anyway, let me go. (8) I may return if I have more life to share with you", saying this (the wise man) went (there). (9) He arrived, moistened and combed (the king's) hair, and found (the king) had two horns. (10) He felt (the king's head) and said: "O my God!" (11) (The king) asked: "What did you say?" (12) He answered: "The king of the world has a crown on his head, I am surprised by that." (13) He said: "O the king of the world! I controlled myself when the razor came near them and said: 'O my God!'" (14) (The king asked again:) "What did you say?" (15) When (the king) asked him a second time, [the wise man] answered: "The king of the world has crowns on his head." (16) (The king) said: "I see, I find you to be a kind man, and you shall cut my hair from now on." (17) [The wise man] said: "Yes!" so (the king) did not kill him. (18) [The king] gave him a lot of wheat, rice and other things and sent him away, (19) (and told him:] "Since you understand this, you will cut my hair from now on. (20) The (other) barbers who have cut my hair said I have horns on my head, therefore I have killed them." (21) [The wise man] said: "O the king of the world! One should say you are the only one in the world, the king of the world. (22) Obviously, there is a king's diadem even amidst your hair." (23) Then he returned home. (24) He tried to say nothing, but his wife asked: "You have amazingly returned, how did you come back?" (25) He wanted to tell (her), but (the king) would kill him if his children heard it. (26) Not being able (to keep the secret) he swelled, and became terribly thick. (27) He went to a physician and had his pulse taken, (the doctor) said: "You have a hardship inside you; (28) if you dispel this hardship, your swelling will be brought down." (29) He said: "It is impossible to dispel it." (30) (The doctor) said: "You may go to a faraway place and tell it there, hanging in a well. (31) You have a secret inside you." (32) He said: "All right!" and went to a deep well, and then he said thrice: "Iskandar has horns!" while hanging in the well. (33) He found his swelling was brought down before he returned home. (34) Reportedly, at the place (where he said those words) a reed grew from his words. (35) The shepherd children cut the reed, made a flute from it and played it. It is told that a sound or a song, came out of it: "Iskandar has horns!" (36) Iskandar heard this and asked: "Where did you find this?" (37) [The children said]: "On such-and-such a way." (38) [Then he asked the wise man]: "Did you tell (them)?" (39) "O the king of the world! I did not tell them." (40) (The king asked the children:) "From whom did you hear it? Where did you find it?" (41) (The children) said: "You try to play it." (42) (The king played the flute), and the song came: "Iskandar has horns!" (43) Then (the king) gave his kingdom to the barber (the wise man) and disappeared. (44) Well, considering this, obviously it is not good to keep secrets inside.

## 5.4 Texts from Yormung

### 42. qïzïl köz aldamči

(1) burunda bir padiša ötkänikän / (2) bu padišanïŋ / bir äŋgüštär üzigi varkä // (3) u bu üzigini / oŋqol vezirigä saχlap biriškä tapɨlaptu // (4) küllänïŋ biri / bu limniŋ qïsïlčaqqa qïsï qujup / jadïdïn čikittu // (5) ajalï o turup / padiša bä:gän äŋgüštär nä:gä kätti / däptu // (6) ba / däptu // (7) hä / qarap baq // (8) padiša bu äŋgüštärni birištä / ottus qïrïq γäzininiŋ ašqušïnï birip / γäzinniŋ ašqušlerni juqutu qosaŋmu mejli / äŋgüštärni juqutu qosaŋ / kallaŋnï alɨmä / däptikä // (9) u o turup o laptu / äŋgüštär nädidu däp / jadïdïn čikittu unuŋ / limniŋ qïsïlšïγa qïsï qo γïnï // (10) izdäp / izdimigäj-jïri qamaptu / tapamaptu // (11) šunuŋ vilä / rummal[645] dejdïγam-bir palči varken / aldamči qïzïl köz / (12) mušu mulla tapɨdu bunï / däp / ikki sanduq jambunï äp / bayənikänduq // (13) bu rämmal / jaŋaqnï čeqïp / ičidiki meγïznï jävep / ičige bir danä qoŋuznï qujup / jilim bilän jämläp / jančuqqa säp jürgüdäk // (14) ǰozŭnuŋ üstigä jaŋaqnï qo sa / bu ičidiki qoŋuz midirɨsa / jaŋaq täŋ midiradan gäp // (15) bu jaŋaq / nejnïγa bejnïγa maŋγandikin / bu jaŋaqnï maŋduŕdï däp / χäq bunuŋγa išini kittu // (16) bu qïzïl köz / padišanï vizirigä / saŋγa najti eγïr kün käptu / sän näšä čäksäŋ vuγïdäk / däptu // (17) digäŋkin / bu bešïŋnï alɨmä dävassa / bunuŋdummu eγïr küm-bulamdu / bundaq qïzïl közlägä jambunï vägändin / äkässäm bomamdu / däp / jambunï bämäj kittu // (18) üjigä verip / hej / bu mullŭnuŋ qïlγɨnnï qïlma / digɨnni qïl / digän gäp bejdi / (19) bunuŋ qïlγɨnnï qïlsa / bummadu / digɨnni qïppaqaj / däp / bir kältäk näšin čikip / közlɨri alǝjïp qep / mujdaq šipkä qarǝsa / äŋgüštär küjnüptu / šiptin // (20) waj χutun / bu rämmal heqiqï mullikin // (21) män bu näšini čäkmɨsäm / bu äŋgüštär küjänmijdu / bu taptï / (22) däp / bu rämmalγa išinip / ikki sanduχ jambunï äpij pijiptu // (23) šunuŋ vilän / bu äŋgüštärni padišaγa bijivittu // voj padišajim / bu äŋgüštärni üzäŋla saqlǝsaŋ vuγïdäk / däp // (24) u padiša / bu äŋgäštärni äp / jančuγγa säveptu // (25) bunuŋ / marjan isimlik bir känzigi[646] varkän / quluγa su qujpirdïγan // (26) bu čüšlük tamaq jijištin burun / qulïnï jujuptu / marjan isimlik qïz / quluγa su qujpiriptu // (27) qulunu jup / jančuqtin lüŋgɨni čiqïrïp / qulnï ertipla / lüŋgɨni jančuqqa saptu // bu üzük lüŋgɨgä ilinišip / jägä čüšü qaptu // (28) heliqi / marjan isimlik qïz / bu üzükni äveptu // (29) čüšlük ašnï jäp oturup / bu padišanï χotunï / da oŋqol vezir / äŋgüštärni qajtur pädim dividi / nä:gä qo:duq // da bir jägä äp qujaj / divikänduq / (30) jančuγumda ba / däp / tamaqnï jä kitip / jančuqqa qolnï tïχsa / joq // (31) šunuŋ vilä / izdä kittu // (32) izdäp tapamaj / oŋ qol vizirni čaqïrïp äkeptu // (33) hej / äŋgüštärni maŋγa bädiŋmu / bämɨdiŋmu // (34) bädim // (35) bä:säŋ joq // (36) anda vosa / γäm tatməsïla / (37) özlägä ekirpirištin burun / ütürü qujividim / rämmal tapqan / (38) jänä dašu rämmal tapədu / bunï // (39) čaqïr / andaq vosa / divikän / (40) čaqïrivikän / (41) saŋγa üš küm-mövlät / bu äŋgüštär üzükni teppä // (42) tapsaŋ / oŋqol vizirlikkä / bunu izigä aləmä / bommɨsa kallaŋnï aləmä / digäŋkin // (43) üš kün oturup / üčinči künisi / nimɨla qïγan bilän kallamnï alədu / (44) unuŋdun kürä / dostumdïn

645 *rummal* another pronunciation for *rämmal*.
646 *känzäk* < Per. *kanīzak* 'female slave, maid-servant'.



### 42. The Cheater[647]

(1) Once upon a time there was a king. (2) The king had a diamond ring. (3) He urged his right-hand vezir to keep it. (4) One day the vezir put it on the crack of a pillar and forgot about it. (5) His wife asked him: "Where is the diamond ring that the king has given to you?" (6) He said: "It is here." (7) (His wife said) "Check." (8) Reportedly, the king also gave him the keys to fourty treasures when he gave him the diamond ring and said: "It doesn't matter if you lose the keys to the treasures, but I will kill you if you lose the diamond ring." (9) He sat there and thought: "Where is the diamond ring?" But he forgot that he had put it on the crack of a pillar. (10) He looked for it, looked everywhere, but was not able to find it. (11) Well, there was a *rambal*, a fortune-teller who actually was a fake. (12) They believed the fortune-teller could find it and went to him bringing two cases of *yambus*. (13) Reportedly, this fortune-teller broke a walnut, ate its kernel, put a beetle in it and pasted it together again and he brought it with him putting it in his pocket. (14) He put the walnut on the table and the walnut moved when the beetle inside it moved. (15) Since the walnut moved here and there, people believed him thinking: "He made the walnut move." (16) This fake told the king's vezir: "You have encountered a hardship, and it seems that you should smoke hashish." (17) Since he said this, the vezir thought: "The king is going to kill me, is there any hardship harder that that? It would be better to take back the *yambus* rather than give them to this fake" and he left without giving the *yambus*. (18) He went back to his home and thought: "There is a proverb saying: 'Don't do as the mullah does, do as he says.' (19) I can't do as he does, but let me try to do as he says." He smoked a piece of hashish but soon his eyes began to flit around uneasily so he looked at the roof and saw the diamond ring. (20) "Oh my wife! This fortune-teller is a learned man. (21) I wouldn't have seen the diamond ring if I had not smoked the hashish. He found it!" (22) Saying this, he came to believe in the fortune-teller, brought two cases of *yambu* and gave them to him. (23) Then he gave the diamond ring back to the king and said: "Oh my king, it seems to be better if you yourself keep the diamond ring." (24) The king took the diamond ring and put it in his pocket. (25) He had a female servant called Marjan who served water when he washed his hands. (26) He washed his hands before dinner and the girl called Marjan served him water. (27) He washed his hands, took the towel from his pocket, dried his hands and put the towel back into his pocket but the diamond ring had fallen on the ground having being caught up in the towel. (28) The girl Marjan took it. (29) The king's wife asked the king when they were eating dinner: "The right-hand vezir said that he returned the diamond ring, where did you put it? Let me put it somewhere else." (30) "It is in my pocket", the king said and put his hand into his pocket after dinner, but it was not there. (31) Then they began to look for it. (32) They looked for it but were not able to find it, and called the right-hand vezir. (33) "Did you give me the diamond ring back or not?" (34) "I gave it back." (35) "If you have given it back it is not here". (36) "If not, please don't worry. (37) I lost it before I gave it back to you, but

647 Original *qïzïl köz aldamči* lit. 'red-eyed cheater'.

jïq dušmɨnim tursa // (45) dosla / jamam-boldï dä / düšmällä amdam-boldï dä / (46) unuŋdïn / üzämla ülivalaj ja / däp ayamčïnï äp sirtmaχnï qïptu / sirtmaqnï säp / üš χïšnï qujup / tepävägändikin / (47) üš χïštïn ikkisi örülü kitip / birsi qeptu // (48) birsi qeqayaŋkin / putï säŋgilap χïšqa tigi qaptu / (49) tigi qayaŋkin / jenï čïqmaptu // (50) wajjan / wajjan / däp vaqïraptu // bu padišanïŋ ujniŋ ke:nidikin / bu rämmalnïŋ üji // (51) heliqï marjan isimlik qïz qulaχ sasa / marjan / marjan / digän avaz ištiliptu // (52) wajjan disä / marjan däp aŋniveptu // (53) bu ämdi tepivaptu däp / jügürüp käp / rämmal ustam / äŋgüštär mana / miniŋ jïnïmni qutulduruvasaŋ / däptu // (54) anda vusa / čaqqan ayamčïnï jïšä / däp sirtmaqnï šišïptu // (55) bu rämmal / qïrïq jašqa kirgɨčä / χutummu tepilmɨyan qïzïl közkän // (56) anda vusa / säm-maŋya tegsäŋ / män siniŋ jïniŋnï qutquzïvalmä / bommɨsa / män sini patšaya tutpirmä / däptu // (57) u qïzmu / qoqïnčïsïda maqul vuptu // (58) šä:dä / aldïŋmu tägdiŋmu boptu / öjdä // (59) padišani aldïya čiqïštïn burun / padišanïŋ yaz birmɨlirmu ba:mu / däptu // (60) bälgɨlik yazlïrïmu ba:mu / digäŋkin / (61) hä / bir danä / siŋar putï tokor bir yezï va / däptu // (62) äŋgüštärni ašu yaznïŋ ayzïya tïqïvät / däptu / pitigɨsigä čüsürivät / män šädin teppirmä / däptu // (63) üčünči künisigä jurtnï e:tivatqaŋkin / nuryun χäχ käkittu / rämmalnïŋ kallïsnï aldu däp // (64) sähnigä čïqïp / hä / äŋgüštärni kim aptu / digäŋkin / (65) rämmal / jenä heliqï jaŋaqnï maŋduruptu / šivir šivir uquptu / ičidä // (66) jozŭnuŋ üstidä / jaŋaq nejnïya čaqalyïdäk / bejnïya čaqalyïdäk // (67) χäχlä / japir / japir bo kittu / bu jaŋaq maŋyandikin // (68) padišajim / yaz mazlïri bamikin / digäŋkin / (69) ba däptu // (70) hämmɨsini ötkŭzŭ peqïŋna / digäŋkin / (71) birä jüzdäk yaz varikin // (72) jigirmi uttuz yaz miŋiptu / a:qïdïn bir tokor yaz / paqïlaq paq / paqïlaq paq qïp miŋïptu // (73) bu / palya mušu yaz čüšti / däp // (74) bu tokor yaznï igizgä isïp öltäsä / bu paqïrap medɨsidin čïqïptu / äŋgüštär // (75) čïqqandikin / bu heqiqï mollikin / bunï bügündin bašlap oŋqol vizirlikkä aldïm / digɨnikänduq // (76) bunuŋ / töjüz molləsï vejken / (77) bunuŋ ikküzi išiniptu / ikküzi qetilmajmïz bununŋya / uqušu paqïnï bunuŋ vilän / digäŋkin / maqul voptu // (78) anda vusa buldu / heqiqï mulla vusa / kitav uqu paqsun / däptu // (79) anda vusa / mämma kitavïmnï ečiqvalaj / däptu // (80) rämmal ujigä kijip / qarap oturup / bɨř χïšnï jaylïqqa jögäp / qoltuqqa qïsïp ečiqïptu // (81) ikküz molla / ikküz tögɨgä artïp / quran kitapnï tešivitto // (82) bu rämmal ustamnïŋ qoltuyïdiki kitap nim kitapkin / däp paχsa / divikänduq / (83) χïš kitap / däp mujdaq sunuptu // (84) bu ikküz molla / bu bizniŋdimmu artuq mollikän / biz kömɨgän kitapnï kürüptu / däp / bizmu bir ujun qïpaqïnï / šunï tapaləsa / däptu // (85) bulud däptu // (86) bir danä paqqïn tutup / bir top aq räχkä jögäp / unuŋ tešïya duχavənï jögäp / unu tešïya unŭ jögäp bunŭ jögäp / buruŋqi könä aravïlanï čaqïdäk jögäp / äkeptu // (87) rämmal mulla vusa / mušnuŋ ottursïda nim ba / mušunï teppaχsun / däptu // (88) bu köŋlidä / paqqa bir taχlajdu qutuldu / ikki taχlajdu qutuldu / učinčisidä tutuldu / däp / (89) mämma / mušu paqqïya uχšaš bir qïzïl köz aldamči / ämdi tutuldum däp / sirnï paš qïmaχči // (90) paqqa / dijišigɨla / vaj teppaldï / däp čavakni uruvitip / bu rämmal ustənï oŋqol vizirlikkä sejlivitip / män šädin ištənïmniŋ eyïnï minip / kepičimniŋ ičigä čüšüp / mušu dïya jeza / jurmuŋ kentigä qajtï kegän //



the fortune-teller found it. (38) The fortune-teller will find it again." (39) (The king) said: "If so, call him!" (40) He called the fortune-teller. (41) (The king) said: "I give you three day's to find the diamond ring for me. (42) If you find it I will award you the dignity of the right-hand vezir and replace him with you, if not, I will kill you." (43) (The fortune-teller) thought for three days: "Whatever I do, (the king) will kill me. (44) As compared with ... I have more enemies than friends. (45) Friends may say: 'This is bad!' But the enemies will say: ' Very good!' (46) Let me commit suicide rather than witness that." Thinking thus, he took a rope, made a hook, put three bricks (under his feet) and kicked them away. (47) Two of the three bricks fell down, but the other one was left. (48) Since one of the bricks was left there, his legs reached the brick. (49) Since his legs reached it, he didn't die. (50) He called: "Oh my life! Oh my life!"[648] Reportedly, the fortune-teller's house is just behind the king's residence. (51) The girl called Marjan heard that as "Marjan, Marjan". (52) She incorrectly heard "Oh my life!" as "Marjan". (53) She thought: "He found it" and ran there and said: "My fortune-teller master, the diamond ring is here. Please rescue my life!" (54) (The fortune-teller) said: "So be it, untie the rope immediately!" And she untied the hook. (55) The fortune-teller was a charlatan whom no ladies wanted to marry though he was already fourty. (56) He said: "Well, I will rescue you if you marry me, otherwise I will hand you over to the king." (57) The girl agreed in fear. (58) There in that room they married each other. (59) The fortune-teller asked her before they went to see the king: "Does the king have a goose? (60) Does he have geese with any marks?" (61) "Yes, he has a goose whose foot is lame", she said. (62) (The fortune-teller) said: "Put the diamond ring in the mouth of that goose, make it go in until its chest (?). I will find it there for (the king)." (63) On the third day, they summoned the people, and many people gathered thinking: "(The king) will kill the fortune-teller." (64) (The king) appeared at the centre and asked: "Well, who took the diamond ring?" (65) The fortune-teller again made the walnut move, silently reciting something inside. (66) The walnut moved about on the table. (67) People wondered saying: "Oh my God!" since the walnut is moving. (68) He asked: "Oh my king! Do you have geese?" (69) (The king) said: "Yes." (70) "Please try to bring all of them through here." (71) Reportedly, (the king) had about a hundred geese. (72) Twenty or thirty geese walked through followed by the lame goose. (73) He said: "The lame goose was found to be suspicious in the omen." (74) They hung the lame goose from a high place and slaughtered it and the diamond ring appeared shining in its chest. (75) Since it was found, the king said: "I find him to be a real learned man. From today I appoint him to the (dignified) position of right-hand vezir." (76) Reportedly, the king had four hundred scholars. (77) Out of them two hundred scholars believed him but the other two hundred said: "We do not agree, let us challenge him to a reading competition." The king agreed. (78) He said: "In that case, all right, if he is a learned man, let him read a book for us." (79) (The fortune-teller) said: "So be it, let me bring my book." (80) The fortune-teller returned home, sat there a little while, wrapped

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648 Original: *wajjan* „Oh my life" is phonetically very similar to *marjan* „jewel", the name of the girl.

43. danišmän qïz

(1) bir jurtta bir kämbäγäl varkän / bunuŋ bir qïzï varkän / danišmän // aldida buldan išni bildïγan // (2) padiša oγlïnï sinɨmaχlïqqa / ikki močän pul verïp / oγlum / mušunuŋγa toχuγa dan / özümüzgä ozuq / išäkkä boγuz äkäl däptu // (3) bu bala / bu ikki močän pulnï elïp / bašqa bir jurtnuŋ bazarïγa berïp tutup o turuptu / (4) üš kün o turuptu / ikki močängä nimi elïšnï bilamaj / (5) heliqï kämbäγälniŋ danišmän qïzï üš kün säpseptu / bu balәγa / (6) qačanla čïχsa bir doχmušta o taγïdäk / (7) üčinči künisi heliqï danišmän qïz käp / hej jigit / siz nimigä o turisiz / däptu // (8) män bir bajniki oγlï / (9) dadam ikki močän pul vädi / toχuγa dan / adämgä ozuq / išäkkä jäm äkäl däp / (10) ikki močängä üčisi kildïγan birmini bilamaj o turuptimä / digäŋkin / (11) külüvitip / puluŋuz qenï digäŋkin / mana däptu // (12) anda vusa jürüŋ däptu // (13) berïp bir danä qoγun eptu / ikki močängä / (14) bir danä qoγunnï äp / mušunï äpijiŋ[649] däptu // (15) bu ikki močängä bir qoγunnï ävaldïŋïz / qaγïnnï qanda qïlmä / digeŋkin / (16) tišidiki šüpɨgini išäk jejdu / ičidiki itini säj-jejsä / üränni toχuj jejdu / šunuŋ vilä tošmɨdïmu däptu // (17) šunuŋ vilä / hä maqul däp üjigä apaγɨnidkänduq / (18) vaj oγlum / sä häjäp üš kündä käldiŋγu digäŋkin / (19) ojnudum / baza ojnap quγunnï äp jini käldim däptu // (20) nimi qïγïlï äkäldiŋ quγunnï / disä / (21) šüpɨgini išäk jejdu / itini biz jemiz / üränni toχuj jejdu däp ekäldim däptu // (22) bunï kim ügätti / disä / üzäm taptïm digidäk // (23) jaq / siniŋ äqlïŋni sinap-paqqïlï ävätkän / zadi birsi digändu / digäŋkin (24) mušundaq üš kün o lunup o turividim / bir qïz vala käp didi / dividi äkäldim däptu // (25) ajalï vilän mäslätlïšïp / dašu qïznï äppäsäk / uγlumuznï jol bašlap maŋγïdäk / dimäxlik vilän šu jurtqa berïp šu qïznï izdäp teptu // (26) atanasï kämbäγäl / äqlïmu kämbäγäl ädämläkänduq[650] // (27) šunuŋ vilä / maqul vulušup / qïzïnï äp meŋïptu / tojnï qïp äp meŋïptu //

649 *äpijiŋ < älip beriŋ < alip beriŋ.*
650 *ädämläkänduq < adämlär ikänduq.*



a brick with the handkerchief, put it under the armpit and went back. (81) Two hundred scholars transported Quran-books by loading them on two hundred camels. (82) The king asked: "What kind of book is that under the master's armpit?" (83) (The fortune-teller) said: "This is a brick-book" and handed it over. (84) The two hundred scholars (who did not believe him) said: "He is more learned than us, he has read a book that we have not seen. Let us also perform a play and see whether he can guess it." (85) (The king) said: "All right!" (86) They captured a frog, wrapped it with a lot of white cloth, and then wrapped it again with plush and other materials, and finally made it as big as the wheel of old chariots. (87) They said: "If the fortune-teller is a learned person, let him guess what is inside this." (88) (The fortune-teller) thought: "There is a proverb which says: 'The frog jumps once and escapes, jumps twice and escapes, but will be captured the third time.' (89) I am a cheater just like the frog. Now I can't escape." Thinking thus, he intended to reveal the secret. (90) As soon as he said: "Frog ..." I clapped saying: "He guessed!" Then I elected him right-hand vezir, rode my crotch, sat inside my shoes and returned to the Yormung village of the Dighar rural district.

43. The wise girl

(1) There was a poor person in some country and he had a wise daughter who knew the things to come in the future. (2) The king of that country gave his son two *mao* in order to test his son's brain and said: "My son! With this money buy and bring back seed for the cock, food for us and fodder for the donkey." (3) The boy took the two *mao*, and went to the bazaar in another country and sat there. (4) He sat there for three days not knowing what to buy with the two *mao*. (5) That poor person's wise daughter observed the boy for these three days. (6) She found he was sitting at the corner whenever she came. (7) On the third day, the wise girl came and asked: "Oh boy, why do you sit here?" (8) "I am the son of a rich man. (9) My father gave me two *mao* saying: 'Bring seed for the cock, food for the people and fodder for the donkey.' (10) I am sitting here not knowing how I shall buy all three with two *mao*", he said. (11) The girl laughed and asked: "Where is your money?" He said: "Here it is." (12) (The girl) said: "If this is so, please come (with me)!" (13) She went to the bazaar and bought a sweet melon for two *mao*. (14) She bought a sweet melon and said: "Please take this." (15) He said: "You bought a sweet melon for the two *mao*, how shall I manage the other things?" (16) (The girl) said: "The donkey can eat the skin outside, you can eat the fruit inside and the cock can eat the seed. Is this not enough?" (17) And then he said: "All right!" and brought it home. (18) (His father) said: "My son! Why did you take three days?" (19) He said: "I played, I played at the bazaar, bought the sweet melon and came back." (20) "Why did you bring this sweet melon?" (21) "I brought it thinking the donkey will eat its skin, we will eat its fruit and the cock will eat the seed", he said. (22) (His father) asked: "Who taught you this?" But he said: "I came to it by myself." (23) (The King said) "I sent you there in order to test your brain. Certainly, someone told you." (24) He said: "I sat there for three days and a girl came and told me, and then I brought it (the melon) here." (25) (The rich man) consulted with his wife: "It is likely that she will lead our son if we marry her to him", saying this, they went to the other country, searched for the girl and

44. čin tümür batur

(1) čin tümür digän bir baturniki / mäχtum sulaχan didïγam-bir siŋlisi vaŕkän // (2) bu batur iškaγa vamaχčï vop / siŋlisini / müšük kirsä piš dimäŋ / toχuj kirsä taχ dimäŋ / dä qujuptu // (3) tapəlap qujup kätkändikin / müšügi kirivikänduq / piš däptu / nim bulidikin däp / toχuj kirivikänduq / taχ däptu // (4) müšüxni piš digäŋkin / χemïrnï jävätek / toχujnï taχ digäŋkin / utünï üčür qujuptäk // (5) šunuŋ vilä / quŕsaqqa birnimä qïp jej disä / ot joq / töv‡gä čiqïp qarəsa / bir jädä aǰïz bir ïs čiqïvatqïdäk // (6) ïs čiqïvatqan täräpkä meŋiliviriptu // (7) ba:sa / bir qerï mumaj o:taγïdäk // (8) ässalam däp kirsä / bu mumaj / saləmïŋ voməγam-busa jäviturdum[651] / käl / däptu // (9) nim qïγïlï käldiŋ / divikänduq / (10) utum üčü qaγan / χimïrïm joq vo qaγan / divikänduq // (11) bišimnï beqï qoj / divikänduq / (12) bir täräpini beqïptu / aq pit čiqïptu / bir täräpini beqïptu / kök pit čiqïptu // (13) bir jiŋigä aq pitni / bir jiŋigä kök pitni äp / otnï tezäkniŋ arəsïγa äp / tišliti qujuptu // (14) jolnu ikki tiräpigä čečïp maŋ / däptu // (15) šunda qïp / üjigä kägidäk vusa / aqïdïn / aq teräk / kök teräk ünüp čïqïptu / dedu // (16) üjigä kijip / tamaqnï piširip / ämdi jimä däp tursa / än bu jalmavuz käptu // (17)

čiŋ-tümür batur / üjidä vamu /
aχ turuχ itï / uqurda vamu /
mislim[652] qilïčï / quzuχta vamu /
kap kap küčügi / ziŋǰïrda vamu / däptu //

(18) u änkin /

čin tümür batur / üjidä joqtur /
aχ turuχ itï / uqurda joqtur /
mislim qilïčï / quzuχta joqtur /
kap kap küčügi / ziŋǰïrda joqtur / däptu //

(19) jalmavuz kirip / ätkän taməγïnï jävep / tüjnükkä esïp / tapïnnï tešïp / qenïnï šuruväp kitiptu // (20) šundaq iš davamläšiviriptu / bir küni / čin tümür batur käp qarəsa / siŋnisini čirŧjï samandäk saγərïp jatqudäk // (21) nim-bolduŋ siŋnim / däp sorəsa / mišdaq mišdaq ähval boldï / däptu // (22) andaq vosa / män suqunuvalïmä / jalmavuz kägäv-vaχtïda / mïnï käldi dimä / däptu // (23) bu jalamavuz hene käptäk // (24) heliqïniŋdäk / ähvalnï surəγaŋkin /

čiŋ-tümür batur / üjidä vamu /
aχ turuχ itï / uqurda vamu /
mislim qilïčï / quzuχta vamu /
kap kap küčügi / ziŋǰïrda vamu / däp surəγaŋkin //

(25) u äŋkin /

čin tümür batur / üjidä joqtur /
aχ turuχ itï / uqurda joqtur /
mislim qilïčï / quzuχta joqtur /
kap kap küčügi / ziŋǰïrda joqtur / däptu //

651 *jäviturdum* < *jävitär ärdim* < * jäp ïdar ärdim.
652 In other versions occurs as *misran*, perhaps is the dual of *misr* and refers to the two cities, i.e. Kufah and Basrah.



found her. (26) Reportedly, her parents were poor and lacked intelligence. (27) Thereafter, both sides agreed, and they held a wedding and returned home bringing the girl.

44. The hero Chin Tömür

(1) The hero Chin Tömür had a younger sister called Mäxtumsulakhan. (2) This hero planned to go hunting and told his sister: "Don't say 'scat!' when a cat enters, and don't say *taχ*[652] when cock and hen enter." (3) He urged her thusly and went hunting, but she said: "Scat!" when her cat entered and said: "*taχ*!" when the cock entered, just thinking: "Let me see what will happen if I do so." (4) The cat ate her dough when she said: "Scat!", and the cock put out her fire when she said: "*taχ*!" (5) Now she had no fire when she wanted to cook and eat, so she went to the roof, looked around and saw a weak funnel of smoke somewhere else. (6) She just walked toward where the smoke was coming from. (7) She arrived there and found an old lady sitting there. (8) She greeted her and entered, but the old lady said: "I would have killed you if you have not greeted me. Come in!" (9) (The old lady) asked: "Why have you come here?" (10) She said: "My fire was put out and I had no dough." (11) (The old lady) said: "Take care of my head!"[653] (12) She looked on one side and found a white louse, and looked on the other side and found a blue louse. (13) (The old lady) put the white louse inside one sleeve and the blue louse inside her other sleeve, and then arranged the fire in the dung and let her herself be bitten. (14) She said: "Put on louse on each side of the road on your way back!" (15) Doing so, she returned home and found that white and blue poplars had grown up behind her. (16) She entered her house, cooked some food and was about to eat it when the demon came. (17) (The demon) said:

"Is Hero Chin Tömür at home?
Is his white bay in the stable?
Is his sword Mislim on the peg?
And is his dog Taraxacum on the chain?"

(18) She said:

"Hero Chin Tömür is not at home,
his white bay is not in the stable,
his sword Mislim is not on the peg,
and his dog Taraxacum is not on the chain."

(19) The demon entered, ate the food that she had cooked, hung her from the skylight, pierced a hole in her heel, sucked her blood and left. (20) The same thing happened again and again. One day Hero Chin Tömür came back and found his sister lying there: Her face had become yellow like straw. (21) "What happened to you, my sister?" he asked, and she said: "This and that happened." (22) He said: "If this is so, I will hide myself somewhere, don't say I have returned when the demon comes." (23) The demon came again. (24) It asked about the situation in just the same way:

652 Shoo-away word for cocks and hens, cf. Jarring 1964: 291; See also Friederich 2002: 205.
653 Refers to an old practice carried out by old ladies in country sides in order to kill head-lice.

(26) čin tümür baturnu hidï puravatïdïyu / däptu // (27) män malkamnikï kirini juγan / šunu jidisï vummasmu / däptu // (28) u jitkirišigɨla / čin tümür batur čepïptu / altï bešïnï čepïp / jitti bišïdïn birsï qaptu // (29) jalmavuz qečïp kitiptu // (30) bir künï / su bujïda o:turup čičïŋnï tarəma / däp / iškaγa kitiptu // (31) kässä / su bujïda bišïn taraptu // (32) bir tal čičï eqïp berïp / bir šähärgä berï qaptu // (33) bu čaš / bu šähärni jadəsïnï qulïγa čirmɨšï qaptu // (34) bu qandaγ bir insannïŋ čečidu / bunï izdäp tep ekiliŋlä / däptu // (35) bula birmunčä ädämlɨrï vilän kep / čin tümür baturnï üjün[654] tep / bulap ep kitidïγan čeqï va / ämdi // (36) bu / bu qïz vilä üš balələrïqla vuγanda / čin tümür batur käptu / likin siŋlisini tapamaptu // (37) mäχtumsula bir päjtini tepïp / bu ädämläni haraχ šarapnï ičürüp mäs qïvitip / itïni minip / bir därjadïn ütüp kitidan vaχtïda / mäχtumsulanï / bijnïγa öt / bo:mɨsa balənï ö:türmä / däptu // (38) mäχtumsula / birinči balənï därjaγa tašla / tašləsaŋ ütimä / däptu // (39) balənï tašlaptu / äveptu // (40) ikkinčisini tašləsaŋ ütimä / däptu / (41) unïmu ävep / ötmäptu // (42) ämdi öt / däptu // (43) üčinčisinïmu tašləsaŋ ütimä / däptu / (44) üčünčisinïmu tašlaptu / unumu äveptu / ötmäptu // (45) bir jägä ba:sa / nurγun ilqəla turγan // (46) kimniki ilqələrï / disä čin tümür baturniki / däptu // (47) čin tümür batur nä:dä / disä / biz bilmijmiz / däptu // (48) bir jägä ba:sa / nurγun qojla turγudäk // (49) bu kimniki / disä / čin tümür baturniki / däptu // (50) čin tümür batur qenï / disä / biz bilmijmiz / däptu // (51) aχïrï bir jägä berïp / bir qerï mumajnï öjini tapïdan gäpkän // (52) unuŋdïn sorəsa / čin tümür baturnu üjini mäm-bilimä / däptu // (53) bunuŋγa / bir χalta viridïγan gäpkä // (54) u čin tümür batur / siŋlisiniki dä:didä / közi qarγu vop qaldan gäpkä // (55) mäχtumsula käldi / disä / išänmidan gäpkä // (56) χaltəsïja / χaltəsï / mäχtumsulanï χaltəsï / mäχtumsula bomməsa / qajdïn kilur χaltəsï / däp küzigä sürsä / küzi ečildan gäpkä // (57) šunuŋ vilä / igä siŋil kurüšüp / jïγləšïp / billä ütüšüptu // (58) mušunčilik bildan čeqïm ba //

654 *üjün ← üjüni < öj-i-ni*.



"Is Hero Chin Tömür at home?
Is his white bay in the stable?
Is his sword Mislim on the peg?
And is his dog Taraxacum on the chain?" (25) She answered:
"Hero Chin Tömür is not at home,
his white bay is not in the stable,
his sword Mislim is not on the peg,
and his dog Taraxacum is not on the chain."

(26) (The demon) said: "Why is Hero Chin Tömür's smell here?" (27) She said: "I washed my elder brother's clothes. I wonder if the smell comes from them." (28) Hero Chin Tömür attacked the demon when it entered, he cut off six of its heads but one of its seven heads remained. (29) The demon escaped. (30) One day he urged his sister: "Don't comb your hair near the river!" and went hunting. (31) Soon after he left, she combed her hair near the river. (32) One strand of her hair flowed along the river to a city. (33) The strand of hair was snared by the hand of that city's sorcerer. (34) He ordered: "To whom does this hair belong? Find her and bring her here!" (35) It is likely that they went with many people, found Hero Chin Tömür's house and kidnapped (his sister) and brought her (to his city). (36) She had three daughters with the sorcerer when Hero Chin Tömür came back, and Hero Chin Tömür was not able to find his sister. (37) Mäxtumsula found an opportunity and made the sorcerer and his people drunk, having him drink strong alcohol, she intended to pass over a river riding her horse, but the sorcerer said: "Come to this side! Otherwise I will kill the child!" (38) Mäxtumsula said: "Throw the child into the river! I will come to your side if you throw her." (39) He threw the child (into the river) but she (Mäxtumsula) took it. (40) She said: "I will cross (the river) if you throw the second one." (41) She took that one too, but did not cross the river. (42) He (the sorcerer) said: "Cross now!" (43) She said: "I will cross if you throw the third one." (44) He threw the third one, and she took this child, too. (45) She arrived at a place and found many horses. (46) She asked: "Whose horses are they?" They said: "They are Hero Chin Tömür's." (47) She asked: "Where is Hero Chin Tömür?" But they said: "We don't know." (48) She came to another place and found many sheep. (49) She asked: "Whose sheep are they?" People said: "They are Hero Chin Tömür's." (50) She asked: "Where is Hero Chin Tömür?" But they said: "We don't know." (51) Finally she came to a place and found an old lady's house. (52) She asked the old lady, and she said: "I know Hero Chin Tömür's house." (53) Reportedly (Hero Chin Tömür) gave (his sister) a purse. (54) Hero Chin Tömür has become blind suffering from the loss of his sister. (55) He did not believe it when she said: "Mäxtumsula has come!" (56) She said:

"Oh her purse! her purse!
Mäxtumsula's purse!
If Mäxtumsula isn't here,
where from comes her purse?"

Saying this, she applied the purse to Hero Chin Tömür's eyes, and his eyes opened. (57) Doing so, brother and sister met each other, cried and lived together. (58) I wonder how I know so much.

45. batur qul

(1) ötkäŋki zamallada / qulnu gaχtikän / qul setildïγan / qulnï setivaldïγan // (2) bir vezir patšaγa mälom qïptu / vaj patšaji alăm / batur / šundaq kiliškän bir qul va / jenïmïzdiki qullanï bika qilvitip / dašu birla qulnï baχsaq vumamdu biz / däptu // (3) anda vusa / u qulnï ekiliŋlä / divikänduq / (4) vizirlä u qulnï ekiriptu // (5) qulnï / sän šundaq baturmu // divikänduq / (6) qul / hä män batur / däptu // (7) bir šärtim ba / sän šunï ada qïsaŋ digïniŋni birej / män sini azat qïvataj / däptu // (8) hä / divikänduq / (9) biznïŋ u jurttïn bu jurtqa tešijdïγan bir nä silirimiz va / (10) miniŋdä ba u jurtta joq / u jurtta ba miniŋdä joq / (11) kargalla čiqivoqudu / (12) mušunuŋ utturluγuda bir lähäŋ va / šunï juqətipä // (13) bu bir taγnï ajlïγa jajlašqaj-jurtukä / (14) birä jüz ällig ädimi / šu därjanï bojlap o turidikä / (15) därja eli kässila / šu jurtnï besi kitidikä // (16) ikkinči šärtim / sän šu jägä / amdam-bajlap / bir tugannï tutpäsäŋ / sini azat qïvatimä / däptu // (17) aŋgal mini tanï jenïγa äpiriŋlä / däptu // (18) ba sa / šundaq jïq ädämlä išlävatqïdäk // (19) heliqïlanï / kitiŋnä däp ävätävirip / u batur bir qur kätmäm-bilälla čepivikänduq / tugannï taγ vilän täŋla qïvittu // (20) qivitivikänduq / jurttïn diχalla käp / bizni süyimiz joq vo qaldï / ämdi bäk tutuvattiŋlä / japa tatï kitivatïmïz / dijikänduq / (21) sän ämdi / üš jädin / mušu šähär izimla iškidäk qïpä[655] / divikänduq / (22) heliqï qul üš jädin su ečpiriptu / (23) umu boptu // (24) jene birsi / divikänduq / (25) heliqï ikki šäni otturluγïdiki lähäŋ / mušunï bir juqutu päsäŋ / dijikänduq / (26) näčči tal qïlič birmiläni apïrïp / apaγallanï silä kitiŋlä / däp hajdivittu // (27) u batur qilišnï tutup turivikänduq / sümiripla čikävatqïdäk / heliqï lähäŋ // (28) sümürüp ekirkittu / heliqï batur baturluγïdïn qïlišnï bir tiliptu / heliqï lähäŋ kisili kittu / (29) heliqï lähäŋ šu jädä ülüptu / ikki šähärniŋ utturluγïdiki kilip kitiš išliri uŋšuluptu // (30) šunda qïp / diχalla baj bajašan ötkänkän //

46. katip

(1) bir padišaniki / qälämkäš katipliri käirikän / (2) hešla / u katipla jaχmajdikän // (3) bu kitapladïn bir ja ikkinila äpqalaj / qaγallərïnï bikači qïvataj / maŋa heš jaqmajvatidu / däp χijal qïp turivikänduq / (4) heliqï katipladïn birsi / patišanï ajlïγa käp / tizlinïp o turup / padišaji alăm / özlägä män bir näsä däp biräj / dijikänduq / (5) hä / ejt / nimila dädiŋ vosa et / (6) nimila vosa e t / kijimiŋ vomisa kijim birej / jejdïγəniŋ vomisa ta'am biräj / däptu // (7) jaq / andaγ ämäs / däp munu näzmini e tiptu // (8)

qälăm giptagähi / šahi ǰahanăm /
qälăm äsrari män / töbigärdin /
qälăm ejtur ǰahanγa / patiša män /
qälăm tutqan kišigä / dövlät birürmän //

(9) heliqï čiqirivatidïγan kativi / bu näzmini e tivikänduq / unï äpqep[656] / qaγənnï bika qïvatqankän // (10) šunuŋ vilän / dašu bir katipni äpqep / qaγallanï äm silä ǰeniŋlanï biqïŋla / däp čiqirvitiptu //

655 *qïpä < qilip bär.*
656 *äpqep < elip qelip < alïp qalïp.*



45. The hero slave

(1) Long ago was the time of the slave trade when slaves were bought and sold. (2) One of the vezirs informed the king: "Oh king of the world! There is a heroic, handsome slave. How about we get rid of all our slaves and take only that one?" (3) "If this is so, bring the slave here!" the king said. (4) The vezirs brought the slave. (5) (The king) asked the slave: "Are you really such a hero?" (6) The slave said: "Yes, I am a hero." (7) (The king) said: "I have a condition. If you fulfill it, I will give you what you need, I will make you free." (8) (The slave) said: "All right." (9) (The king) said: "We have a lot of things to transport from other countries to our country. (10) What I have is not available in other countries, what other lands have is not available to me. (11) Caravans transport them. (12) At the mid-way point (in the route) there is a sea monster, kill it for us!" (13) Reportedly, this was a country located in front of a mountain. (14) About 150 of its people resided along the river. (15) The country was under water when the river flooded. (16) "My second condition is that you build a dam there for us, and then I will make you free", the king said. (17) (The slave) said: "Please bring me close to the mountain first." (18) He went there and found many people working. (19) The hero sent them away saying: "Please stand back!" and with just one stroke of a hoe he made a dam as high as the mountain. (20) When he had done this, the farmers came back and said: "We have no water anymore, you have blocked it (the river) too much, we are suffering (from lack of water)." (21) (The king) said: "Now make (streams) in three places! So the inhabitants of the city may have water to drink." (22) The slave led water for them from three places. (23) This matter was solved. (24) (The slave) asked: "The other one?" (25) (The king) said: "Kill the sea monster between the two countries." (26) He brought a sword etc., and sent the others away saying: "Please stand back!" (27) The hero stayed there holding the sword and found the sea monster was coming and sucking everything up. (28) It sucked him up and sucked him (the hero) inside of him, and the hero cut it with his sword since he was a hero, and the sea monster was cut down. (29) The sea monster died there and the communication between the two cities was regained. (30) Having done this, the farmers lived full and wealthy lives.

46. The secretary

(1) A king had a lot of secretaries, (2) but he didn't like them. (3) He thought: "Let me leave only one or two of them, and fire the others. I do not like them at all." (4) One of the secretaries came to the king, prostrated himself before the king and said: "King of the world! Please let me tell you something." (5) (The king) said: "All right! Tell me! Tell me whatever misfortune you have! (6) Just tell me everything that you want! I will give you clothes if you have none to wear, I will give you food if you have nothing to eat." (7) He said: "No, that is not the case" and recited the following poetry. (8)

The pen is the king of the world,
I am the friend of the pen since the confession (?)
The pen tells the world: "I am the king!
I give treasure to whoever holds the pen."

(9) Reportedly, the king kept the secretary whom he wanted to fire because he recited

47. jerïlïŋ tešïm

(1) bir ädämläniŋ / üš qïzï bir oγlï varikänduq // (2) u oγlïγa / čoŋ qïzïnï nikalap bämäxči voptu // (3) oγlï akəsïγa ögij / qïzvalla apəsïγa ögij vop / čatmaxčikänduq bulanï // (4) čoŋ qïzïni bijimä dijikänduq / unŭmaptu / (5) ikkinčisini divikänduq / unŭmaptu / (6) unuŋdïn kičigi birsi vilä äplišivevikänduq[657] / (7) unu a:məsa / äkɨsi vilä apəsï arləšï kätmäxči voptu // (8) qïzïŋni unatmədïŋ / oγluŋnï unatmədïŋ däp // (9) dašnaq qïp / uγul vala aləmä digidäk / qïz vala tägmɨmä digidäk // (10) dašnaq qïp / heliqï qïz vala qečïp bejïptu // (11) juγam-bij tašnï jenïγa bejqaptu[658] // (12)

jerïlïŋ tašïm / jerïlïŋ taš /
män qojnuŋγa kijvalaj /
dät älämgä čidəγïčä /
čeqïm qamədï / dijikänduq /

(13) taš jerïlïptu / čapïnnïŋ mušunčilik bir burdəsï qäp qep / kijkittu / tašnï arəsïγa // (14) istä istä / istä istä / apəsï jiti käptu // (15)

jerïlïŋ tešïm / jerïlïŋ taš /
män qïzïmnï kŭjvasam /
bayrï bišïmγa jeqïvasam /

däp jïγləvikänduq / heš jerilγəlï unuməγïdäk // (16) šunuŋ vilän jänä /

jerïlïŋ tešïm / jerïlïŋ taš /
män qïzïmnï kŭjvasam /
čičï[659] vilä üzini kŭjvasam / däp jïγlaptu //

(17) jïγləvikänduq / taš jerlïptu // (18) qïz čiqïp / apəsnïmu kŭjüptu / äkisnimu kŭjüptu // (19) kŭjüp / u jigitkä jänä tägmɨjmä däptu // (20) tägmɨmä digäŋkin / u qïz valəni bir därvazəni ičigä sulap / bir čöčäkkä su äkep / u qïz valənïmu / tö:gɨnimu suγurïdïγïnikän // (21) u qečïp / jänä bir tayniŋ jamzəlïγa bajdïγïnikä / (22) adilaraq sorajdïγan soraχčïniŋ aldïγa bajdïγïnikä // (23) bayənïziγa nikaj uqujdïγənikä / bulaγa // (24) jene qečïp / jene bir tayni jamzəlïγa bajdïγənikä // (25) aγam-balaŋzima / apakasïmu bajdïγənikä // (26) čöl jiziɾïdä jürüp / uγulmu qïz valəmu ülü kitidïγənikä / (27) apakɨsïla qaldïγənikä // (28) dašnaχ buldïγənikä / u //

657 *äplišivevikänduq* < *äplišip alip ikänduq*.
658 *bejqaptu* < *berïp qaptu* < *barïp qalïptu*.
659 *čičï* < *čečï* 'her hair'.



this poetry, but fired the others. (10) He kept that secretary and fired the others telling them: "From now on, seek another way of life!"

47. Open, my stone!

(1) A man had three daughters and one son. (2) He planned to marry the oldest daughter to his son. (3) The son was his stepson, while the daughters were his wife's stepdaughters, so they planned to marry them. (4) He wanted to marry the oldest daughter (to his son), but she didn't want to. (5) He asked the second one, and she also didn't want to. (6) The youngest had made a friend secretly. (7) His father and mother planned to divorce if he didn't marry her, (8) complaining to each other: "You haven't convinced your daughter!" "You haven't convinced your son!" (9) So, the boy said: "I will marry hem", but the girl said: "I won't marry (with him)." (10) After this, the girl escaped, (11) and approached a big stone without noticing. (12) She said:

"Open, my stone! Open!
Let me enter your bosom!
I have no more patience,
to bear this suffering."

(13) The stone split and she entered the inside of the stone, but a small piece of her caftan was left outside. (14) Her mother searched and searched, and finally arrived there. (15)

"Open, my stone! Open!
Let me see my daughter!
Let me hold her to my heart!"

She recited thus and cried, but the stone did not open at all. (16) Then she recited the following and cried:

"Open, my stone! Open!
Let me see my daughter!
Let me see her hair and face!"

(17) She cried, and the stone split. (18) The girl came out and met with her mother and her father. (19) She met with them, but said: "I don't want to marry that boy." (20) Since she said: "I don't want to marry him", they locked her inside the door and gave her water with the same bowl they used for the camel. (21) She escaped and again came in front of the mountain. (22) They went to a judge, who judges rather well. (23) He concluded the marriage (contract) for them. (24) She escaped again, and again came in front of the mountain. (25) The boy who had married her went (there) together with his parents. (26) They travelled in the desert and both the boy and the girl died, (27) but their parents were left in this world. (28) Reportedly, it was so.

48. bijit

(1) östäŋ jamzəlï davan /
χaman / dallïq saman //
kündä ba:sa ba:sun /
qïzïn[660] qondurγan jaman //

(2) zirat terïsa etïzγa /
alaŋ čïχsa toldursa /
zörür iši čïqqanda /
ruχsät bilän qondursa //

(3) jeŋï jamγur jaqqanda /
tuga durdun höł bulur //
mušu tojnï qïldïŋizlä /
üjiŋizlä gül bulur //

(4) u qattïn čikildu / qurγuj atəsï /
bu qattïn čikildu / lečin atəsï /
asiχajlam bili qasun /
mäm-bïr atəsï //

(5) asiχajlam özlïri /
qän namattäk sözlïri /
bilmïgänni bildirip /
ädäm qïvasla özlïri //

(6) čïlan turuq a:tïmnïŋ /
janpa:šï ala /
jïraqladïn qïz äkälduq /
altundäk bala //

(7) u etïzda jö:gäj /
bu etïzda jö:gäj /
asiχajlam bu qïznï /
öz balәsidäk kö:gäj //

(8) tašnï erïγï bïr davanidur /
jollәrï javanidur //
qïznï bä:sä / kündä ba:sa /
kašligi qondurïvaγan jamanidur //

660 *qïzïn ← qïzïnï*.



48. Poetry

(1) The edge of the channel is a mountain pass,
the threshing ground is full of grain and straw.
she may return every day,
but keeping a (married) daughter at home is not good.

(2) When one plants crops in the field,
one may plant more if it found to be barren.
If (the girl) has a necessary matter to do,
parents may keep her with permission.

(3) When it rains new,
satin and silk will become wet.
You arranged this marriage,
your home will be (full of) flowers.

(4) The father, the sparrow-hawk is coming from that side,
The father, the falcon is coming from this side.
The elder-sister Ashikhan must know, I am the other father (of the bride).

(5) You, my elder sister Asikhan!
your words are just like sugar.
Please teach her what she doesn't know,
please educate her by yourself.

(6) The of my jujube-bay,
is multi-coloured.
We brought a bride from a faraway place,
who is a girl like gold.

(7) In that field is dodder,
in this field is dodder.
Hope the elder sister Asikhan treats this girl
as your own daughter.

(8) The stream of Tash is like a hillside,
its roads are unblocked.
The bride may visit every day,
but to stay at night (by parents) is bad.

(9) sudïn čïχti sur belïq /
taštïn čïχti teši velïq //
jandïn čïχti bu lajïq /
ikki jaχši to lušivalduq /
häran qa sun χälajïq //

(10) mäm-birnäčča bijit e taj /
tuztam bo sa / tus salala ändäkkinä /
tatlïq bo sa tamši-yajla /
huzur elïp birdäkkinä //

(11) anar güli gül bulamdu /
bašqa qïssa bir qučaq //
χäχni ja rï jar bulamdu /
bašqa sa sa bir pičaq //

(12) anar güli gül ämäs /
tuzup kitidu järgä /
ǰugan ašïq tutmi-yïn /
tigip kitidu ärgä //

(13) julγaj-jamdaqmu jamdaq /
buqqaj-jamdaqmu jamdaq /
häqasilirya / birqančä čočigejtipäsäm[661] qandaq //

(14) ki gän šäpkäm di kadin /
capinïmmu di kadin /
hä qasiliri aŋnap qa sïla /
cöcigejtmaŋ hä giz bikadin //

49 maqal-tämsil

(1) at qerïsa / ajliniv-jürüp uqurïnï tapar /
är qerïsa / ajliniv-jürüp χutunïnï tapar //

(2) höl utunnï qaləsaq / közgä ïs kijidu //

(3) ärniŋ do zəγï nädä? / qïrqtïn ašqanda ja γuz qaγan ö dä //

661 *čočigejtipäsäm* < *čočäk ejtip bärsäm*.



(9) A gray fish came out of the water
a stone-fish (?) came out of the stone.
This worthy one[662] came from our side,
two good families held a wedding,
may people will be surprised!

(10) Let me recite some poetry,
you may put in a little salt if you find it tasteless.
You may enjoy it if it tastes,
appreciating it together.

(11) How could a pomegranate flower be counted as a flower,
while it is too much to take on the head.
How could another's lover be counted as lover,
instead she cut your head with the knife.

(12) A pomegranate flower is not a flower,
it scatters on the ground.
Don't make a young lady your lover,
she will leave – marrying someone else.

(13) A broom pulled from the ground is a broom,
the broom having been joined with something else is also a broom.
How about I tell you some tales?

(14) The cap that I have worn is of polyester,
my caftan is also of polyester.
Please everybody hear it,
and don't tell tales of nonsense.

49 Proverbs

(1) A horse travels and travels but finds its trough when it becomes old,
man travels and travels but finds his wife when he becomes old.

(2) If we burn wet firewood, smoke enters the eyes.

(3) Where is man's hell?
It is in the family where a man is left alone after fourty.

662 Original *lajïq* here refers to bride or bridegroom.

## 5.5 Texts from Miränyoli

### 50. činmačin šäri

(1) činmačin šäri ɣajip šähär / (2) qedimqï zamanda bir ädäm ow owlap qumlaqqa ötkän nimikän / (3) qumlaqqa ütüp / bir sepilni ičigä kiri qaptäk / (4) turupla öjlä ba vu kittu[663] / hämmä nimä ba miš / (5) ädäm bïřmu joχtäk // (6) ädäm bomɨɣaŋkin / amdan bïřmä közig kořnüp / bïřmɨläni äp maŋsa išigin[664] tapa maptu / (7) unuŋořnini aχ taχ χuǰamni[665] udulda dä qujdikä / (8) bu jüräk taqqa jeqïn / däp paraŋ saldu / (9) bïř kičidä qum jeɣivatqan nimikä / ijägičču /[666] (10) qumni astïnda qa ɣan nimɨdäk / ɣajip šähär // (11) körüngän bïřmɨni äp maŋɣandikinla / išigin tapammajdïɣan gäpkä // (12) bir ädäm öjmu öj kiriptu / (13) kirsä / saqəlï appaq bir ädäm qur'anni tutup o turuptu dedu / (14) o taɣaŋkin / dada däp gä? qïsa / (15) quru ketkän nimikin dejdu // (16) üč kičä kündüz jaqqan qumkändük / (17) šunuŋda šunda voɣaŋkä // (18) biz qumtaɣ däp / me lis o nap kildïɣan // (19) u jädä o lijala ba kändük / (20) paraŋ sep-pägɨni maŋɣa / bir qeri ädäm / (21) altɨ jetti išex vilän dämdu berïp / maŋduq / maŋduq / bir jägä bayandikin / bir jädä qoɣšuŋ eqvatïdu / (22) bir jägä qařsa mis čiqvatqïdäk // (23) bir däräχ va jägä berï qalduq / dedu / (24) u diraχ va jädä zimin barikä / (25) üzümmu barikän / örüxmu barikä / (26) meɣïzï šundaq belän / šüpigi juqqa jaŋaq varikin / dedu // (27) java tü gɨni attuq / (28) assaq jügürüšüp qašti / (29) qarəsaq opudäk jälä varikä / (30) šujägä čüšüväp / (31) java tü gɨni üš tayaɣa tïχtuq / (32) qayɨnïɣa dašu jaŋɣaqnï on ikki taɣa äp / išäkkä ařïp maŋduq // (33) bïř šähär varikä / šundaχ katta / (34) kïřduq / kïřsäk häm nim[667] barikä / (35) räχ tuqɨɣandäx jälämu barikän / (36) adämlämu mušdaq turɣandäk tuřdikä / budlamu barikän / (37) közä qačɨlamu bařdäk / (38) berïp tussɨla ugulunu kitid dedu / (39) qo qup / čikitini[668] däp qarɨsaq / altum-barikändük / (40) hämrasï äväptäk / (41) ävasa jol tapamaj / čiqamaptu bula / (42) čiqamaj / nimɨ aldïŋ? (43) čaqan tašla qoj däp / (44) mä aldim däp / altunni tašla qujuptäk / (45) tašla qomɨsa čiqamɨɣïdäk / (46) qap qara zulmät vop / maŋamɨɣan gäp //

663 *ba vu kittu* < *bar bolup ketiptu*.
664 *išïgin* ← *išïgini* 'the door (ACC)'.
665 *aχ taχ χuǰam* < *aq tay ɣuǰam* 'My Saint Aq Tagh', *aq tay* lit. white mountain.
666 *ijä* < *u jär* 'that place'.
667 *häm nim* < *hämmä nemä* 'all things'.
668 *čikitini* < *čïqïp ketini*, SU *čïqïp ketäjli*.



### 50. Chinmachin city

(1) Chinmachin city is an invisible city. (2) Reportedly, long ago a person went hunting and came to the desert. (3) He came to the desert and accidentally entered a city wall. (4) Suddenly many houses appeared and he found everything was there. (5) However, no human beings were there. (6) Since no one was there, he saw some good things and wanted to bring them home, but was not able to find the door. (7) Reportedly, it was located opposite of the Saint Aqtagh. (8) People say it is near Yüräk Mountain. (9) Sand had fallen there one night, (10) and the invisible city was left under the sand. (11) Reportedly, one could not find the gate, if one took something from there. (12) Someone once entered each of the rooms one by one. (13) He entered (one room) and found a white-bearded person sitting there holding a Qur'an. (14) Since he is sitting there, (the person who had entered) greeted him: "Grandpa", (15) but he found (the white-bearded person) had dried out. (16) It was the sand that had fallen for three days and nights. (17) He became this way because of the sand. (18) We used to call it Qumtagh and held Melis-gatherings there. (19) Reportedly, there were holy people. (20) [The following] was told to me by an old man: (21) "We travelled with about seven or eight donkeys, we travelled and travelled and when we arrived in a certain place, we found lead ore flowing there." (22) They looked in another place and found copper ore flowing. (23) He told me: "We accidentally went to a place where there were trees. (24) At the place where there were trees we found lands. (25) We found grapes and apricots were also there. (26) We found a variety of walnut with plentiful kernels and thin shells", he said. (27) "We shot at wild camel (28) and they ran and escaped when we shot. (29) We looked around and found places like tunnels. (30) We entered (31) and loaded (the meat of) wild camels into three sacks. (32) Then we took 12 sacks of walnuts, loaded everything on a donkey and left. (33) We found a very big city. (34) We entered it and found everything was there. (35) We found the places where it is very likely cloth was woven. (36) We found people were standing there just like this, Buddhist figures were also there." (37) Reportedly there were jugs, bowls, etc. (38) It is told that they break if one touches them. (39) "We were afraid and wanted to leave but looked around and found there was gold", (he said). (40) One of their companions took it. (41) He took it, (therefore) they were not able to find their way, and they were also not able to leave. (42) They were not able to leave: "What did you take? (43) Leave it here immediately!" (the others) said. (44) [That person] said: "I took (the gold)", and he threw it down (right there). (45) If he had not thrown it there, they would not have been able to go out. (46) It became terribly dark, and they were not able to walk.

51. taščï

(1) bijäni / isimizni tapsaχla / miran juli däp isim qoǰyan nimikä // (2) etim mäŋlik ävät / (3) haziř jetmiš üč jašqa kirdim / (4) män sevät örümä / (5) zämbäl örümä / (6) χäχ vilä qattïχ gäp qilišpaqmɨdim[669] / (7) gošlux tamaχ vusa amdan kurimiz // (8) rozi tümürčï däp bir ädäm buldïyan / taštuluq bɨřmɨlänï suqudïyan / (9) tümürči u ädäm // (10) bijädä dora damannï tula jemizčo / (11) jačïp / jimšaq qïldan bɨřm bo:mïyaŋkin / o:turup / jasap baqaǰ däpla jasɨyan nimä / hagančïnï / (12) könä tuluq / bisi utulu kätkän tu:luqnï qïyan nimä / (13) tu:luχnïmu / uruq čiqïrïp jasap-pägän nimä / män // (14) bizni taščila dä qujdu / (15) taščilïχnïŋ tarïχi uzun / (16) qedimdïn tüjmän teši jasaǰdan / ädämlačo // (17) kurïja däp bir jerimiz va / taš čiqïdan / (18) quvuqtäk tašnï qumurup / šädin taš suqup / tüjmän tašlanï jasɨyan // (19) keräm tašči däp birsi va / (20) jetmiš sexsen jašqa kiri qayan nimä //

52. jüräk tay

(1) ällix tötinči jili / jä täxšurüš / bajlïq täkšürüš ätriti vilä / mämmu berïp kögän nimä (2) qumnuŋ a:qɨdin jiraq / (3) bu qum mäjädɨla toχta qaldu / (4) qumnï a:qɨdin / jerim kün da mašina vilä maŋsa / serïq qumnu a:qɨda tüzäŋlik bɨř jäkän u / tüp tüz / (5) su varikän / (6) julyun qemiš bɨřmɨlädin ütüp basa / baridikän ijägä / (7) duχaŋya[670] vařdan tašǰol vařkä / qumnu a:qïda // (8) biz χoǰäŋgä[671] berïp / ikki tuŋ su qačïlap / (9) jüräx tayni jennïya berïp / sulanï šujägä čüšürü qujup / miŋip / (10) mašina buzulu qaldï // (11) kö:nïčä ejtqanda / kuřkä tükidäk tayikin / u / (12) munu täräpmu tayikä / (13) muqajin täräpmu tayka / (14) ajaq täräpi jäŋgalkä / (15) pütün java jälïq šujädä barikän // (16) dïyadin tüväŋgä qarap maŋsa / bulaqla vakän / (17) duχaŋya četilï kitidan bulaqla varikän / (18) bulaχla vuyam-bilämma / süji aččiq // (19) asasän / manda qarəsam / haziř krorän krorän däp jurgän šäřmɨkin dä qaldïm // (20) ikkinčajda berïptimiz / biz / (21) tügɨlägä muz / su ařttuq / (22) muzlɨrɨmɨz va vuyandikin däp / tüväŋgä qarap maŋyandikin / üš kündɨla / muz issiq čiqïp iri ketti / (23) biz ussa kitip / özimizni qutulduruš čoŋ iš vo qap / (24) ikki kičä kündüz meŋïp / aran su va jägä ilinvalduq // (25) biz čiqqanda / qumulnuŋ jenda / qara düvɨniŋ jenda / upuř digän jädin čiqï qalduq / (26) tö:gɨlä / atla altï kün su ičmäptu / (27) özimizmu ikki üč kün ičmɨduq // (28) äšädä däm äp qajtï kälduq / (29) bɨř näsä tapamɨduq // (30) u čayda / tam säp o:tuřdan iš vumɨyaŋkin / jäni ujup kirïp o:tuřduyan iš / (31) šunday öjlä dašädɨmu barikän / (32) qalmɨyöjlä dä qujdikän / unï / (33) mušu jädikï ujyuřlanï hämmɨsini qalmaq däp hisaplajdikän / (34) tigi / qalmaq vop / kijin musulman buyan däp // (35) dašu / amdan seyiz va / su va jäläni ujup kirïpla o:tayan ädämlärän / (36) mušu ätraptimu / ašday jäni ujup kirivayan öjlä bulduyan // (37) tayda / japɨlaq tašlaya uju qoǰyan hajvanatlanï räsmɨsi ba / (38) ijädä bijädä ba / (39) java öškä / qošqaya uχšaš bɨrmɨlä / (40) at / ädämläniki räsimis ba / (41) nä zamanda uju kätkän nimä / bilgɨli vomajdu //

669 *qattïχ gäp qilišpaqmɨdim* < *qattïq gäp qilišip baqmɨdim*.
670 *duχaŋ* < Chin. 敦煌 *Dun-huang* 'Dunhuang', name of a place in Gansu.
671 *χoǰäŋgä* DIR of *χoǰän* < Chin. 火箭 *Huojian* 'rocket', another name for *čiqtim*, a village at the most eastern border of Pichan.



51. The stonemason

(1) This place has been called Miränyoli ever since we can remember. (2) My name is Mänglik Ävät, (3) I am now 73 years old. (4) I weave baskets, (5) I (also) weave wheelbarrows. (6) I have never quarreled with other people. (7) We like dishes prepared with meat. (8) There used to be a person here called Blacksmith Rozi. He used to make threshing roller. (9) He was a blacksmith. (10) We often use seasoning here. (11) Since there was nothing here to press them and make them soft, I sat down to make a mortar thinking: "Just let me try to make it." (12) I made it from an old threshing roller whose edge had become blunt. (13) I also made threshing rollers (for others) by hammering (the edges). (14) They call us stonemasons. (15) The profession of stonemason has a long history. (16) From time immemorial they made millstones. (17) We have a place called Küriya where stone is produced. (18) We made millstones etc. by breaking (big) stones the size of doors and by carving the stones there. (19) There is a person called Stonemason Keräm. (20) He has become seventy or eighty years old.

52. Yüräk Mountain

(1) In 1954 I went there and saw it with the Land and Treasure Exploration Brigade. (2) It is far at the back of the desert. (3) The desert ends there. (4) If one travels half a day by car from the back of the desert, one will find it is a flat land located to the back of the Yellow Sand. It is very flat. (5) There is water. (6) One may reach there after the crossing the tamarisk field and reeds etc. (7) At the backside of the desert there was a road to Dunhuang. (8) We went to Huojian and loaded two buckets of water. (9) We came close to Yüräk mountain, put the water there and continued travelling. (10) The car suddenly broke down. (11) It was a mountain just like the fur of a chicken, if I describe it in the old way. (12) This side was also mountain, (13) the opposite side was also mountain, (14) but its last side was jungle. (15) All kind of wild animals were there. (16) If one from Dighar toward the lower section, there are springs. (17) There were springs linking Dunhuang. (18) Despite there being springs, their water was sour. (19) I tried to find out (which city was there) and came to the conclusion that it might be the city called Kroran now. (20) We went there in February. (21) We loaded ice and water on the camels. (22) We travelled toward the lower section, thinking we have ice, but (suddenly) hot (weather) came and our ice thawed in three days. (23) We got thirsty and to survive became a big matter. (24) We travelled two days and nights and finally we reached a place where there was water. (25) We accidentally came to a place near Qomul, to the place called Upur near Qaradövä. (26) Our camels and horses did not drink water for six days. (27) We ourselves did not drink water for two days. (28) We took a rest there and returned. (29) We could find nothing. (30) Old-time people did not built houses but used to make holes in the ground and stay in them. (31) We found such houses there, too. (32) There were called Qalmuq's houses. (33) People consider all Uyghurs of this place to be Qalmuqs. (34) They say: "They originally were Qalmuqs and later became Muslim." (35) They made holes at the places where there was good clay and water and stayed there. (36) Around here also there used to be such houses built by making a hole in the ground. (37) At the mountain there are pictures of animals

53. uluχ tuř

(1) äsli bir mazař kän / buču / (2) bir o:lija kep / madrasi̇ni sep / medrisä qïyaŋkin / uluγ tuř / uluγ tuř däpla / uluγ tuř vo qaptu / (3) uluχ γuǰi̇la ba jä voγaŋkin // (4) bi̇ř išla vosa / bijägä käp tövä qïp / (5) bizä išliri vosa / bijägä kep tili̇sä / bulup // (6) mušundaq / qedimdä qalmaχla jä:ni kolap o:tayan χäχkänduq / (7) biz gaŋlanï api̇liřni toj qïyam-mällädä / biz sizlädäk kičik bala / (8) gaŋlanï tujda nayri̇nï suqup / dačänni[672] tayařya qači̇lap tešïp / mušu čüšü qayannï tirip jürdïyan / (9) u gaŋla / saraŋ vuldïyi̇nï saraŋ vop / u gaŋla tügä kettiyu / (10) šu kämlädiki ädäm män / (11) ja saraŋ bi̇řmä bo qammaptimä / män / (12) bäk bäk gä qïsa / maŋγa amdan aŋnïndu[673] //

54. melis vä sara[674]

(1) melistä / bir ikki üč ädäm dapnï čelïp naχšejtidu[675] / (2) pota išip / ärlä ajallaya puta saldu / (3) ajalla ärlägä puta saldu / (4) ärlä ärlägä puta saldu / (5) puta ojnajdan iš varikän // (6) bunï hazi̇ř / gülni tutup usul ojnap kitidan išqa özgärtivaptu / (7) ämdi / tazim qïlïšïp / putïnï ep / mandaq ojnajdikä // (8) sara bajri̇mïda / mijägä čaq tikip / gülängüč učurup ojnajdïyan / (9) toj tökullädä / milis ojnajdïyan iškin / (10) sarada / čaχ tikip ojnajdu // (11) äsli / hazi̇ř noruz digi̇ni / sara bajri̇mï šukän / (12) buγdajnï majsa ündürüp / köx tašlap qildan išla barikänduq // (13) majsänï bi̇ř öjgä taši̇lsa / šu öj bi̇ř aχšam mäšräp bi̇řdan išla barikänduq / (14) sara digän bašqa jädä joq //

672 *dačän* < Chin. 大錢 *da-qian* 'a round copper coin with a square hole punched in it, copper coin, copper' (Jarring 1964: 79).
673 *aŋnïndu* ← *aŋlənïdu* 'to be heard'.
674 For a description of *sara* and *melis* see Menges 1976: Nr. XIV-XV.
675 *naχšejtidu* ← *naχša ejtidu* '(they) sing'.



carved in the flat rocks. (38) They are found here and there. (39) Wild goat, ram, etc were (carved in them). (40) There are also pictures of horses and human beings. (41) It is impossible to know when they were carved.

53. Ulugh Tur

(1) This was originally a tomb. (2) Reportedly a holy person came here and established a religious school. Therefore people called him *uluy tur* 'stay great', so (the name of this place) became Ulugh Tur. (3) Because there were great saints here. (4) If something happened, people came here to confess. (5) They came here, prayed and got the thing (they needed). (6) So, previously the Qalmuqs used to live by digging holes in the ground. (7) We were small children just like you when they held a wedding for Jasak Prince's mothers. (8) At the Jasak Prince's wedding, they used to play the kettledrum and transport copper money by loading it in sacks and we used to collect the coppers that had dropped. (9) Some of the Jasak Princes became mad and all of them have died. (10) I am a person of that time. (11) I did not even become mad. (12) I hear well if one speaks loudly.

54. The Melis-gathering and Sara-feast

(1) At the Melis-gathering two or three people play the dap and sing. (2) People twist cloth belts and males present the cloth belts to females, (3) females also present cloth belts to males. (4) Males may also present a cloth belt to other males. (5) There is a game played with the cloth belt. (6) I have found that now people have changed it to presenting a flower while dancing. (7) Now, people bow to each other and jump. They play this way. (8) At the Sara-feast people used to hang wheels and swing with them. (9) The Melis-gathering is organized during weddings, (10) and people hang wheels during the Sara-feast. (11) The so-called New Year's feast was originally called Sara-feast. (12) It is told that people used to grow wheat germ and present green wheat. (13) It is told that if (someone) present green wheat to a family, that family had to organize a gathering. (14) Sara-feast does not exist anywhere else.

## 5.6 Texts from Murtuq

### 55. muřtuq

(1) muřtuχ digän bu bäš mäjlɨni öz iččigɨ aldu // (2) bäš dädij[676] didu // (3) nijni siŋgim bäš dädij / (4) ikisi bɨřlišip siŋgim jezsi / siŋgim guŋši dä qumïz // (5) mušu tapta / nejni bäš / bejni bäš / on dädij va // (6) biz kičix waχlada / uluχ köldä on bäštäk ajlä vařdi // (7) bizni mäjlidä ämdi / bɨř šodüj dä paqïmïs // (8) u waχlada / ö ni sula qujup / jaz vŭsa güčüŋgä čïqïp iš qïyïlï kitip / ijädin jiti kep / qïšlïyï vŭsa / mujdaχ vop // (9) mušu ällik jil ǰářjanda / üčünčü šodüjdä nupus altï jüzgä ba dï haziř // (10) šu waχtïda ällixtäk adäm ba dijdi / čuŋ kičix // (11) mä̃ atmiš bäš jašqa kiřdim / haziř // (12) šu waχtïda adäm najti azdi // (13) bu mäjlɨdä / bäš šodünu hä misi bɨř mičit / mišägä käp namiz uqujdïyɨnikä̃ // (14) bäš šodüdin jigiřmɨčä adäm namiz uqujdikä / adäm a zlïydin // (15) män atam häjat waχtïda / atamya didim / (16) woj ata / sän nädä tuγulyan? / disäm / (17) bizni šu waχtïda / ällix ata baγ däp bɨř jiřmiz vařdi / täʔxlik / (18) biz isimizni bilsäk / mušu mäjlidä üstigä čïqï qaptimiz // (19) täʔlik ba mu? / disäm / (20) da baγnï köduŋmu? / (21) üzümni javatamsä̃? / (22) hä / däp disäm / (23) mä̃ šu baγda tuγuluptimä / didi atam // (24) mä̃ tuγulup / čuŋ vop / ö lük vulup / (25) su visip vumɨyaŋkin / u jägä täʔx tik qujup / ämdi dej däp dej sep mišägä čïqïvaldim // (26) anda vŭsa / siniŋdɨyo näšädä tuγulupsä̃ / buvam nädä tuγuluptu? / däp šundaχ disäm / (27) atamnï e tiščä / didu / buvam äsli lüxčüllüx toχtiša digän adämkänduq / (28) toχti ša pïřqïrap äjlinip jürüp / χojänsäŋgi käp / (29) ijädin än χäχlä bïlaχ[677] vujda amdaj-jä vařkä̃ iška qïldan / digäŋkin / (30) iška digɨni / helqï bɨřmä etip / o[678] qïlïš digäŋ-gäp / ämdi // (31) iška qïp čïqï qara peqip / mišädä o turašlïq vu qasaq boγidäk däp / (32) tušqan / äläj bäläj bɨřmɨlänï etip / jizliq mïltïχ jäsap / majdaχ qïp bizni buvmïz mäšägä čïq qaγan // (33) ušla[679] üč ävlat mušu ö dä čoŋ vop / biz iki ävlat mijägä jit čïχtoq // (34) hene süršürüp / ničï[680] jilla vuγandu disäk / ällix jildin hisapliγanda iki jüz jil / iki jüz ällig jil / üšüz jilla vo qaldï // (35) unudun aldidikilämu ba vuγaŋkin / (36) üšüz ällix jilla vo qaldi / murtuχ jurt voγilï / (37) voməsa / mušnax eqïš // (38) dašu imin äpändilänikigä bařdïya iš vŭsa / γolla va / ütük / üš tüt γol va / (39) šu γolnï bisip ütümiz / ämdi // (40) nejindin eqïš su käp / jïrap γol qïp / nejnïsïya majnaχ ütü kätkä bɨř jurtkä bu // (41) bu jäniki täxti / muřtuχta o turašläχ vo qaγallanï hä misi / lüxčün / χojänsändin čïqqan nimä // (42) taγnï astindin čïqqanla bula // (43) taγnï astindïn mal vaqqɨli čïqïp / (44) bulaχlani kör peqip / uruq bɨř neči dan buγdajlanï ečïqï / (45) tašla qujup / (46) andïn bu buγdala pišqaŋkin / (47) qïmïšnï arɨsïdïla sula vuγaŋkin / bulaχtïn tiřmila čïqïvatqa su eqïvatqä̃ // (48) bä zi ädämlärä / bala čüřřilïřni bijägä äčiqïp orunlašturup // (49) šu waχtïda / mušu uluχ kölgä bɨř ajlä čïqqənikän / bɨř ajlä // (50) unu töt uγli va vulup / bijsi jaqalaχ digän a mäjlidä / (51) bu balәsïnï šu jaqulaχta orunlašturuptu // (52) bɨř balɨsnï / mušu uluχ köl

676 *dädij* < Chin. 大隊 *da-dui* 'brigade', SU *da-düj*.
677 *bïlaχ* delabialized form of *bulaq* 'spring'.
678 *o* 'hunting', goes back to *ow* < OT *av*.
679 *ušla* another form for *šula* 'they'.
680 *ničï* corrupted form of *näččä* 'how many'.



### 55. Murtuq

(1) Murtuq consists of five villages, (2) people call them the five brigades. (3) That side is Singgim (comprises) five brigades. (4) Those two parts together (comprise) the Singgim Rural District, we (also) call it the Singim Commune. (5) At present, on that side there are five and on this side there are five. Altogether there are ten brigades. (6) When we were young, there used to be about fifteen families at Uluγ Köl. (7) We just call our village[681] one small brigade. (8) In the old times, people used to just lock up their houses and go to work in Guchung, returning in the winter. They used to do so. (9) As it was, during those fifty years the population of the Third Xiaodui reached six hundred. (10) At that time, there were altogether about fifty people, counting the adults and the children too. (11) Now I am 65 years old. (12) At that time, here were very few people. (13) Reportedly, all people of the five small brigades at this village used one mosque and came here to pray *namaz*. (14) Only about twenty people used to pray *namaz* here due to the very few people living here. (15) I asked my father when he was alive: (16) "Dad, where were you born?" (17) [My father said:] "At that time, we had a place called Ällik Ata Bagh, namely a vineyard. (18) Ever since we can remember, we found we had come to this village, to this place." (19) I asked: "Is that vineyard still here?" (20) [My father asked:] "Do you see that garden? (21) Are you eating its grapes?" (22) I said: "Yes". (23) My father said: "Reportedly, I was born at that garden. (24) I was born, grew up, and married here. (25) Since floods always inundated the place, I planted grapevines there, built this house gradually, and moved here." (26) I asked: "If this is so, and you were born there, where was my grandfather born?" (27) [My father] said: "As far as my father has told me, your grandfather was originally called Tohtisha and he was a native of Lükchün. (28) Tohtisha travelled and travelled and finally came to Huoyanshan (29) because people told him that around the spring there was a good place for hunting." (30) You know, hunting refers to shooting something or to hunt. (31) "They hunted here, looked around and thought: 'We could settle down here'. (32) Shooting rabbits etc and making local muskets, our grandfather came here unnoticed. (33) They, three generations, have grown up in this house, and we, two generations, are still living here up to now." (34) If we do further investigation and ask: "How many years have passed since that time?" Almost two hundred or two hundred and fifty or three hundred years have passed, if we count (one generation) as fifty years. (35) You know, prior to that time there were some families here, too. (36) It was about three hundred and fifty years since Murtuq had become a (Muslim) village. (37) As it is, there is a flood area here just like this. (38) In order to go to Mr. Imin's side, one (had to go through) the ferry as well three or four other valleys. (39) Well, we also have to pass through those valleys. (40) This is such a village to which floodwater comes from that side making valleys here. (41) Originally, all settlers of Murtuq certainly came from Lükchün and Huoyanshan. (42) They came from the Lower Mountain. (43) They came from the Lower Mountain to raise sheep, (44) saw the

681 Original *bizni mäjlidä* 'at our village'.

mušu mäjlɨdä orunlašturuptu // (53) andïn / hem[682] bɨř balәsïnï / gumbaz dā̆ qujmïz / ikinči šodu dā̆ qumïz / munu mäjlɨdä ämdi / (54) gumbaza däp / gumbaz šäklidä su kolap / (55) seɣïz vulup / (56) su örläpla čïqqaŋkin / eqïš vup / (57) bijizgɨ miŋip / gumbaz šäklidä kör[683] vo qaɣan järikā̆ u // (58) jen bɨř balәsïnï bošbuj karәz dā̆ qujdu / ašädä // (59) bu karәz šäklidä juqajindin bɨř bulaχ čïqïp / bulaq eqïp tüpɨdiki šoř tüšüx vulup örläp čikitip / (60) jänä bizä maŋyanda / u dajinda bɨř jä örläp čikitip / tüšüx voɣaŋkin / (61) šu iškä qařta bošqun karәz[684] däp isim qujup / (62) jem-bɨř balɨsnï orunlašturup / (63) bɨř ajlä köp balɨsïni mišägä urunlašturup / bɨř ajlä ařqәlïq adämlämu olturašlïq vop küpüjüp / jurt vo kätkā̆ järkā̆ bu //

56. muřtuq ɣoǰam[685]

(1) tuřpan qašqadin tö jüz jil kijin jurt voɣan ǰajikin / (2) muřtuq unuŋdun ällix jil kijin jurt voɣan järikin / üšüz ällix jil // (3) šundaχ vulop / andïn ijädin kep / mušu tuřpan ätraplɨřda / tuřpan bazɨřma[686] / mušu eɣïznï astïnɣɨla orunlašqam-bɨř jä / (4) bu χojänsänma / taɣnï astïnɣa mašnaχ bɨř eqïš eɣïzɣa orunlašqan // (5) lüxčüm-busuma / taɣnï astïnɣa / su qojlušup taɣnï astïnɣa orunlašqan järikin // (6) šägä urunlušup / adämlä šädä terïχčilïχ qïsaχ voɣïdäx däp / u jägä üš dan / bijägä üš dan buɣdani tašla quju // (7) qïšlaχ digäm-bɨř jɨřmiz va / (8) bijä ǰäŋgäl vulup / (9) taɣnï astïndiki jurtdikilä čaravalani baqïdan vaχtïda išlitdan mandaχ ǰaj vulup / (10) qïšlaχ däp nam qujup / isim šu qïšlaχtïn bašlïn qaɣan // (11) andïn / ijädin ikkinčaj / üčünčaj voɣan vaχtïda čïqip / bulaχnï čörilirigä bijägä üš dan / bijägä töt bäš dan buɣdanï tašla qujup // (12) šu ařlïχlada / jaqqïlïχ däp bɨř jɨřmiz va // (13) äsli jaqqa bulaχ / uluχ köl // (14) uluχ köl digän äslidä čoŋ bɨř bulaχ vulup / täxtidin örläp čïqan bulaq // (15) uluχkā̆ / unu süji / šunuŋ vilä uluχ köl däp nam qujulɣan // (16) mišäni uluχ köl didu / (17) nägɨla basa / pičan gučuŋ ǰimsařlaɣa vasa / nädin kältdiŋ disä / (18) muřtuχ däp / (19) murtuχ nädin / disä / (20) uluχ köldin disä / hä däp hä mɨsi bildu // (21) mušu mäjlɨni hářqandaχ ädäm bildu // (22) bulaχni süjni qara peqip / išädī / jädin čïqalla mal veqijürüp / bulaχnï čörɨsidä / (23) anča munä terïχčilïq qïsaχ voɣïdäx däp / o linïšqa käp / (24) birä ajillä čüšüp kep / uruχni čeči qujup astiŋɣa čüšü kiti / χojänsängä / (25) ijädin äŋzä / hene bijä ǰäŋgäl voɣaŋkin / u kämlädä / börü äläj bäläj jɨřtquč bɨřmɨlä ba vomamdu // (26) altïnčajda čïqïp / qanda voldïki dā̆ čïqïp / buɣdajlaɣa qarap hökušüp[687] / (27) hä terïχčiliq qïsaχ voɣïdäx däp / bɨř jerim ädäm čïqïp orunlušup // (28) ijädä / jaqqïlïχ däp bɨř jɨřmiz[688] va / (29) u jädä bɨř bulaχ vulup / jaqqulaχ[689] däp isim qujulɣan // (30) ällix

682 *hem-bɨř* < *hene bɨř* 'other', SU *jänä bir*.
683 *kör* 'lake', but it mostly occurs as *köl*.
684 Original: *bošqun* probably originates *buš-* 'to irritate' (ED 377a) + *-gXn*, but the same word occurs as *bošbuj* 'Boshbuy' in (58) of this text.
685 Some remarks on *Murtuq ɣoǰam* can also be found in Menges 1943, LI 16-20.
686 *tuřpan bazɨř* ← *tuřpan bazirï* 'Bazaar of Turfan', the possessive suffix is missing.
687 *hökušüp* 'frightening, surprising', SU *ürkäšüp*.
688 *jɨřmiz* < *jerimiz* 'our land', in which the initial vowel of the possessive suffix is missing.
689 *jaqqulaχ* < *jaqqa bulaq* or *jaqa bulaq*.



and brought some wheat seeds (45) and threw them on the ground, (46) and then the wheat ripened. (47) Since there used to be water just amid the reeds, flowing here from the spring, (48) some people brought their families and settled them here. (49) Reportedly, at that time only one family came here, namely to this Uluɣ Köl, only one family. (50) This family had four sons, one of them stayed at a village named Yaqa Bulaq (Yaqulaχ), (51) they settled him there at Yaqa Bulaq (Yaqulaq). (52) Reportedly, they settled their other son at Uluɣ Köl, (53) and another child at the Second Small Brigade, a village that is simply called Gumbaz. It is just in this district. (54) We call it Gumbaz since water formed the ground in the shape of a cupola and (55) making the earth into clay. (56) Moreover, water always rose from there, causing floods. (57) It was the place where the floods came from, forming a lake in the shape of a cupola. (58) Their other child was at a place called Boshbuy Karez. (59) A spring appeared at the upper side in the shape of a karez, and its water flowed to this side causing holes in the saline soil. Later (those saline soils) were washed away. (60) At some distance away, other places were also washed away and a hole emerged. (61) Due to this, people gave this place the name Boshqun Karez. (62) They arranged their other child there. (63) Reportedly, that one family settled many children here, later on following that one family other people also settled down here, and the population increased and it gradually became a village.

56. Murtuq Ghojam

(1) Apparently, Turfan became a (Muslim) land[690] 400 years later than Kashghar (2) and Murtuq became a Muslim land 50 years later than (Turfan), 350 years (later than Kashghar). (3) Well, it (Islam) came here from there, around Turfan. Turfan city is also a place located just at the mouth of a river. (4) Huoyanshan is also located on the lower part of a mountain, at the mouth of a river as you can see. (5) Obviously, Lükchün itself was also located at the lower part of the mountain just along the water. (6) After having settled there, people threw wheat seeds here and there considering it suitable for farming. (7) We have a place called Qishlaq. (8) That place[691] was originally a jungle. (9) It was a place where the people from the Lower Mountain had herded sheep. (10) People gave it the name of Qishlaq.[692] After that this place began to be called Qishlaq. (11) Later, people came here again in February and March, but (left soon after) just throwing three or four wheat seeds to the fields around the spring. (12) Around there (the spring) we have a place named Yaqqiliq, (13) which goes back to Yaqqa Bulaq, (namely the present) Uluɣ Köl. (14) Uluɣ Köl originally was a big spring, I mean it was a spring that rose from the ground. (15) Evidently, there was a lot of water, therefore it was called Uluɣ Köl. (16) People here call it Uluɣ Köl. (17) Wherever we go, if we go to Pichan, Jimsar and Guchung, and one asks: "Where are you from?" (18) We answer:

690 Original: *jurt voɣan* 'became a land', in this context it clearly refers to the Islamization of the Turfan region.
691 Original: *bijä* 'this place'.
692 Original: *qišlaq* 'a place to spend winter'.

jilla ütkändin kin / bir avlimit mävlanä[693] digäm-bir adäm / türkijidin käldimu / äribistandin käldima / qašqadin käldima / dinnini täšwiqat qï jürüp / (31) kü:pi qašqadin käldi didu // (32) mušu bizniki γoldin su jaqïlap čïqïp / u ädäm mušu kuboγa[694] özini ismini jizïp / avlimit mävlanä digän kuboni üzigä jipip / (33) kubo digän / qelinaraq tuquγan aχ räχ // (34) u ädäm šunï üzigä jipip jetïp / tügä qaptu // (35) kin šu mal vaqïdan ädämlä čïqïp qara paχsa / ädäm jatqan / (36) qarəsa / qa:ričä[695] könä tilda jezivatqan χätkǟ / ämdi // (37) avlimit mävlanä digän χät voγaŋkin / (38) šu χätni kürüp / uluχ za?t uχšajdu / (39) qašqa burun jurt voγan boγaŋkin / qašqadin kägän bŭsa kiräk däp / (40) murtuχnu ädimi / bu ädämgä beγišlap bir γoǰamnï sa:saχ buγïdäx däp / (41) andïn / dašo murtuχ γoǰam / šä:gä bir qävrini qujup / (42) hazirmu šä:gä avlimit mävlana digän χat vilän / iččigä χilmu χil pärdilläni esïp / qedimqï diχavïladïn ta:tïp / qara diχava birmïläni tartivatqan // (43) nečči jüz jil vo kätkändu / u kubo diχavïlaγa // (44) kuboγa da?xlani[696] jipivatqan / (45) u könä diχava / dašädä ba // (46) andïn / mušu γuǰamγa adämlä jiγïlïšïp kisex qujup / (47) tam sep / gumbaz qïp igip / (48) ätrapiγa γuǰamnï timin sep / šunuŋdin itivaran / andïn bu avlimit mävlana murtuq γuǰam däp // (49) ilmi tälä qïsa[697] / ilmi birdïγan γuǰam digän gäpki / χäχni aγzïda ta:qïlï jürši // (50) biz kičix gaχlada / mäjlä mällädin kep / birä jerïm jil / birä aj uqup / majdaχ qïp turuvatqan // (51) γuǰamnï iččidä hazir / bir quduχ va / (52) bu quduχ / tiränlegi[698] on mitiγa bama:du / (53) süji najti uluq / (54) γol ällix mitirla bardu / (55) ällix mitir üstündiki döŋgä čïqïdan quduχ va ämdi // (56) šu quduχnu süj vilä küxläp[699] kitivatidu / (57) šu murtuχ γuǰam digini / šu avlimit mävlana // (58) nejisqa[700] ijä bijälädin ädämlä käp uqup / adämlä keŋijip olturašlïχ vop / (59) bu murtuχ üšüz ällix jil voγan //

693 *avlimit Mavlanä* persoanl name, Turfan dialect pronunciation for *Abdulhamīd Mavlānā*, SU *Ablimit* Mävlanä.
694 *kubo* 'a kind of white cloth', see vocabulary.
695 *qa:ričä* 'in the Qari's way; Qari's'. *qari* < Ar. *qāri* 'a professional reader who knows the Qur'ān by heart'.
696 *da?xla* 'gauzes', SU *daka-lar*. *daka* < ? 'is a kind of white cloth; gauze'
697 *tälä qïsa* 'if they request', SU *tälāb qilsa*.
698 *tirenlegi* < *tirenligi* 'its depth'. Such articulation of this suffix vowel *i* is quite common in the Turfan dialect, e.g. *igizlegi* 'highet' (SU *igizligi*), *tizlegi* 'quickness' (SU *tizligi*), etc.
699 *küxläp* 'becoming green' (< *köklä-* +*-p* 'to turn green or blue'), SU *köklāp*.
700 *nejisqa* 'to that side', SU *nerisiγa*.



"We are from Murtuq." (19) If one asks: "From where in Murtuq?" (20) We answer: "From Uluγ Köl", and everybody knows. (21) Everybody knows this village. (22) (People who came) here, saw the spring water, and herded sheep around the spring. (23) Then they got an idea, thinking they could farm here. (24) Some families came down here, spread seeds around, and left for the Lower Mountain to Huoyanshan. (25) And after that, since it was a jungle here, there were naturally wolves and other predatory animals at that time. (26) They came here in June to have a look, saw the wheat and were astonished. (27) They thought that they could farm here but very few people came here and settled down. (28) We have a place named Yaqqiliq there. (29) There was a spring there so it was named Yaqa Bulaq. (30) After about fifty years passed, a person named Avlimit Mavlanä [came here], perhaps he came from Turkey or from Saudi Arabia, or he might also have been from Kashghar, anyway [he came] to spread religion. (31) Most people say he came from Kashghar. (32) This person came along this river here, wrote his name, Avlimit Mavlanä, on a cloth and covered his face with it. (33) It was a kind of white cloth, which is woven relatively thickly. (34) That person lay there covering his face with the (cloth) and passed away. (35) Later, shepherds came and saw a man laying there. (36) They looked and found there were letters written (on the cloth) in an old language in the Qari's way.[701] (37) Since the letters spelled out "Avlimit Mavlanä", (38) people saw those letters and thought he must be a great person. (39) They guessed he probably came from Kashghar, since Kashghar was a (Muslim) country earlier. (40) People of Murtuq considered that it seemed necessary to build a Saint's tomb dedicated to this person. (41) Then they built a tomb at Murtuq Ghujam (lit. my Saint of Murtuq). (42) Even today, people hang up various kinds of cloth with the letters "Avlimit Mavlanä" on them. They hang up such old and dark pieces of velvet there. (43) Certainly, many hundred years have passed since those old pieces of velvet (were hung up) there. (44) They covered the white cloth with gauze etc. (45) That old velvet is still there. (46) Then people gathered at this Ghujam, made adobe bricks and (47) built a wall forming it in the shape of cupola. (48) They built this Ghujam's wall around it, and since that time this Avlimit Mävlanä was called Murtuq Ghujam. (49) According to the oral explanations, Murtuq Ghojam means 'a Saint who gives knowledge if one desires knowledge'. (50) When we were children, people used to very often come here from various villages and study here for one or two months and so on.[702] (51) Now there is a well inside the Ghujam. (52) The depth of this well is less than ten meters, (53) (but) its water was of great volume. (54) Presumably, the main canal was only about fifty meters long. (55) There is a well whose (water is powerful and) flows fifty meters up a high slope. (56) It is becoming green there from the well water. (57) The so-called Murtuq Ghujam refers to Avlimit Mävlanä. (58) Later people came from here and there and studied there and (the number of) settlers increased. (59) It is 350 years since this Murtuq (became a Muslim village).

701 Original: *qaričä könä tilda jezivatqan χät* 'a letter written in an old language in the Qari's way' certainly refers to the letters written in Arabic script, which are favoured by Qaris.
702 Original: *turuwatqan* 'has been staying', here it is used as habitual past.

verl. an.../am:..
Bubi/Sign.-Dr.
Vermisst
Verlust
5 SSTO lt. Ve
6 unklar (Clea
7 kurz verl.
20 Signatur00
21 Jahrgang0
22 Band/Heft(
23 im Neuzug
24 Umstellung
25 Bd./Jg. erg
30 Umzug Ma
31 Bauarb. M
32 Defekte ir
33 nur als Fi
34 zu umfar
35 verl.im M
36 nicht ber
SBB
P|K

57. muřtuqnu terïχčïlïγï

(1) ämdi bis esimisni bilsek / buγda / aχ qunaq däp bɨř qunɨγïmïs va / (2) čiŋvaš qonaq[703] däp bɨř χəl qonɨγïmïz va / (3) u jïlda bɨř qetïm čiqïdu // (4) iŋiz qunɨγï däp bɨř χil qunɨγimis va / buγdanï oriväp / buγdanï o:nïγa iŋiz teri:mis // (5) šu / buγdaj / qunaq / änkin kiväz terip / (6) böz toqup / terïχčïlïq qïp / kollixtipla ütüp // (7) ämdi haziř / hökümütimiz ïχtizadqa jürüš qïlni digäŋkin / üzüm tixpaqïni / (8) üzüm buljuxtïla vosa vulamdu / däp / (9) däsläp qädäm / häř bɨř šodu bɨřdin üzüm bäjna qïldï // (10) säxsäm-bɨřïnči jili / aša jäřläni šäχsilägä birivatqaŋkin / bizä tixpaqïni däp / birä modïn tixti // (11) mäsulati amdan boγandikin / mušunï tikina / däp šunïŋγa dävät qïldï // (12) haziř ämdi / jüzdä tuχsam-pïřsän / üzüm bilän tuřmuš küčürvatïmïs // (13) haziř bɨř mo jädin / amdan oχša qasa töt miŋ kej / bäš miŋ kejgɨčä mäsulat čïqïvatidu / (14) bɨř mo jädin amdan oχša kässä / bɨř tonna üzüm qurujdu / (15) unuŋdin čïqïp neř beřlïřni čïqïřvassaχmu / töt miŋ kej / bäš miŋ kej / sap kirim qaldu // (16) haziř / χäχni asasliχ tuřmuš üzümdä // (17) burun üzüm čiχmadu / (18) üzüm jigɨsi kä qasa / buljuqtin šalägä[704] berïp setiväkäsä[705] jäp // (19) unuŋdun burun bɨřnäčä bajnïŋ / mana mušu uluχ kölni a:saχ / iki baj va / (20) bɨřsi mäligaji dä qumïs / a mäjlɨdä / (21) bɨřsi a tötoγuldiki[706] qonaji dä qujmïs / (22) šu iki bajnï beγγïda üzüm ba vulduγan // (23) biz kičix waχlada / mundaχ bäš altɨ jašlaγa kiřgän waχlada / balla vilä ojnap berïp üzüm jigimis kä qasa / soχma jindiki juǰuŋ / (24) juǰuŋ digɨni tösük ämdi / šalädin kirip / üzümlïřni uγuřlap mujda vop tuřduγan // (25) mušu iki ajlïdä / jigiřmɨ ottus tüptin täx vulduγan / (26) biznikimu bayda jigiřmɨ tüptäx qašqïř sa:va va // (27) qa:γalla ašlïχ terip üzügä jä?mäjdu / (28) jä kičik / (29) adämlɨri jä:lïřni kümü qujup / birä jerïmdin ädɨmni qalduru qujup / ja išïxni bɨř pa:čä laj vilä ča?la qujup / gučuŋγa čikitidu // (30) ä:tijazlïγï vosa / jäřläni ančɨ munča teri qujup gučuŋγa čikitidu / sã̃ suγuru qo däp / (31) qïšlïγ[707] vüsa üjdɨ[708] o:tuřdu / (32) ajalla / bala čuřliř vilä üjdɨ oltuřdu // (33) χaŋ[709] däp bɨř jeřmis va čičan[710] / qïšlïγi šu χaŋda išlidu // (34) čičan digän äsli kümüř čïqqan digän mänidiki čïqqankä // (35) kö:duqqu / mana adäm ǰïq jäř / šor / üsti šïγal / üstün hä:mïsi quruχluq / su joq / su qïs // (36) karəz ǰïχti / hazir süji toχta kätti // (37) mušu siŋgim jeza bujči[711] bɨř jüz ällix / iki jüzdäx kariz vařdi / (38) haziř jiŋiči[712] usul qollunup / sajlada quduχlani ko:lap / taγnï süjni hä:mïsini östäŋgä ǰorup / ijäni jügällivatqaŋkin / (39) jä:ni täxtidiki su hämɨsi üstügä örlüvaγaŋkin / bu karəzla quru kätmämdu // (40) mušnaχ vop / karəzla hämɨsi toχta kätti // (41) qoγun tawuznï / haziř su qïs voγaŋkin / terimajdan vo qaldï / burunlada teridïγan // (42) biz kičix waχlada / qoγun / sejta? bɨřmɨ-

703 *čiŋvaš qonaq* 'a sort of corn, white sorghum'.
704 *šalägä* < *šahärlärgä* 'to the cities'.
705 *setiväkäsä* < *setip elip alip kälsä*.
706 *tötoγul* ← *töt oγul* 'four sons', here it is the name of a village in Singim.
707 *qïšlïγ* ← *qïšlïγï* < *qïšlïqï* 'winters'.
708 *üjdɨ* ← *öjidä* 'at home'.
709 *χaŋ* < Chin. 鉱 *kuang* 'coal mine', here it is a place name.
710 *čičan* < 七泉 *Qi-quan*, name of a place located to the north of the city of Turfan.
711 *bujči* ← *bojičä* 'over'.
712 *jiŋiči* ← *jeŋičä* 'new-type'.



57. Agriculture of Murtuq

(1) Ever since we can remember, we have had wheat and a type of corn called white sorghum. (2) We also have a type of corn called *čiŋvaš*-sorghum. (3) It ripens once a year. (4) We have a kind of corn called stubble-corn and we grow it after the wheat (is harvested). (5) Besides wheat and corn we also grow cotton. (6) We weave cotton cloth, farm and live collectively. (7) Since lately our government said: "Let's get the economy going !" we thought: "Let's plant grapevines. (8) Why should grapes only be available at Bulyuq?"[713] (9) Early on, every small brigade built one vineyard.[714] (10) Since [the government] had given the land to individuals in 1981, people decided to grow a little more and every family grew about one *mu*. (11) Since the production was good, people said: "Lets just grow this", and [the government also] encouraged the (growing of grapevines). (12) Now our life is mainly supported by the grape.[715] (13) If it goes well, a one *mu* of land yields four or five thousand *yuan*. (14) If it goes very well, one may dry a ton of grapes. (15) Even if we exclude all the various charges, there is still four or five thousand *yuans*' pure profit. (16) Now the main life of the people is supported by the grape. (17) Before there was no grape production here. (18) If we wanted to eat grapes we had to go to Bulyuq or buy them from the towns and bring them back. (19) Before, if we take the case of Uluγ Köl, only rich people had grapes. Here there were only two rich people: (20) One of them, called Mäligaji, lives in the village, (21) the other one is Qonaji, he lives in Tötoγul village. (22) Those two rich people used to have grapes in their gardens. (23) When we were young, age five or six, we used to [enter the garden] through the break near the wall made of packed earth. (24) Break designates a hole and we used to enter through there and steal grapes. It was always done this way. (25) Those two families had twenty and thirty grapevines, respectively. (26) In our garden, we also had approximately twenty *qašqïr*-sava vines. (27) Others grew grain, but could never support themselves. (28) There were very few (farming) fields. (29) People used to cover their vines[716] and leave for Guchung, just leaving one or two persons here or simply plastering doors. (30) In the spring they would cultivate their fields a little and then leave for Guchung, just asking someone to irrigate the fields for them. (31) In the winter they stayed at home. (32) Women stayed at home with the children. (33) We have a mine at Chichan and winters people work there. (34) Reportedly, Chichan originated from *čiqqan* 'having produced' as found in *kümür čiqqan* 'having produced coal'.[717] (35) As you saw, the population is dense here but the land is salty. Its topsoil is full of small stones and is dry. There is no water or very few water there. (36) There were many karez here, but now all have stopped production.

713 Name of a place near Turfan city, it is famous for its vineyard. SU *bujluq* probably goes back to *bulayıq*, but not to *borluq* 'grape yard' as claimed by some scholars.
714 Original: *üzüm* 'grape'.
715 Lit. 'We are living 90 percent with grape'.
716 Original: *jälïřni kümü qujup* 'covering their fields'.
717 Here the informant introduces a folk etymology concerning *čičan* connecting it to *čiqqan* (< *čiq-* 'to appear, produce' + PPle *–qan*).

läni terip / hazir qoγun temamïs / hä misi tä?x vilänla // (43) tä?xni iχsadi[718] jaman juquř vo kätkäŋkin bijädä / bir ajilniki adettä jeti sekis tümen kej kirim qildïγalla va / on tümen kej teχï // (44) šundaχ namrat bir iki ǰalla töt bäš miŋ kej / bomis[719] bir tümän / iki tümän // (45) budaj jilliχ čïqïmni kütüramiγaŋkin / tox vilä pulγa setivavatqaŋkin / (46) bir do[720] tok tö? mo nečči puŋmikin / täxkä jürüš qï ketmemismu // (47) budaj bahasi tüwän / čïqïm ǰiq / (48) budajniki kilosi hazir sekiz mo / toquz moγa toχtamdiki // (49) bir mo jädin čiqidan budaj najti on küri demiz / (50) on küri digän qïrïγ ǰiŋdin čïχsa / säkiz jüz ǰiŋ čïqïdu // (51) unuŋγa uγut kitidu / su kitidu // (52) budaj digän töt qetim su išmisä bo madu // (53) mujdaχ voγaŋkin / üzümgä ajlandurup / hükümatma hazir mušuni täšäbus qïvatïdu / (54) jänä tikiŋlä üzümni / siläni ašliχ vilä biz mäsul däp // (55) ašliχni šimali šinǰaŋdin sodigälä ašliχ poŋkitidikilä[721] dä qujmismu[722] ün äkildu / šaχsilä äkildu / (56) χilmu χil ünläni setip äp jäp //

58. muřtuq toχuj jïγïlïγï

(1) azatliqtin burunqïγa silištuřyanda / diχallani turmuši najti juquri // (2) mäslän / gomindaŋni gaχtida / mišädä iki baj vulduγan / (3) birsi mäligaǰi / birsi tötuγul / qonaǰi[723] // (4) ulaniki biz vilän täŋ balleř va // (5) ula töttün bäštin karïzni igälläjdu / (6) iki jüz mo / üšüz moγiči[724] jä: terijdu / (7) jil buji / ula aχ nä jalamadu // (8) mušu qišliγï vüsa / učaj tötaj aχ nä jäp / qa γinda qošuχ nä jäp / (9) balleřmu billä o nadïγan büγaŋkin / jančuqqa bir pa čä qonaχ nänï säväp / qošuχ nä jäp kildan χäχti // (10) ändikin / burun χäχtä eziš ezliš / kämbäγälčilixtä jamä ǰapa tařti kätkä̃ χäχču / muřtuχnu χäχču / (11) jä az / (12) gomindäni gaχtida / gomindaŋlamu äzalani jamä buquř kätti // (13) birsi / ǰaǰaŋ / boǰaŋ digä̃lïrmis va // (14) šu waχtïda / baǰi[725] qujsa / mäjläŋ[726] / šu vaχtïda / mäjläŋ dä qujmis // (15) ämtaχun / sä̃ bir küri mäjläŋ tapšuršä̃ disä / boǰaŋ unuγa bir kürini qušup / ǰaǰaŋ unuγa bäš jïŋ[727] qušup / šunuŋ vilä / iki jerim küri mäjläŋ sä̃ qo γan / (16) uni tapšuřmüsa / waχtïda tapšuřmüsa / bajlap apirip urup tuřyan / (17) mušundaχ dä?tlägä čidima / toχuj jeγïlïγï digäm-bir jeγïnï qüzγüγan / mušu eγïzda // (18) tuχuj jeγïlïγï digän nimä disä / gomindaŋni äskärliri / eγïzdin čijiŋǰaŋ digän birsi vulduγan / bašlïχ vuγan / šu eγïzda // (19) unu äskärleri / här küni a?lïχ / jiti sekis on a? mini čïqip jürüp / toχujlani kö sä / mujdaχ onavatqä ballani kö sä / toχujlani ildam tutuŋlä dandin / (20) tut pämisäx / a? vile qojla jürü / qamči vile uřdu // (21) šu waχtïda /

718 *iχsadi* 'its economic value', corrupted form of *ixtizadij* 'economic'. This word occurs as *iχtizad* in (7) of this text. SU *iqtizadij*.
719 *bomis* ← *bolmisa* 'if nothing, at least'.
720 *do* < Chin. 度 *du* 'a unit of measurement for angles, temperature etc.'.
721 *ašliχ poŋkiti* goes back to SU *ašliq ponkiti* 'grain distribution center; grain shop'.
722 *dä qujmismu* < *däp qojmismu*.
723 *mäligaǰi* personal name, Murtuq pronunciation for Mäŋlig Haji; *qonaǰi* personal name, Murtuq pronunciation for *Qurban Haji*.
724 *moγiči* ← *moγičä*.
725 *baǰi* 'tax' < Per. *bāc* 'duty, tax, tribute', SU *baj*.
726 *mäjläŋ* < Chin. 買糧 *mai-liang* 'tribute-grain'.
727 *šiŋ* < Chin. 升 *sheng* 'a unit of dry measure for grain' (= 1 litre), OT *šiŋ*.



(37) In this Singgim Rural District there used to be one hundred or two hundred karez. (38) Now people dig wells in the gravel deserts with new methods, leading all the water into canals and block the water by doing so. (39) Naturally, the karez dry out since the ground water rises to the surface. (40) This being so, all the karez have stopped production. (41) Now people hardly grow watermelon and sweet melon due to the lack of water, but they used to grow them before. (42) We used to grow watermelon and vegetables when we were young, now we don't grow sweet melon, and all the people are busy with grapes. (43) The income from the grapes became very high here. Some families usually earn eighty thousand *yuan* and some even earn a million *yuan*. (44) Very poor families of two people earn four or five thousand *yuan*, but usually they also earn about ten or twenty thousand. (45) Wheat could not cover annual expenses since you have to pay for electricity. (46) I think one kilowatt-hour of electricity costs more than fourty *fen*, this is why we went to grapes. (47) The price of wheat is low, but its expenses are high. (48) I think one kilogram wheat now costs eighty *mao*[728] or ninety *mao*. (49) Only ten *küri* wheat is produced from a one *mu* field. (50) If we count one *küri* as fourty *jin*, eight hundred *jing* of wheat is produced (from a one *mu* field) all together. (51) It (wheat) also needs manure and water. (52) Wheat has to be watered four times. (53) Since this was the case, people shifted to grapes. Now the government is also encouraging this. (54) The [Government] said: "Grow more grapes, we will take responsibility for your grain." (55) Individuals and grain distribution centers transport grain and flour from northern Xinjiang without waiting for our request. (56) We buy and eat many sorts of flour.

58. The Murtuq "Chicken Rebellion"

(1) Compared with before the Liberation, a farmer's living standard is fairly high (now). (2) For example, there were two rich people here during the Guomindang era. (3) One of them was Mäligaji, the other one was Qonaji of Tötuγul. (4) They had children the same age as us. (5) Each of them controlled four or five karez, (6) cultivating about two hundred or three hundred *mu* of land. (7) But throughout the whole year they couldn't eat bread made of flour. (8) Winters they ate bread made of flour for only three or four months, but ate mixed-flour bread at most other times. (9) Their children used to play with us and they often came with a piece of bread made of corn flour in their pocket and ate mixed-flour bread very often. (10) Then, because of oppression or being oppressed, and also because of poverty, the people at Murtuq experienced a very severe life. (11) There was little land (to farm). (12) During the Guomindang era, the Guomindang also mistreated the people.[729] (13) Here there used to be the so-called Jiazhang and Baozhang, (14) who collected the tax. We used to call this tax *mäjläŋ* at the time. (15) For instance, if they said: "Amät Akhun, you should pay one *küri* in tax", the Baozhang added one *küri* to it and then the Jiazhang added five more *jin*, and in the end they

728 *mao* < Chin. 毛 *mao* 'unit of money, one tenth of a *yuan*'.
729 Original: *äzala* 'members', a shortened form for *gunši äzalïri* 'members of the commune', and does not fit the context.

bizniki bir χušnu[730] varđī / hetem[731] dā̃ / (22) šunumu tut pä dijdī / biz qojlap tutamijduq / (23) sirlap qamčı vile uřvidi / mišäni jeřvatqan // (24) mujnaχ vuγaŋkin / dajnaχsigä / čıxsəla zulum / dajnaχ ähvalla bup tuřγaŋkin / bumaj / χäq tajaχ tuχmaχnī kütürüp / eγizγızä čuškınikā̃ // (25) bä:ziliri / palgallada qoral va / bä:zisidä qoral joq / (26) tajaq tuχmaχnī / oraχnī qiliš jaŋzısīda[732] qiliš qiväp / pütün ädäm qozγulup / eγizγa čijijaŋ bašlīχ iki miŋγa jeqin ädämgä / tajaχ tuχmaχ vile čüšüp / (27) qīrıχ jättiŋji jili / mušu budaj pišīγı / mušu altinčajnī ajəγı / jaχ / jitinčaj ičidä / tajaχ tuχmaχnī kütürüp / viždan qajna ketti dā̃ / (28) viždan dā̃ qujdikä / kö:ničä e?tqanda hä / (29) viždan qa:na ketti / me:de qa:na ketti / (30) hürřä disä / hürřä dā̃ / tajaχ tŭχmaχlanī küttürüp / bir häptä jiti sekiz kün / gomindaŋ vilän ilišip / (31) a:χirı / jeti sekiz kündün kin / otturđa eγizni äkätkän // (32) ula bajraχnī čiqirip / bu qoralnı tapšuřmis dā̃ / (33) šu arlıχta berip / qorallanī ha:mısnı jīγvaldan waχtıda / andin / tuřpan ätrapidin aχ vajraχnī[733] kütürüp / čijijŭlla[734] kā̃ qaldu // (34) tüŋgalla dā̃ qujmis ämdi / čuŋla šu gā̃ni qilduγu // (35) mušu tüŋgalla kevatqaŋkin / bizgä jařdäm kevatqā̃ čiqi va däp / jeqilla kä qaγanda / (36) jeqinliš qaldī digändä / äŋkin / waq waqla qilišnī ča?qaŋkin / ädämläni / ǰannī aγəsïnī qip qašmamsı[735] dā̃ / (37) äŋkizä / qačıdïnī[736] qečip / mušu bizni mäjlıdilla alti jeti ädäm qurban bup / ülüp tügüdi / (38) majnaχ vup / hič bumaj / (39) toχuj jiγiliγi digā̃ šu // (40) tuχujlani tutuväp unmuγaŋkī / viždan qajna kit / a:χirī dašu eγizγa tigip // (41) änzä / bir häptä bisilγandikin / šu juřtnı boǰaŋleri / ǰaǰaŋleri šä:gä čaqirip / bulanı / čijijün bizgä qoral atqā̃ kim? / bašlīχ vuγan kim? / šunī tep piriŋlä / digäŋkin / (42) mujdaχ ařlav jörüp / bizni jävatdam-boldi däp / bo:maj / juřtnı tašlap / (43) šu waχtıda / bir jerim miŋ / iki mïŋdin ařtuγaraq adäm / qoral vilän ašu γulǰıγa / äχmäča qasïmnï jinγa kitnı däp / mïltïχnï äp / juřtnu tašlap / γulǰŭγa kässä vuldu // (44) γulǰŭγa kätkädin kin / andïn qa:γənï χojäsä / muřtuχnu ädımigä qa mamdu / (45) bu gomindaŋla andïn / änzä / γalǰırlıšıp / andïn čiqip šu eγizγa / bizgä qoral atqan kim däp / mujnaχ qip/

730 *χušnu* 'neighbour' ← *χošna*.
731 *hetem* personal name <Ar. *et* + 1sg POSS. Personal names of such a composition mostly used for children in the Turfan area, but in the ironic sense in the southern dialects.
732 *jaŋzısıda* 'in the shape of …', *jaŋza* < Chin. 樣子 *yang-zi* + 3d person POSS + DAT.
733 *vajraχ* ← *bajraq* 'flag'.
734 *čijijün* < Chin. 起義軍 *Qi-yi-jun* 'rebelled army'.
735 *qašmamsı* 'wouldn't you escape' ← *qačmamısdn*.
736 *qačıdïnï* ← *qačıdïγənï* (< *qačıdïγan* + 3 POSS).



collected two and half *küri* of tax. (16) They used to tie one up and beat one if one didn't pay it or didn't pay it on time (17) Unable to endure such sufferings, a rebellion called the "Chicken Rebellion" took place at the mouth of the river. (18) Let me tell about the "Chicken-Rebellion". At the mouth of the river there was a military official of the Guomindang named Qi Yingzhang.[737] (19) His soldiers used to come every day riding seven or eight or ten horses and ask the children playing there to immediately catch all the chickens (they saw). (20) They often ran after us on horseback and beat us if we didn't catch any chickens for them. (21) At that time we had a neighbour named Hetem. (22) They also asked him to catch chickens for them, but we were not able to catch any, however much we ran. (23) They chased and whipped him and wounded his head.[738] (24) Since the situation was like this and since such things often happened and one was oppressed when one went outside, people had no patience anymore and went to the mouth of the river carrying sticks and clubs. (25) Some people, (namely) the hunters had weapons but some of them didn't. (26) People made sickles in the shape of a sword and everyone came to the mouth of the river carrying sticks and clubs and rebelled against about two thousand soldiers led by Qi Yingzhang. (27) It was the wheat ripening season of 1947, at the end of June, no, in July. They came carrying sticks and clubs claiming: "Our conscience (*wïžda*) is seething!" (28) It was called conscience if we use old word, isn't it? (29) [People] shouted: "Our conscience is seething! Our hearts (lit. chests) are burning!" (30) Calling "Attack! Attack!" they fought with the Guomindang soldiers for a week, about seven or eight days. (31) At the end, after seven or eight days they controlled the mouth of the river. (32) They raised a (white) flag telling us: "We will hand over the weapons." (33) Exactly at the time when they intended to collect the weapons, suddenly the rebellion army came from the direction of Turfan raising white flags. (34) We just call them Dungans, old people told us thus. (35) Since the Dungans were coming, the people thought that they had come to help them and they came close. (36) They came close and cut [our people] with swords. People wanted to save their lives calling: "Escape!" (37) Those who could escape escaped. Just in our village six or seven people died, became victims. (38) It was so, since they had no other way. (39) That was the so-called "Chicken-rebellion". (40) The people's conscience seethed because [the Guomindang soldiers] endlessly caught chickens and finally the people attacked the mouth of the river. (41) It was over in a week.[739] Qi Yingzhang called the Baozhangs and Jiazhangs of the villages and questioned them: "Who fired upon the rebellion army and us? Who was the leader? Find them for us!" (42) People moved around the village in fear of being killed [by Guomindang]. They had no chance and left the village. (43) At that time, about one thousand five hundred or more than two thousand people said: "Lets join the side of Ahmatjan Qasimi", left the village and went to Ghulja bringing their weapons. (44) Since they (the fighters) left for Ghulja, those who stayed at Huoyanshan and Murtuq suffered. (45) The Guomindang soldiers ran

737 *Qi Yingzhang* consists of family name *Qi* and military title *Yingzhang* 'battalion commander'.
738 The informant shows his head.
739 Original: *bir häptä bisilγandikin* the definite meaning is unclear.

(46) ketaləɣalla / šu qorali vala kitip / qoral joχ qa ɣallani tutup āčušup / čepip ö türüp / juŧtni najti parakändä sävatti // (47) nuřyun ädämlä tügä ketti // (48) abdiraχma tiŋǰaŋ dǟ qujmus / abdiraχma mujti / šuniki inilirmu / iki inisni šu gomindaŋ jävatti // (49) äm / ulamu šu armijä vilän billä miŋip / toχsunnu nerisiɣa / koǰej digäj jä gä vaɣav-vaχtida / mušu qalmaχlani mäjlisigä baɣav-vaχtida / aldida gomindaŋ nuřyun adäm barkǟ // (50) adäm tusuvaɣandikī / šä dä bir uruš vop / (51) qaš qaš vo kitip / bir qismisi / bir jerim miŋdäk ädäm / munu eɣiz vilä miŋip ütü kitip / (52) andin / bir qismisi ta qilip / bir qismisi qaš qašla vilä / bäziliri qajtip jeni käp / (53) šu qajtip jiti kägällani / šu gomindaŋlazä jävatti // (54) ämdi / gomindaŋɣa išlävatqǟ boǰaŋla va demis / (55) šu boǰaŋla / palanči qeči ketkǟ jini käldi / pustani qeči kätkǟ jini käldi / däp / (56) šula arqəliχ / e ti pägaŋkin / ula tutuväp / nuřyun ädämlani jävatti // (57) majdaχ vop / qiriχ toquzunči jili ǰefaŋ[740] čiχti / ulanimu tügütivattiɣu //

740 *ǰefaŋ* < Chin. 解放 *jie-fang* 'to liberate', but it is used as a noun in this context, clearly standing for 解放軍 *jie-fang-jun* 'Liberation Army'.



wild and they came to the mouth of the river, asking: "Who fired on us?" They (continuously) did this. (46) Those who had weapons left and were able to, escaped. The Guomindang captured those who had no weapons and killed them and made a lot of trouble in the village. (47) Many people died. (48) There was a person here called Aburahman Tingzhang, namely Abdurahman Mujti, the Guomindang killed[741] his two brothers as well. (49) They had also left with the troops and arrived at a place farther away than Toxsun (town), namely a place called Kojey,[742] and specifically to the Qalmuq's village. There they found many Guomindang soldiers (waiting them). (50) Since [the Guomindang soldiers] had trapped the people there, there was a battle. (51) People escaped and escaped. About one thousand five hundred people escaped through the mouth of the river, (52) but some of them were separated. Some of them escaped and some of them returned here. (53) The Guomindang killed those who returned. (54) Here the Baozhangs worked for the Guomindang. (55) The Baozhangs informed [the Guomindang] saying: "So-and-so has escaped, but now they have come back." (56) Through them, because they gave information, the Guomindang captured and killed many people. (57) Because of this, in 1949 the Liberation Army came and wiped them out [the Guomindang soldiers], too.

741 Original: *jävatti* 'ate up'.
742 Original: *koǰej*, it is mostly known as *Korǰäj* and located between *ǰilɣa Bulaq* and *Borǰaj* in Toxsun.

10 verl. an.../am:..
12 Bubi/Sign.-Dr.
13 Vermisst
14 Verlust
15 SSTO lt. Ve
16 unklar (Clea
17 kurz verl.
20 Signatur00
21 Jahrgang0
22 Band/Heft(
23 im Neuzug
24 Umstellung
25 Bd./Jg. erg
30 Umzug Ma
31 Bauarb. M
32 Defekte ir
33 nur als Fi
34 zu umfar
35 verl.im M
36 nicht ber
SBB
P|K
holbereich

## 5.7 Texts from Qara Ghoja

### 59. pärəŋlä

(1) ƒozi pärəŋ digällä töt oɣul / (2) birinčisi / sadiχ pärəŋniŋ balәsï sawut pärəŋ / (3) sawut pärəŋni a qıdïn / tüjüt pärəŋ / (4) tüjüt pärəŋni a qıdïn / tahïr pärəŋ / (5) tahïr pärəŋni a qıdïn ƒozi pärəŋ / töt oɣul / (6) töt oɣuldin / sawut pärəŋniŋ balәsï ɣuǰabdul äpändi / (7) tüjüt pärəŋni balәsï / jügatam[743] / (8) tahïr pärəŋni balәsï / qadïr atam // (9) dadәmla on ikki muqamnï eǰtidan ädämläkänduq /(10) ƒozi pärəŋ dä qujdikän / (11) usta / közgä čeliqi kätkinni qildanni / paransijädiki[744] pärəŋ däp qujdikä / (12) ƒozi pärəŋ disä / mušu tuƒpan vilajätni ädimi hämmisi tonujdu / (13) ƒozi naɣïƒči disïmu tonujdu / (14) pärəŋ digänni / nädä jürüp bilmä / (15) dadam maŋɣa däpägän nimä ämäsmu / unï / (16) u ädämlä / közgä čeliqi ketkinni qildu / (17) böz tuqujdu / mata / (18) matanï ƒäŋ tašqa[745] bujap kijdan vaχlakänduq / u waχlada / (19) dadam naɣïƒči / (20) dadimla / toχsän jašqa kiƒi qaɣïčä / ketmänni sapәɣïnï tutmaj / ojnapla alämdin kitiptu / (21) nimä disä / (22) on ikki muqamni e tip kägändikin // (23) ütkändä / buƒhan šehidilä kep / dadamni mušu jezïɣa ekiƒip / e tquzup on ikki muqamnï / (24) mušu / lojuŋ[746] digäm-biƒmigä ep / (25) u gaχlada / lojuŋ digänni bilmejmiz / (26) gä qïɣandikin / a qәɣa janduƒup qïɣandikin / lojuŋkän digändikin / lojuŋkän däp bilivatïmïz / unï / (27) ƒesimisi ba / dadamniŋ / (28) saqal mijägičä / (29) dadam atmiš töt tügä ketkän / (30) anam ülü kitip / dadam ikimiz altï jetti jil ja yuz qaɣan nimä / (31) χumaƒ keqasa / legänni čep e tidïɣan / (32) maŋɣa kozilanï jipip / čalä / čalä disä / ča maptimä / (33) sekkiz jaš / toquz jaš vaqliƒim čeqi vaƒkänduq / (34) ämdi / biƒ tojɣa naɣƒïnï ča sa / ikiz[747] kej / učuz kejɣa čevatqaŋkin / (35) dadam šu kämlädä / mušunuŋdimmu busüma naj jejdan qi qujaj / bunï däp / äŋgis tatip / ügtitaŋɣa[748] kiƒivikänduq // (36) tujuqqa vasa / toχnijaz qap däp biƒ ädäm ba / (37) qap dimisä bilmäjdu / (38) dadimla vilä billä qïɣalla ülü ketti / (39) biƒsimu qa midi / haziƒ / (40) pejzul qušqaš / jen biƒsi hejt daχan / (41) mejinda biƒ adäm ba / akim daχan dä qujdu / unï / (42) pakaƒlïɣdin daχan dä qujdu / unï / (43) jügatam üš vilajät inqilavïɣa berip / äχmäjan qasimini a qïɣa kiƒgän nimä / ula / (44) üš vilajät inqilavida uƒuš qip / (45) jülgatam päligan / u najti usta päligankänduq / (46) mamut waj üš vilajät inqilavïdin käp / (47) paligallani qišqiƒip / (48) oƒus bizniki juƒtumuza besip čikävatidu / (49) silä palgalla kučüŋlänï kösütüŋlä / mišägä / (50) digändikin / buldu däp / u palgallani jïɣip / (51) äššaɣa käqaɣav-vaχtida[749] / mušu üstündä / jaŋtuƒ däp bir potej vaƒikänduq / (52) šu potejgä uƒus kiƒivap / miltïχni čiqïƒïšïɣa / šu tüšükkä oχni kiƒgüzäviƒiptäk // (53) bu juƒtnu ičigä kiƒgili vomiɣidäk / däp

743 *jügatam* comprises of personal name *jüg* (< *jügül* 'support') and *atam* 'my father; my uncle', here the latter only denotes 'my uncle'.
744 *paransijädiki* 'in France', *paransijä* 'France' < Rus. *frantsja*, SU *fransijä*.
745 *ƒäŋ tašqa* 'with colour-stone', here the DIR suffix clearly has an instrumental meaning.
746 *lojuŋ* < Chin. 錄音 *lu-yin* 'to record', here it refers to a tape-recorder.
747 *ikiz* < *ikki jüz* 'two hundred'.
748 *ügtitaŋɣa* < *örgätidiɣanɣa* 'in order to teach'.
749 *käqaɣav-vaχtida* < *kälip qalɣan vaχtida* 'when (they) have come close'.



### 59. The Pärängs

(1) The so-called Rozi Pärängs[750] are four brothers. (2) The oldest one is Savut Päräng, the son of Sadix Päräng, (3) next to Savut Päräng is Tüyüt Päräng, (4) next to Tüyüt Päräng is Tahir Päräng, (5) and next to Tahir Päräng is Rozi Päräng, (altogether) four brothers. (6) Among these four brothers, Savut Päräng's son is Mr. Ghujabdul, (7) Tüyüt Päräng's son is uncle Yülüg, (8) and Tahir Päräng's son is uncle Qadir. (9) Reportedly, my grandfathers were singers of the Twelve Muqam.[751] (10) My grandfather was called Rozi Päräng. (11) Those masters who imitated what they saw were called *päräŋ*, which refers to the French people. (12) If one mentions Rozi Päräng all the people of Turfan District know him. (13) They also know if one says Kettle-drummer Rozi. (14) How do I know what *päräŋ* means? (15) My grandfather explained it to me. (16) These people imitate everything that they see. (17) They weave cotton fabric, specifically coarse cotton fabric. (18) At that time, was a time people wore dresses made of coloured coarse cotton fabric. (19) My grandfather was a kettle-drummer. (20) My grandfather and others passed away playing and never held a hoe. (21) If one asks: "Why?" (22) Because they were singing the Twelve Muqams. (23) Some time ago Burhan Shähidi and others have come and taken my grandfather to the rural district and had him sing the Twelve Muqams. (24) They recorded it too, with a so-called tape recorder. (25) At that time we did not know of tape recorders etc. (26) Since it repeated what was spoken, people called it tape-recorder. Then we learned it was a tape recorder. (27) There is a photo of my grandfather. (28) His beard falls until here. (29) My grandfather died in 1964. (30) My grandmother had already died, so my grandfather and I were left alone for six or seven years. (31) He used to sing and play the copper-platter if he had the desire. (32) He would also just cover a jug etc. and said: "Play! Play!" but I did not play. (33) It seems to be the time when I was eight or nine years old. (34) Now, since people have played the kettle in one wedding for two or three hundred *koy*, (35) it is clear that at that time he intended to teach me it considering: "Let me make him a person who could at least eat by doing this." (36) If you go to Tuyuq there is a person called Toxniyaz. (37) Nobody knows him if you don't call him Qap. (38) All those who played with my grandfather have died, (39) now there is nobody left, (40) [for instance] Sparrow Päyzul and Heyt Daxan,[752] (41) and nearby there is a person called Akim Daxan. (42) The latter was called Daxan since he was a short person. (43) My uncle Yüg went to the Three District Revolution and followed Ahmatjan Qasimi. (44) They fought during the Three District Revolution. (45) Evidently, my uncle Yüg was a hunter, a very skilful hunter. (46) Mamutway came from the Three District Revolution, (47) and called to the hunters. (48) "Russians are invading our country, (49) please you, the hunters, show your power now." (50) Since he said this (my uncle Yüg) said: "Yes!" and gathered the hunters. (51) They reached

750 *päräŋ* < Per. *farhang*, it was understood as 'French; skilful man' in Turfan. Here it is a nickname.
751 The Twelve Muqam is a most important collection classical Uyghur music, which includes 170 songs and dances, tunes, plus 72 instrumental pieces.
752 *daxan* < Ar. / Per. *du'āxon* 'soothsayer, magician', here it is a nickname.

palgalladin qo qup / a qïya janɣɨnikä / (54) uřus kiřamɨɣɨnikä / qečïp // (55) šundaq qïp / bu palgalladin mamutwaj řazi vup kitip / (56) boldï / silä nimɨla jisäŋla jäŋlä / nimɨla qïsaŋla qïliŋla / (57) siläge řuχsät däp / (58) palgallani amdan kütüp baqqɨnikänduq // (59) mušu astïnnï / silä saqlɨdiŋla / (60) silä saqlɨmɨsaŋla / bu astïnnï ořusla besïp kä qasa / biz nägä qačuřduq // (61) šu / miltiχ va tüšükkä kiřgüzäväginikänduq / (62) uřusla qo qup kitipla / šädin a qïya janɣɨnikä // (63) šunuŋki bɨř aɣinisi vařdi / abdul sajit däp / (64) hazïř ba u / tečin karïzda u ädäm / (65) mušädä[753] kisäl vop jetijdi[754] / (66) mušu biligdin bešïnï čüšämɨdi / u ädämniŋ / jülgatamniki // (67) χäʔlä / hej abdul sajit / sän nimančä qïp kitisä? / digändikin / (68) jülgakamniŋ maŋa qï qojɣan jeri ba / (69) män bu alämdä / u ädämniŋ razïlïɣïnï äkitämmejmä[755] / digändikin / (70) saŋa nimi qï qojdi? disä / (71) dašu / orusla qojlap čikägäj jädä / qaɣɨni qaštï / (72) män a qïda qaɣanda / jülgakam / abdul qasa bommajdu / (73) silä oχnï a qïya qařtïp eti tuřuŋla / mišädä bïřdäm tuřup / (74) abdulnɨ atnï ajlïya äp ekilimä / däp maŋɣandikin / (75) qaɣalla / hoj / üzäŋmu tügɨšisä / digändikin / (76) mejli / män tügäššäm / (77) ölsäkmu ikkimiz billä ülinï / däp berïp / (78) atnï ajlïya ep ekäp / ǰinimni qutqazɣan ädäm mušu / (79) bu ädäm bumɨsa / män dašulanï qulïdïla allïqačan tügä kituřdüm / (80) mušu säväptin / mäm mušu ädämni ölgɨčä biligimdin bišini čüšäřmejmä / (81) däp mušu baqqa ečüškän / öjgä ekiřgän / dalaŋɣa ečïqqan // (82) majnaq qïp / učaj biligidin bišini čüšämej baqqan nimä / (83) tügäp ketkičä / ajalïmnï dašniŋɣa četi qujuŋla / däp wäsijet qïɣan nimä / (84) u qïɣanni män töläp kitamajmä / dijiškän nimä / ula // (85) bu qupup / bu mini učaj biligdin čüšämäj baqti / (86) bunuŋ qïɣɨnnï män tölap kitamajmä däp / (87) äjalïmni mušnuŋɣa četi qujuŋla / däp vesijet qïɣan / (88) vesijet qïɣandikin / ejali unmɨɣan nimä / (89) ejali bommajdu / men tegmejmä / (90) däp šunuŋ vilän / u iš amalga ašmɨɣan nimä // (91) andaq qïp / u adäm äskäřlixtin qajtïp käp / mušu qařčuɣa vaqïdu / (92) bu / qïšni kuni digän / bäšni / onnï / jigiřmɨni tutudu / tošqannï / (93) tošqan tutu kägändikilla / u gaχtida jařma vilä / nädä nam bïřmɨni küřü paqïdu? / (94) jeziniŋ čoŋleři / haj jülgaka / biznïmu ečïχpaq / šikaɣa / digeŋkin / (95) hä jüřüŋla disä / hä däp čiqïdu / (96) čiqqaŋkin / bizäni maŋɣa vïřdu / ikkejlän čiqqan bŭsaq / (97) čoŋ qušnï / aχšamlïqqa käl / säv jejni[756] / (98) bïřni balleřiŋ vilä säv jä / dejdu / (99) ätɨsi bunumu veřdu / (100) bujnaχ berïp / qïšniŋ küni göštin aǰřatmaj / pütüj-jiziniŋ kadirleři hämmɨsi jügül atamnï üjidin čiqmajdïɣan / (101) nimä disä / ka kildan[757] ädäm däp / (102) kikiřdäkkä jaɣ vosa / šägä jügürdïɣa iš / (103) šundaq ötkä ädämlä / u jülgatam // (104) dadam bŭsa / dabaja digendek / näɣmɨ qïp ötkä nimä / (105) jen bir uɣul qadiř digän kařizči / (106) u karïz čepïp utkän nimä / (107) a sïm digän / hemmɨstïn kičigi uqup / qařɨmajda nečči jil čoŋ kadiř vop išläp / tüge ketti // (108) atam bɨř miŋ toquz jüz otuz jettinči jili mälimčilik qïptu / šoǰaŋniŋ[758] däptiřdin čiχti / (109) aɣan maʂi / nečinǰi jili χizmätkä qatnašqan /

753 *mušädä* < *mušu järdä* 'at this place'.
754 *jetijdi* < **jetip edi* < **jatip erdi*.
755 *äkitämmejmä* < älip ketä almajmän.
756 *säv jejni* < *sälip jejni* 'lets boil it and eat it'.
757 *ka kildan* < *karɣa kelidïɣan* 'useful'.
758 *šoǰaŋ* < Chin. 校長 *xiao-zhang* 'head of a school'.



the lower part (of the city), at the upper end there was an artillery pad called Yangtur. (52) Russians occupied it, and raised their weapons, and (Yüg) immediately shot a bullet right through a gun hole. (53) (The Russians) retreated fearing the hunters and they thought: "It is impossible to enter this country." (54) Obviously, the Russians were not able to enter and retreated. (55) For this Mamutway was very grateful to the hunters. (56) "Well, eat what you want to eat! Do what you want to do! (57) It is permitted to you." (58) He said this and took care of them well. (59) (He said:) "You kept the lower part. (60) If you had not kept it the Russians would have invaded, where could we have escaped?" (61) Reportedly, he shot (a bullet) through the gun hole where a weapon was, (62) the Russians were afraid and retreated. (63) [Yüg] has a friend called Abdul Sait. (64) This person is still alive and now in Techin Karez. (65) [My uncle Yüg] laid down having become sick. (66) He (Abdul Sait) did not put my uncle Yüg's head down from his arms. (67) People asked: "Abdul, why do you do so?" (68) "My uncle Yüg has done something important for me. (69) I could not reply him for his kindness in this world", he said. (70) "What did he do for you?" they asked. (71) "At the place to where the Russians had come and driven us, the others had escaped (72) and I was left behind, my uncle Yülg said: 'We cannot leave Abdul. (73) You wait here a little and shoot behind, (74) I will bring Abdul by loading him on the back of a horse,' and then he left. (75) The others said: "Hey, you yourself will also die.' (76) 'It doesn't matter if I die, (77) let us die together if both have to die!' saying this he left. (78) He put me on the front of the horse and brought me back, he is the person who saved my life. (79) Without him I would have already died by the Russian's hand. (80) For this reason I will not put this person down from my arms." (81) He said this and brought him to this garden, brought him to the room and brought him to the foyer. (82) Doing this he took care of him for three months, not putting his head down from his arms. (83) Before his death he wrote a will. "Please join my wife to him." (84) They had told each other: "I cannot pay back what he has done for me." (85) And then my grandfather said: "He took care of me for three months not putting my head down from his arms. (86) I cannot pay back what he has done for me, (87) please join my wife to him." He made (such) a will. (88) He made this will, but his wife did not accept it. (89) His wife said: "No, I will not marry him." (90) Since she said this, this matter was not realized. (91) Then, this person (Yüg) came back from the regiment and flew hawks. (92) In the winter he catches five, ten or twenty rabbits. (93) He always catches rabbits. At that time (people survived) on groats. Where could one find bread and other things? (94) Since he always catches rabbits, respectful people of the village said: "O my uncle Yülg! Bring us hunting too." (95) He said: "Come on!" and they went. (96) If we went together, he gave something to me. (97) "Come evening, let's eat the big bird together. (98) You eat this one with your children", he said. (99) The next day he gave the (big bird). (100) Doing so, winters he never missed meat and the cadres of the whole village didn't leave my uncle Yülüg's house. (101) If you ask: "Why?" Because they considered him a useful person. (102) People run to where there is oil for the throat. (103) He is a person who lived like this, my uncle Yülüg. (104) Concerning my grandfather, as I have said before, he lived by playing music. (105) The other brother Qadir was a karez-digger, (106) he lived by dig-

(110) ellix üčinči jili tüge ketti / atam // (111) atamnï täŋ tušleri / atam uqutqam balleri šundaχ pařaŋ saɬdu / (112) u kämdä / asmanda ajřupalan učudu / disä / (113) bałła / bu ǰenï joq bɨřmä qandaq učudu? / digän / (114) ɣuǰa abdul äpändi sözlɨsä / biz heřan qaldïɣan / (115) ämdi χijal qïsaq / šu šukän dedu // (116) atam kisäl jetïp däptu / (117) maŋɣa bäš jilla ümüř viř paqqan bŭsa / guŋsändaŋni[759] bir küř paqqan bŭsam / däp / (118) tamasï najti eɣïřdi dejdu // (119) atam bɨřla oɣulkänduq / (120) üřümči jišöjändiki muqijit äpändi / atɨŋïzla miniŋ vilä täŋtüš mälimdi[760] / ɣuǰabdul äpändi / (121) billä malimčilik qïɣan / dedu // (122) jen bɨrsi pičiɣ[761] ävitävïřiptu / (123) dašu ɣuǰabdul äpändini balɨsïɣa biři qoj / däp / (124) šunda čïřajlïq qälämtuřuškin / (125) mïšägä kiptikä[762] / qulumni tutupla / amajnät tegdimu dejdu? / (126) tegdi disäm / (127) mušuni uzundin siligä atap tuřɣan / (128) nimïšqa? / disäm / (129) atɨŋïz šundaq semimi ädɨmidi / (130) mušu zamanni pulïɣa äkäsä / bɨř tümän kej pulnï / mini malkam maːš taqïtidan waχta / bɨř tümän kej pulnï atamɣa zijadä biři qujuptu / (131) mušu zamanni pulïda / bɨř tümän kejgɨ täŋ kildan pulnï // (132) atam jolda čikävitip / hej häǰäp bu pul ǰïqqu / (133) däp sanɨsa / bɨř tümän kej zijadɨdäk / (134) baɣankin / öjgɨmu kïřmej / aqɨɣa jenïp epïřip / (135) maŋɣa qančɨ pul vädiŋ? / digäŋkin / (136) hä nim boptu? / digeŋkin / (137) däptïřiŋniŋ ičigä qařa paqa / digeŋkin / (138) atam jetmiš töt kej maːš aldan ädämkenduq / šu kämlädä / (139) jetmiš töt kejla maːš čiqïptu / däptářdɨmu / (140) saŋɣa jetmiš töt kej ma šiŋnïla bïřiptimä / digeŋkin / (141) bu pulnï bädiŋ / digɨnikänduq / šädä u ädäm čuči kittu[763] / (142) šu kämlädä małkamni šunda qïɣan / (143) saŋɣa šunuŋ učün šunda däp bädim / digän // (144) män dadamnï ajlïda čoŋ vuɣan nimä / (145) atam bɨř jeřim jaš vaχtɨda tügä kätkän nimä / (146) atamni bilmejmä / män / (147) apam baːdi / (148) apam üjig kätmämdu // (149) biz bäš vala / haziř üčimiz va / (150) ikkisi atam ba čaɣda tügä kitip / bešiŋïsi män / (151) tötisi qïz / män jałɣuz bɨř oɣul / (152) hämmɨdin čoŋ ajlɨmïz tuřpan milli šipaχannï ičidä // (153) mušu baza ořta maxtäptä / ajlamnï pul tülimäj uqujdan qïp qïɣɨnikän / (154) nim däp? / disä / (155) atɨsïnï izin besï qasun / (156) ɣuǰɨ abdul äpändi digän / ořnun tolduřɣïli vommajdïɣam-mälimdi / bu / däp // (157) ašχana jilleri män kičik / (158) dadam bilä ikkimiz bɨř öjdä qalïmïz / (159) kičɨsi nä disä nim qïlimä / däp / tuχumni bɨř kojdin äp / da igiz jägä ep qujidïɣɨnikänduq / (160) dada nan disemla / čaqqïla tuχumdïn bɨřni eppiřdu / (161) bɨř aχlap-päsä jevilip / ǰimmitä vo qałmä / (162) dadam šunuŋɣa χošalkänduq / (163) jene jemä / dimejdu bu / (164) bɨřni väsämla qenaʾätlini qałdu / mušunuŋɣa / (165) jeni jemä / tojmudum disä qanda qïlmä / mäm-bunuŋɣa / däp / (166) bɨřni väsäm / šu jatqanni ičidä jetipla jävałdu / män šunuŋɣa řazi / dä kitip // (167) bɨř kičɨsi / dadam jïɣlavatïdu / (168) kičik vaχtïmda / čičän čeqïm bařikänduq / (169) dadamniŋ köznila tuttum / (170) jïɣlɨɣandäk bišarät voɣaŋkin / tussam dadam közi jaš / (171) hej dada / nim däv jïɣlajsä? / (172) bɨř iš köŋlüŋgä käldimu? / disäm / (173) köŋ-

759 *guŋsändaŋ* < Chin. 共産党 *Gong-chan-dang* 'communist party'
760 *mälimdi* < *muʾällim edi* 'was a teacher'
761 *pičiɣ* < *pičaq* 'knife'
762 *kiptikä* < *kelïptu ikän* 'He apparently came'
763 *čüči kittu* < *čöčüp ketiptu*



ging karez. (107) The youngest one called Asim studied, worked at Qaramay as big cadre for some years and died. (108) My father began to work as a teacher in 1937. It was written like this on the notebook of the schoolmaster. (109) How much salary he received and which year he began to work (are written there). (110) My father died in 1953. (111) My father's companions and the people my father taught told me the following: (112) "At that time when he said: 'Planes fly in the sky' (113) classmates said: 'How could a lifeless thing fly?' (114) We always were astonished when Mr. Ghujabdul talked. (115) If we think about it now, it was really so", they said. (116) My father became sick and said lying there: (117) "I hope (the Lord) gives me another five years of life and lets me see the communist party." (118) It is said that he had a strong desire. (119) My father was an only son. (120) Mr. Muqiyit at the medical university in Urumchi said: "Your father Mr. Ghujabdul and I were teachers of the same age. (121) We taught together", he said. (122) Someone sent me a knife, (123) saying: "Transfer this to the son of Mr. Ghujabdul." (124) It was a very nice small knife. (125) He came here, held my hand and asked: "Did the deposit reach to you?" (126) I said: "Reached." (127) "I kept it for you for a long time." (128) "Why?" I asked. (129) "Your father was a very honest person. (130) My older brother gave ten thousand *koy* more to your father[764] when he is delivering the salary unnoticed, (look), the amount equal to ten thousand in present currency. (131) You know, the money equals ten thousand *koy* in present currency! (132) Your father[765] thought on his way back: 'Strange, this money is so much.' (133) Thinking this, he counted the money and found ten thousand extra. (134) He left but returned without entering his house. (135) 'How much money did you give to me?' he asked. (136) 'What happened?' (my older brother) said. (137) 'Try to check your notebook' he said. (138) Reportedly, your father used to earn 74 *koy* salary at that time. (139) It was noted only 74 *koy* salary in the notebook. (140) 'I gave you your 74 *koy* salary' (my older brother) said. (141) 'You gave me this money', my older brother was astonished. (142) Your father did this to my older brother at that time. (143) Therefore, I have given (the knife) to you", he said. (144) I was raised by my grandfather. (145) My father died when I was one and a half years old. (146) I did not know my father. (147) I had a mother. (148) Naturally she left for her home. (149) We were five children, now three of us are here. (150) Two of them died when my father was alive, I am the fifth. (151) Four of them are girls, I am the only boy. (152) The oldest sister is at the Turfan Uyghur Hospital. (153) They let her study at the Turfan Middle School free of charge. (154) If you ask: "Why?" (155) [The government] said: "Let her continue her father's work. (156) Mr. Ghujabdul was a teacher whose absence could not be filled." (157) I was small during the Canteen Years.[766] (158) My grandfather and I shared a room. (159) (My grandfather) used to buy an egg for one *koy* and put it in a high place thinking: "Let me give it to him when he asks for bread at night." (160) He immediately took one down and gave it to me when I said: "Grandpa,

764 Original: *mini atamɣa* 'to my father'
765 Original: *mini atam* 'my father'.
766 Refers to the second half of 1960s, when in China the canteen-system was practiced.

köŋlümgä kä·mi·di / (174) nimdäp jiɣlajsä? / (175) jiɣli·mi·dim // (176) čiřaqnï jeqïp o·tuřup / dimi·säŋ män jatmajmä / (177) jeniŋɣa kiřip jatmajmä / dä / (178) däpäsäŋ jati·mä / jeniŋɣa kiřip disäm / (179) dadam / biz töt adämniŋ bala čuřliři vop / jigiřmi nečči ädäm biř arlïqtin čiqïdïɣan / (180) mušu arlïq / taŋ atqïčä išik sulanmajdïɣan / (181) äm bügüŋki küllüxtä / jigiřmi nečči ädämdin / ikkimiz mušu arlïqta qaldïɣi·nïmïz biřmu jadïmda joq / (182) jenïmda sä̃ ba / sä̃ bomisaŋ / mušu öjdä ja·ɣuz jatuřmudum[767] / digen // (183) män kičisi dadamni sigili čiqimä disä / sigili čiqařduřmajmä / (184) nimä däp? / disä / (185) dadamni čoŋ kögälligimla ämäs / (186) qo·qumä / jinidin tevřimä / däp üjigila ekiřpiřmä / (187) kündüzi ekiřpäsäm / ätisi ečiqïp tükimä / (188) u tökkälleřim / dadamni čoŋ kögän qataɣa ütü qaptu / bügünki kögän külleřimgä selištuřɣanda // (189) ašχandin jařma ekilmä / disem / unu ajlida maŋ dejdïɣan / äkä däp / (190) šu kičï jiɣlap qopqandïn kijinla / balam boldi / ba·ma / däp taza ǰugüsüɣa[768] jögäp o·tuřdu / (191) kičixligim / majdaɣ biř ǰugüɣa jögisä / ǰugunu ičigi män kiřketkendikin / (192) soq / öjni ači / (193) dadam ikkimiz ǰuguɣa jöginip o·tuřup / biř qača jami·ni ičip / (194) ikki qača jařmi·ni ep kilmä / ašχannï jendin / (195) dadam o?t qalapla tuřdu / (196) šundaq qïp öttuq // (197) biř küllägä verïp / bizmu bizä čoŋ volduq / (198) dadamma / šunda qïp pokkitila kisäl voqap / ketti / (199) dadam toqqus küj-jetip tügä ketti // (200) dadam / řaz šundaɣ kisel jatqanda / mä̃ jitiptimä / sä̃ kičik / (201) kičix vüsaŋmu[769] öjläp qujmä / (202) teš qup kitami·sam / sini jä tašla qujdan siniŋ ja aɣaŋ juχkä / (203) jä munu bala sattařɣa / didïɣan mirä·bäŋ[770] joχkä / (204) χidajimdin bašqa / saŋɣa hišnimäŋ joχkä / (205) däp / közgä tïřim tïřim jaš ep / (206) pütüm mušu öjni tä'älluq saŋa qasun / (207) öz qulum bilän duga qïp bïřmä / (208) däp dugani süsigä qïp / (209) mini dölitimni kögän / buřun tuɣulɣan balla nälädä jüřüjdu? / (210) sän kijilla biř čaɣda tuɣulu qäp / miniŋ heš biř dölitimni kömej / ǰapajimɣi·la tuɣulup / (211) bügüŋki küllüxtä / säm maŋɣa hämřa vop jitipsä / (212) qeni / naɣři·ni čep tojmu toj jügäv-vaχlïřimdiki balla? / (213) däp šundaq sözligän / (214) šunuŋdin kijin / dadam duga qïp ütti / (215) küřivatqan tuřmuš / dadamni dugasini bäřikati dejmä // (216) kiřim čiqïmmïz jama ämäs / (214) aldi ämäs / a·qï ämäs / uttuřda maŋïmis / (217) aχ jämu ba / uš mo täx va / (218) bä?š modäx aχ jä va / (219) jetti eɣiz öj va / (220) mä̃ mäxtäptä išlejmä / išči // (221) sadaqätmän bumi·sa / u jädä tuřɣuli vumajdu / (222) pütüm mäxtäpni kilitini tutquzu qojsa / (223) nimi· alimä disä / nimi· käm ijädä? //

767 *jatuřmudum* < *jaturmu erdim* 'Would I have slept?', SU *jatarmïdïm*.
768 *ǰuga* < *ǰuwa* < Per. *cuba*, SU *ǰuwa* 'fur coat'.
769 *vüsaŋmu* < *bolsaŋmu* 'even you are ...'
770 *mirä·bäŋ* 'your friend', *mirä·b* < Ar. *murabbī* 'instructor'.



bread!" (161) I became silent when he gave me a boiled egg after he had peeled it. (162) My grandfather was very happy about that. (163) "He didn't say 'I should eat more.' (164) He was satisfied if I gave him an egg. (165) What should I have done if he had said 'I am not full! I want more!' (166) He eats on the bed when I give one; I am satisfied with that", he said. (167) One night I found my grandfather crying. (168) Evidently, I was clever when I was young. (169) I put my hand on grandfather's eyes. (170) I felt he was crying and felt (his eyes) and found his eyes were tear stained. (171) "O grandfather! Why are you crying? (172) Did something hurt you?" I asked. (173) "Nothing hurt me." (174) "Why do you cry?" (175) "I'm not crying" (176) I lit the lamp and sat down. "I won't sleep if you don't tell me. (177) I won't sleep with you, tell (me)! (178) If you tell me, I will sleep with you", I said. (179) My grandfather said: "We, the children of four brothers, altogether more than twenty people used to go outside from one yard. (180) The door to this yard used to stay unclosed until dawn. (181) I never imagined the day when only we two persons would live in this yard big enough for more than twenty people. (182) You are beside me, if not, would I have slept alone?" he said. (183) I had not allowed my grandfather to go outside when he said: "I will go to the toilette." (184) If you ask: "Why?" (185) It was not only because I respected my grandfather, (186) I brought (the bedpan) to his room saying: "I am afraid, do not leave me." (187) I brought it days and took it out in the morning and emptied it. (188) He considered my emptying it a sign that I respected him; if I think about it today. (189) Before he used to say: "Go and get it!" when I said: "I will bring groats from the restaurant." (190) He cried that night and said: "All right, my child, don't go" and just sat there covering me with his fur coat. (191) I was very small, you know, I used to disappear in the fur coat when he covered me with it. (192) Inside the house was cold. (193) My grandfather and I sat there covered by the fur coat eating a bowel of groats. (194) I brought two bowls of groats from the nearby restaurant. (195) My grandfather always made the fire. (196) We lived by doing this. (197) One day, I had also grown up. (198) My grandfather suddenly became sick and left. (199) My grandfather stayed in bed for nine days and passed away. (200) When my grandfather had become very sick and stayed in the bed, I laid beside him, and he said: "You are small. (201) I will give you a girl in marriage though you are small. (202) If I cannot stand up healthy, you have no older brother to whom I may leave you. (203) You have no girlfriend to say: "This is for Sattar." (204) You have nothing other than God." (205) He said this and made his eyes moist. (206) "Let all things in this house belong to you. (207) I give them to you, I will pray for you." (208) He said this and prayed for me. (209) "You were born very late and didn't share my wealth, having been born during a severe time in my life. (210) Today you are sleeping here and accompanying me. (211) Where are the children who were together when I played kettle and travelled from wedding to wedding?" (212) He spoke thus to me. (213) After that my grandfather prayed for me. (214) I consider the life I have been sharing to be the blessing of my grandfather's prayers. (215) Our income is not bad. (216) Neither the best nor the worse, but we live at the a middle-class level. (217) We have cultivable land and three *mu* of vineyard. (218) We have about five *mu* of cultivable land (219) as well as (a house of) seven rooms. (220) I

60 semimijät vä bala
(1) mušu altɨ mejlɨdä / kim řas gä qïldu? / disä / (2) sattař / dejdu / (3) u ja ɣan etmajdu / däp χäχni qařɨšï šundaq // (4) mušu zamannï χäχliri vilän / muǰäzim kilišmejdu / (5) nim disä / (6) ja ɣɨnejtidu[771] / (7) maŋɨla jaɣɨnejssa öšlük qïmajmä / (8) bašqa ädämgä jaɣɨnessɨmu öšlük qïlimä / mä // (9) heškimgä bir močän qářzim joq / (10) balleřim bosŭma / vaj ata / däp maŋa jepišipla tuřdu // (11) bäzällä dejdu / waj mini balam eski / waj mini balam boj vemijdu / maŋɣa / (12) andaq mandaq däp / (13) balaŋ eski vosa / özäŋdin kö / (14) jen bɨřsi / sän balaŋnï halaldin nan tepïp / jidŭřüp baqmɨɣan nimä / (15) aŋala balaŋ saŋɣa nim bomajdu dejdikän / šeri'ätni kitavidɨma // (16) äm biz qïlčɨmu χäχnï häqqïnï ävalni / jävalni dejdïɣan χijal joq / (17) dŭjdä on nečči jil dŭjǰaŋ[772] vop išlɨdim / (18) juwašnï anij tapmaj / pïřinsipta baš kitidan iš vusɨma čiŋ tuřmä // (19) mäm mušu jetmiš bïřinči jili / dupigäj[773] hářkitidä / dulqun dadŭjgä guŋzodŭj[774] vop čüštüm / učaj / (20) bɨř qišta / šundaχ vop // (21) mušu šodŭjno boχučïnï tutqan ädim ämäs / män / (22) guřup bašlïɣï vŭsam / jilni aχïřsïda / sattařɣa qančɨ numuřnï beřmiz? disä / (23) sattařɣa / özi ayan numuř näččikän? / disä / (24) özi ayan numuř bɨř miŋ ikki jüz / ikki miŋ vuptu / disä / (25) hazïr ajalla ävassa / ikki miŋ / ikki miŋ üšüz[775] numuřnï / (26) pütün ämgäkkä čiqqan ädäm / mušnu däptïřdin aldïɣan numuř tuřsa / (27) buzä qandaq vuldu? (28) bɨř miŋ sekkiz jüz a sa qandaq vuldu? / (29) bunuŋɣa / ikki miŋ sekkiz jüz / hätta üš miŋni väsäkmu buldu bunuŋɣa / dejdu / (30) bunuŋɣa / üš miŋ ikki jüznï berïnï / (31) häř χil / χäq bahalap numuř bägän nimä // (32) ajalla išlɨsä / bäš numuř aldu / (33) ärlä išlɨsä / altɨ numuř aldu / (34) mušu jetmiš sekkiz / jetmiš toqquz / kapïrassijä waχtïdiki gäplä / (35) numuřɣa išlejdu / u waχlada // (36) nim dimexči? / disä / (37) šundaχ sadaqätmäm-bilä kägän nimä / (38) χäχniŋ häqqïdïn qo qqaŋɣa / bügün tuřmušum mujdaɣ bajašat / (39) balla / vaj ata däp / (40) ɣiza jisä / güšïnï pařlap pïřïp tuřdu / (41) ballanï čoŋ kögälliginiŋ alamɨtï / bu // (42) bizma / mušunčä vop / ašχanɨɣa kïřpaqqan ädämlä ämäs / biz / (43) ašχanɨda tamaq ičï paχmajmiz / (44) biz pul tapsaq / ajalnï quluɣa tutquzupla qujïmïz / (45) ajalniŋ quldïn ep χešlejmis / biz // (46) mandaɣ voɣanda / hämmɨniŋ gïpi bɨř jädin čiqqanda / ballama šu pitï ügündikä / čoŋ vuɣanda // (47) biz qanda qïsaq / ballama šunda qïldu / (48) dořajdu ämäsmu / bula / (49) män qanda qïsam / ballamu šunda qïldu däp / najti pïřinsiplïq jol tutup maŋïdan iš // (50) bäš vałdïn / bu mïjädä išlävatidu / (51) qïz vala om-bɨřdin imtan bïřïp ütkän / (52) mušu tapta / dašöni püttägän balla jüřsä / χizmät tapammaj / (53) siz qïz vałɨ tuřsɨŋïz / (54) däp / tatïp äkävepla / bazada ajallanï bïšïn išïɣa bädim // (55) bɨř jerïm jil ämäljät išlɨdi / (56) dukannï bazada ačɨmä / digändikin / (57) mäktäp püttägän diplomuŋ vamu? / digändikin / (58) ürümčigä ečiqïp / bäš aj ürümčidä mäxtäptä išlɨdi / (59) ürümči mäxtäptin qulïɣa diplomnï äkägändikin / čoŋ setirašχanɨɣa ekïřdim / (60) jüzdä qïrχ bäšlä ma'aš elïp išlättim / (61) mïšädä qasun /

771 *ja ɣɨnejtidu* < *jalɣan ejtidu* 'lie(s)'.
772 *dujjaŋ* < Chin. 隊長 *dui-zhang* 'group leader, team leader'.
773 *dupigäj* < Chin. 斗批改 *dou-pi-gai* 'fight, criticize and change'.
774 *guŋzodŭj* < Chin. 工作隊 *gong-zuo-dui* 'working group'.
775 *üšüz* < *üč jüz* 'three hundred'.



work at the school as labourer. (221) It is impossible to stay there if one is not honest. (222) They have you take all the keys to all over the school. (223) Everything is there if one wants to take it.

60. Honesty and children
(1) If one asks: "Who tells the truth in those six villages?" (2) People will answer: "Sattar. (3) He doesn't lie", people think thus. (4) I could not get along with the people of this day. (5) If one asks: "Why?" (6) They lie. (7) I not only hate it when they lie to me, (8) but they also lie to others. (9) I owe not even one *mao* of debt to others. (10) My children are devoted to me and are always calling: "Dad." (11) Some people say: "My child is bad, my child does not listen to me." (12) They say this and that. (13) [I tell them:] "If your child is bad, search for the reason within yourself. (14) Moreover, you have not taken care of your child only by earning and having them eat clean bread. (15) Therefore your child does not listen to you." It was stated so in the law of God. (16) Well, we never think: "Lets take and eat against other people's rights. (17) I worked as brigade-head more than ten years. (18) I did not treat weak people high-handedly, and kept the rules even if I had to lose my head. (19) In 1971 during the Dupigai I went to the Dolqun Brigade as a member of a working group for three months. (20) It was in the winter. (21) I never did harm to the small brigade. (22) They asked at the end of the year: "How many points should we give to Sattar?" when I was the group-head. (23) People asked: "How much has he earned?" (24) "The points that he has earned are 1200 or 2000." (25) "Now women earn 2000 or 2300 points. (26) All working people earn points from Sattar's notebook. (27) How can it be accepted? (28) How could it be nice if he earns 1800? (29) We may give him 2800 or even 3000. (30) Lets give him 3200." (31) [The points] were given according to various bases: (32) Women earned 5 points if they worked (a day), (33) and men earned 6 points if they worked. (34) This is how it was in 1978 and 1979 during the commune period.[776] (35) People used to work for points at that time. (36) If you ask: "What do you want to say?" (37) I have arrived at today living with such honesty. (38) All of my life is so rich, because I fear indebtedness to others. (39) My children call me always: "Dad!" (40) They select meat for me when they eat. (41) This is the proof of their respect. (42) We have never been to restaurants though we have become so old. (43) We never eat at restaurants. (44) If we earn money, we just have wives hold it. (45) We spend taking (the money) from the wife's hand. (46) If one has done this, if all have talked in the same way, children learn it in the same way when they become adults. (47) Children do as we do, (48) they imitate (us). (49) We always do everything according to this principle, thinking: "Children do as I do." (50) Out of five children, this one is working here. (51) The daughter passed the exam (after her graduation) from the 11th class. (52) "Now the young people who graduated university are waiting, not being able to find a job. (53) You are girl." (54) I told (her) thus, brought her back and then sent her to a barbershop

776 The highest of three administrative levels in rural areas in the period from 1958 to 1982, when they were replaced by townships.

digändin kin / (62) qïz vala bu / (63) bizgä pulla vūsa bulamdu? / däp äkävalduq / (64) uma dükinečip[777] / künigä uttuz qïřχ kejdin kemip qa majdu / (65) ǰuma külleři / atmïš jetmiš / sexsen kejma boqaldu // (66) bu ballanï ikkinči / üčünčisi da jädä / (67) ajlä ilixtiř sajmalleřni jasašqa šigirtkä väduq / unï / (68) řäŋsiz denšiläni čuvup / quřaštuřdan bu ketkän / (69) tötinčisi vilä bešinčisi uquvatidu / (70) bïřsi bijil imtan bädi / ǰuŋǰäŋgä[778] / (71) bïřsi bijil altigä ütidu // (72) ballanï uqutmïsaq / bïř sořuŋya kïřsä / qasu sořunda qa daχ paraŋ čüššä buldu / (73) uquγan ädäm / sořuŋya qařap pařaŋ saldu / (74) bügün soruŋya munu gäp sïγïdu / munu gäp sïγmajdu dejdu // (75) uqumïγïnï üziniŋ gipin qïpla / (76) nejqi ädäm gipin tïŋšavatamdu / tïŋšimajvatamdu / sořuŋya bu gäp mas kilämdu / kämämdu / bula vilä kařï joq // (77) χäχlä balleřni / χizmät čïχmïsa nim qildu? / uqutup / dejdu / (78) balənï χizmät čïχsïla uqutumiz / χizmät čïχmïsa uqutmajmiz / dejmizma / (79) toγřa ämäs / u / (80) aχ qařənï bilalïsïla boldï / bala // (81) bäzänlä / palannï balәsï χizmätkä čïχti / (82) mančï pul maš aldu / (83) tojni qačan qïlïslä? / dejdu / (84) maŋya bu mašniŋ gipin qïmaŋla / (85) balәniŋki hämmidin muhimi / äχlaq / (86) miŋ dünjanï biři qojγam-bilämma / äχli joq ädäm bïř künï tügitidu / u / (87) äqïllïq ädäm / joχnï tep χäšlejdu / äqlini ǰořup / (88) biz pulγa išini qa majmiz / (89) amdan / äχlaqlïq / bilim ba däp käsäŋla buldu / (90) toqquzüz[779] kej ma š aldikän / disäŋla / waqtlïq išla / u / (91) bilim ba däp kiliŋla / (92) män haziř qol qujmä / silägä / (93) pulum ba däp käsäŋla / män hářamgä ammajmä / u gipiŋlanï / (94) däp näččïsini silkip čiqiřavädim // (95) miŋ sät vusïma / äχlaq vūsa / χäχni küzigä čiřajlïq küřündu / (96) miŋ katta vup kessun / äχlaqï joq / bilimsiz vūsa / bäřibiř sät küřündu //

777 *dükinečip* < *dükan ečip* 'opening a store'.
778 *junjän* < Chin. 中专 *zhongzhuan* 'Middle vacational school'.
779 *toqquzüz* < *toqquz jüz* 'nine hundred'.



for women. (55) She worked one and half years (at that job). (56) She said: "I will open my own shop in town." (57) [She was asked:] "Do you have a diploma?" (58) They brought her to a school in Urumchi and she worked there for five months. (59) After that she brought back a diploma from the school in Urumchi and I brought her to a big barbershop. (60) I had her work there earning about 45 per cent (of a normal) salary. (61) They said: "Let her leave here." (62) I said: "She is a girl. (63) Is it enough if we only have money?" and we brought her back. (64) She opened a shop and earns not less that 30 or 40 (*yuan*) everyday. (65) Fridays she earns 60, 70 and 80. (66) The second, (sorry), the third child is also there. (67) We gave him as an apprentice for repairing family electrical appliances. (68) He was able to disassemble and install black and white television sets etc. (69) The fourth and fifth children are studying. (70) One of them attended the test for vocational-technical high school this year. (71) One of them enters the sixth class this year. (72) If we do not have the children study, (they do not know) what should one say if they appear in public places? (73) Educated people talk suitably to the circumstance. (74) They know this fits today's gathering but that talk does not. (75) But uneducated people always repeat their own opinion. (76) They do not care whether the opposite side is listening to them or whether his talk is suitable to the circumstance. (77) Some people say: "Why should one send children to school if they could not find a job?" (78) Could we say: "We send children to school if they can find job but we do not send them to the school if they cannot find a job?" (79) This is not correct. (80) It is enough if children know black from white (= good and evil). (81) Some people say: "Such-and-such a person's child found a job, (82) and he earns such-and-such a salary. (83) When do you hold wedding ceremony?" (84) "Do not talk to me about salary. (85) The most important thing for a child is morals. (86) Whatever wealth you offer, a stupid person spends it within a day. (87) Wise people could earn everything that they did not have, just using her/his intelligence. (88) We do not simply believe in money. (89) You may come saying 'I am a moral child', (90) if you say '(my child) earns 900 *koy* salary', I consider it temporary. (91) Come here saying: "(My child) has knowledge." (92) I will be convinced immediately. (93) If you come here saying: "I have money", I don't care for you. (94) I have said this and sent some people immediately away. (95) Despite being ugly, people see one as beautiful if one has morals; (96) One would be considered ugly without morals and knowledge, though being very beautiful.

61 haziřqï jašla

(1) haziřqi jaš vallada viždaj-joq / (2) bɨřni bɨř nahäq anäj tapsɨma / ǰimla tuřdu // (3) ütkälladä / bɨř ädämdä bɨř tümän kej eliši bosa / elišimnï bämämsä disä / ä·tä kä dejdu / (4) ä·tɨsi käsä / jen pul joq / (5) hej / biřämsä bämämsä? / (6) ägář bä mɨsäŋ / χutnuŋnuŋ qïzïl ištinni bɨř kün kijpäsäŋ / män bɨř tümän kej pulnï a majmä / dejdïγan // (7) haziř / bir močänni vämɨsɨma kijvatidu / bu jašla // (8) kičix vaχlɨřmïzda / oγul valɨγa qïzïl bɨřmɨdä pajtimɨmu qïpämejdïγan / (9) haziř qïz vallanï ištinni oγul valla kijgän / qïzïl bɨřmɨläni / (10) šundaχ vuγandikin / bu uγul valəda viždan joχ vo kittu // (11) bɨřni anej tapsɨma / bɨřni biři uřuvasɨma / kařï joχ vop kitpaγɨnï mušunuŋdinmiki däp / (12) majnaχ nim qïp // (13) mamma qïzïl bɨřmɨdä hešnim qïpämejmä / (14) pajpaχla / ištallanïγu kigäzmejmä / (15) taza / ištan čapannïŋ qïp qïzïlni kijdïγalla tuřmamdu // (16) kidan iš vūsa / kijgüzüřdi konəla / (17) šu bɨř jäři ba //

62 bɨř toj

(1) dadɨmlanï jenda tojlada jürüp / munda bɨř išni aŋnïγan nimä / (2) qïz vala täřäp e·tiptu / qïz anɨsï / (3)

qïznï qïz tuγuř /
kimni kim tuγuř? /
ajniŋdäk bɨř čolpannï /
miniŋdin bïläk kim tuγuř? /

(4) ejtivikänduq / jigitni anɨsï qupup / (5)

bajla saluř imařät /
čořɨsigä oquřnï /
kimlä tuγsa tuγmamdu /
teki maŋnaj / süli joq čoquřnï /

(6) šädä tugɨgän toj šundaγ bijit e·tišïp jiniši kitiptu / (7) jigitniki atɨsï täřäpi / šu mäjlɨgä käp / šu küni dejdu / bügün mušu mäjlɨdin qïz valɨdin bɨřni äkitimä / (8) ä·tä bɨřni ořnūγa ikkini vïřmä / digɨnikänduq / (9) šadin bɨřsi čiqqïnikän / (10) mušu balәγa qïzïmni bädim / däp / (11) ämdi mušu zamanda / puluŋnï ätä vïřmä / disä / qïz viři qujdan ädämlä ba mu? / (12) nesigä toj qïγan nimä / (13) nimä disä / (14) šu ädämläniŋ ǰïŋlïγidin / (15) maŋγa bïřidu däp / gäpkä eγïzγa pářwa qïγan //



61 Today's young people

(1) Today's young people have no conscience. (2) They keep silent when someone treats someone else high-handedly. (3) Before, if one owed ten thousand *koy* and was asked: "Aren't you going to repay your debt?" he will say: "Come tomorrow." (4) If you come the next day and he has still no money: (5) "Hey, are you going to repay or not? (6) If you don't repay, I will forget this ten thousand *koy* if you just wear your wife's red underpants for one day", we used to say so. (7) Today the young people put on (red underpants) immediately for one *mao*. (8) When we were small, (parents) used to not prepare even a foot-cloth for boys from things of red colour. (9) Now boys wear girl's trousers, the things of red colour. (10) Since it has become so, these boys are left with no conscience. (11) This might be the reason for the carelessness about who bullies and beats people. (12) They do this. (13) I do not allow (my son) to wear clothes of red colour. (14) I not only don't allow him to wear trousers, but also socks (of red colour). (15) There are many (boys) who wear red trousers and coats. (16) If it were good to (wear) such things the old people would have worn them. (17) Certainly they had their reasons.

62 A wedding

(1) I've heard such things (as follows) when attending weddings with my grandfather and others. (2) The bride's side, namely the bride's mother recited thus. (3)

Girl gives birth to girl,
Who birthed whom?
The star like that,
who may be born other than me?

(4) Soon after she has recited thus, the bridegroom's mother stood up. (5)

Rich people build buildings,
(arranging) a crib around it.
Doesn't matter who birthed
this buck-forehead, ugly, pitted face guy.

(6) Then, the wedding having come to the end, was broken up due to the recitation of such poetry. (7) The bridegroom's side came to the village on the same day: "Today I bring a girl from this village. (8) Tomorrow I will pay two for one", they said. (9) Reportedly, someone came out, (10) claiming: "I give my daughter to this boy." (11) These days, is there anyone who would give his daughter in marriage if one says: "I will give you your money tomorrow"? (12) [That person] held the wedding for credit. (13) If you ask why, (14) it is due to people being trustworthy. (15) They accepted the words, believing that (they) will pay them[780] back.

780 Original *maŋγa* 'to me'.

## 5.8 Texts from the Turfan city

### 63 qasim äpändi

(1) män äsli turpanda tuyulup öskän / (2) bir mozdoz a'ilisidä dunjaya kägän / (3) üzäm äsli mozdoz // (4) män kičigimdilla / sän'ätni jaχši kögälligim üčün / kičigimdin na:jti šoχ čoŋ voyan / (5) mozdozluq qilïvatqan ǰaǰïmda / jayašlanï uruvojnap[781] / čiläxlänï uruvojnap / mujdaq ritimya keltürüp / üzämniŋ muzikiliq sizimimmi ašuryan ädäm män // (6) sekkiz on jaš waχlïrïmdïn tatïp / šundaq išlaya qïzïqïp kägän / (7) män altï jaš vaχtïmda / apam tügäp ketkän / (8) medrisidä uquyunum bilän / bajlaniŋ ballïrya tamaq tešip / ajnaq uquyan ädäm män / (9) šulaniŋ tamәyïnï teši pirip / maŋyïčilik bir qača tamaqnï bäsä / šädä jävep ajnaq qip ötkän // (10) älliginǰi jillaya kägändä / šu dävirdiki atmiš jaš / jetmiš jaš muqamčilaniŋ jïyïlïšlïri / pa'alijatlïri / mäšräplägä özlügümdin qatnišip / ajindaq jürüjdïyan / (11) u waχlada / šepkilä jeŋi bäna voyan / (12) šepkiläni kijip / bir peqerap usul ojnïsam / šäpkä čoŋ voyallïyï üčün / šäpkä bešimda ajlïnip ajlï kejnigä qarap qaldïyan / (13) nimï üčün miniŋ sizimim bu derijidä tereqqi qï qaldï dïsä / (14) kičigimdin män nä:sä kirexni čeqïšturuv ojnap / kütäxni kütäkkä uruv ojnap / bir näsigä kältürüp / miniŋ ritim udarïya boyan sizimim küčejgän / (15) mini ärtis qip qojyan äšu sizim // (16) ärtis digändä sizim bommïsa / kitivatqan ritimini noχtilap turïdïyan kalla bommïsa / ärtis bulamajdu // (17) hämmä adämniŋ qol kütägüsi kiłdu (18) / likin sizim bommïsa / qol kütügäm-bilälla bommajdu // (19) ümäxtin jeni čiχtim / (20) mimalla käsä // (21) u balla kičik kägän / ulaya nazurkum vä bašqa usullani ügütüp // (22) män oquyan bosam teχimu jaχši vulurdi[782] / (23) oqumïsammu / oquyam balla lam jim dimejdu // (24) män atmiš sekkiz jašqa kirdim / (25) hunä jïq / (26) quruχ gä? qïsammu / birä sa'ät gä? qip // (27) üš balam ba / bunuŋdin / (28) hämmïsi qušulup bäš / (29) čoŋï qïrq sekkiz jašlaya kirgändu // (30) näv:rïlä jïq / (31) etïni bilmejmä / bäzilïniŋ / sirtta ojnap jürgän ädäm boyandikin // (32) bultur / juŋǰaŋ jitäj[783] mini asas qilip / lüxčüŋgä vaduq / (33) ojlïmïyan jädin čiqïrïvatqan gäp / u mäšräpni // (34) lüxčüŋgä beri qasam / qasim eziz digen ädäm kiptu däp / aχ jaylïq χutun besip kettïyu / bir mallïni // (35) bir karvatta o tasam / jigirmi ottuz ajal / biz qiz vala vaχtïmizda kägäm-bu ädäm / däp / karvatnï qoršap kitidïyan büyandikin // (36) ärlä nejinda // (37) bir küzi kömejdïyan / qaro vop qayam bir ädäm / qasim eziz kiptu däp / bir nev:rïsi keptikän / (38) män jaš vaχtïmda / qasim eziz ke qasa / kič: kündüz jürüdïyan nizaχun isimlik bir ädäm / ašu ädäm čiqip qulumnï tutuväp / bir sa'ättäk qujupämäjdu // (39) siniŋ vilä amda ütkän män / däp / (40) sili mäm-bilän billä mušu jiz:ni ar:lap jürs:lä / män silini bir tijin pul χäšlätmäj / molčuluq dast:χan üstidila baqalajmä // (41) miniŋ bir namïm ba / (42) qasim akam bilä maŋsaq ašqa ölmejmiz / dejdïyan // (43) bir jälägi beri qasam / mašindin čüškičilixla üš töt adäm aldïmya jit kildu / (44) χudajïm / uqumusammu χälγ ičidä mušu hürmätni biri qujuptu / (45) härqandaq jägä kirsäm / gipim ütüp turïdu // (46)

781 *uruvojnap* ← *urup ojnap*.
782 *jaχši vulurdi* 'it would be very nice', SU *jaχši bolatti*.
783 *juŋjaŋ jitäj* < Chin. 中央一台 *Zhong-yang yi-tai* 'Central TV 1, CCTV 1'.



### 63. Mr. Qasim

(1) I was born and grew up in Turfan. (2) I was born to a shoemaker's family. (3) Actually, I myself was a shoemaker. (4) Since I have been interested in art from my childhood, I grew up as a lively boy. (5) I improved my music sense by striking wooden pieces, water pails etc. and following certain rhythms at the place where I made shoes. (6) I have been interested in such things since the age of eight or ten. (7) My mother died when I was six years old. (8) I studied at madrasa, but I studied by delivering foods for rich people's children. (9) I transported their foods and (ate) if they gave me a bowl of food, I lived so. (10) Around 1950, I began to attend feasts, activities and gatherings (organized by) old Muqam masters of sixty or seventy. I used to spend my time in this way. (11) At that time, the peaked cap newly appeared. (12) If I danced, turning around wearing a peaked cap, it would turn on my head since it was big (for me) and always the front side went to the back side. (13) If one asks: "Why is your (music) sense developed to such a degree?" (14) My sense of rhythm increased because I used to play various objects by striking them on each other from my childhood, playing wooden pieces by just striking them together. (15) The thing that made me an artist is this sense. (16) If one has no sense and one's mind doesn't react to such rhythms one cannot become an artist. (17) Everybody wants to raise their hands (= to dance). (18) But if (s)he has no sense, only raising the hands is not enough. (19) I left the dance ensemble. (20) [They call me back] when guests come. (21) Young people came later and I taught them Nazurkum and other dances. (22) It would be better if I had studied. (23) Despite having not studied, the young people who have studied keep silent (when I talk). (24) I am 68 years old. (25) I have many skills. (26) Even when I talk freely, I may talk about one hour. (27) I have 3 children from this (wife). (28) Altogether (I have) 5 children. (29) The oldest one presumably is about 48 years old. (30) I have many grandchildren. (31) Some of them I don't know by name since I used to play outside. (32) Last year the Central Television Station 1 (organized a programme) giving me a leading role and we went to Lükchün. (33) Unexpectedly, people organized a (very interesting) gathering. (34) I went to Lükchün and found so many ladies with white scarves gathered at the village saying: "Qasim Eziz has come." (35) If I sit on a bed, always twenty or thirty women gather at the bed saying: "This person came here when we were young girls." (36) Men stayed over there. (37) A blind man who had lost his one good eye sent his grandson saying: "Qasim Eziz has come." (38) A person called Niyaz Akhun caught my hands and did not let go for about one hour stating: "When I was young, I used to spend days and nights when Qasim Eziz came here occasionally." (39) He said: "I used to get along with you very well." (40) If you travel in the villages with me, I may serve you very costly foods without you spending a penny. (41) I had an epithet, (42) it was said: "If we travel with Mr. Qasim, we will not die from starving." (43) When I go anywhere, three or four people appear waiting until I get out of the car. (44) God gave me such respect among (our) people though I have not studied. (45) My words work wherever I go. (46) I am a person who has shaken hands with Jiang Zemin twice. (47) Once he

män ǰaŋzimin bilän ikki qetim qul elišqan ädäm / män / (47) bir qetim ǰuŋnänχäjdä[784] qubul qilγan vaχtida / (48) bir qetim turpaŋγa kägäv-vaχtida // (49) kijin li lenčiŋ kägäv vaχtida / qučaγlap // (50) χäχlä djänšidä kürüp turγandikin / (51) bizniŋ qasim eziz däp / turpan χälpi bizä päχirlindiγan oχšajdu // (52) mušu tapta kučiγa čiχsam / saraŋmu kildu aldimγa / (53) saraŋlamu saq ädämdäk vo qaldu / (54) qa:simaka / qa:simaka däp kildu / jenimγa / (55) šulaγimu ikki eγiz čaχčaq qilip / jenimda pulum bŭsa töt bäš močän pulni tutquzup qujup ütü kitimä / (56) mejli qeri jaš / mejli bala / qasim dada / qasim dada dä kitidu / kučida / (57) šulaniŋmu bešin silap qujup // (58) miniŋdä kibir digäm-bir näsä joq / (59) biznin muqam tikistimizdä ba / (60)

täkäbbur ähligä zinhar / ässälamu äläjkum dimäk ötkür /
ulaniŋ ba:šida divä mäl'unnuŋ havasi ba /

(61) däp ašuni ejtip turup / biz ununγa ämäl qimisaq bulamdu? // (62) bu dunjada / heliqi täkäbburluq gunadin / bu allamu ötmejdu / (63) insanγu ötmejdu / allamu ötmejdu // (64) män imkan ba / üzämni härqandaq adämdin tüvän tutidiγaŋγa tirišip / (65) bu miniŋ / bir üzämniki bir alahidiligi // (66) baja bir bazaniŋ / bir šaŋni[785] ičigi kirsäm / qeri bir χutun / mijdaq bir sivätkä bir näsini aptu / (67) hej / özlä qasim äpändi ämäsmu? dejdu / (68) šu ajal qeri kittu / aq vaš / (69) hä / män šu / (70) hej / qiz vala vaχtimda ustojnap[786]-pirdiγan / özlä / däp / (71) birmunči gäp qiliši kitpardu qaraŋ / (72) tunumajdiγalla bir ädäm // (73) kučiγa čiχsam / kišilä vilä salamlišip heri qalmä / (74) bizä atiγim čiq qaldi däp täkäbburluq qisam / ä:tila χäχ mini untu qaldu // (75) mušu taptida / aχunumnu arəsiγa kirsäm / qoqmastin qira'ät qilmä / (76) mušu mičittä birqanči qetim imtan aldi / qanda qildikin däp / (77) mušu imam / qasim akam bir quran tilavät qivassun / (78) aŋnap baqini ǰama'ät / däp / (79) aŋnap baqini / aŋnap baqini / (80) uqujmämmu? / disäm / (81) uqujni / dejdu / (82) taza uzundin birni uquvataj / däp taza jukünüp uquvidim / (83) qasim äpändini birim dimisek voγidäk / dejdu // (84) män nuryun turmušlani baštin küčägän // (85) bäzilädä ajallani dorap bägin dä kitidu / (86) burun / jetmiš sexsen jašqa kirgen ajallani dorap bägäj-jälirim ba:ču // (87) u bir wäqälik / turmušni sözlajdiγan iš / (88) mäŋgü ikki adäm hajat ütimä digili vommajdiγu / (89) baller tügä kit qaldu / (90) ajalleri tügä kit qaldu // (91) mijdaχ qip / turmušlani üzäm qurašturup / (92) baštin mujdaχ küllä ütidu / däp / (93) bäzi mimalla ki qaγav-vaχtida / dorap qujdu // (94) män χäliγ ičigä čiqištin burun / män ja:γuz jädä / (95) buniki atəsiniki bir ustazi vardi / abliz tuqum däp / (96) älliginǰi jildin kijin turpaŋγa kip qujulγan / atəsiniki ustazidi / (97) bunuŋ atəsi šu waχtida šagirt vop išlävatqan / (98) čoŋ ävaz sanduqlirda naγra sunajni qujpäsä / ja:γuz jädä ustojnap ügängän ädäm män / (99) χäχniŋ arisiγa kirip ustojnimaq najti qijin kägän maŋγa / (100) boγan bommiγanni bilip turimänu / (101) üzäm čušamajmä // (102) bir kün bir bajram boγanda / eγinämni / mini tati quja dividimla / biligimni tutup tati qojdi / (103) šu otturiγa čüšü kitip / mušu kämgičä ustojnap käldim //

784 *ǰuŋnänχäj* < Chin. 中南海 *Zhong-nan-hai* name of a state hotel where the top leaders of China often receive important guests.
785 *šaŋ* 'street' < Chin. 巷 *xiang* 'lane, alley'.
786 *ustojnap* < ? *usta ojnap* 'dancing skillfully' or *usul ojnap* 'dancing'



received me at Zhong Nanhai, (48) once when he came to Turfan. (49) Later when Li Lanqing came, he (greeted me) with an embrace. (50) Since people see those things on the TV, (51) it seems that they are proud (of it) saying: "Our Qasim Eziz." (52) If I go into the street now, mad people also come in front of me, (53) but mad people become just like a normal ones. (54) They come to me and greet me: "Mr. Qasim! Mr. Qasim!" (55) I make some jokes with them too and give four or five *mao* to them, if I have money, and then leave. (56) Old and young people (naturally greet me), children also always shout in the street calling: "Grandpa Qasim! Grandpa Qasim!" (57) I touch their heads too and then continue on. (58) I have nothing to do with pomp. (59) It is told in our Muqam texts. (60)

It takes much to say: "How are you?" to arrogant people,

Around their head is the atmosphere of demons and witches. (61) We sing it thus, but is it better if we don't follow what is said in it? (62) In this world even God doesn't forgive arrogance. (63) Mankind doesn't forgive it, even God doesn't forgive it. (64) I try to put myself lower than everyone. (65) This is one of my peculiarities. (66) A while ago I (went to) a bazaar, entered a street and found an old lady with a basket. She put something in it. (67) "O! You are not Mr. Qasim?" she said. (68) That lady had become aged, and white-headed. (69) "That is I." (70) "You used to dance for us when I was a young girl", she said. (71) She talked with me a lot, you see. (72) I didn't know her at all. (73) I get tired by greeting a lot of people if I go into the street. (74) If I became arrogant due to my becoming a little famous, people would forget me tomorrow (= soon). (75) Now I recite the Qur'an without fear if I go amongst the Akhuns. (76) At the mosque they tested me several times in order to know how I would act. (77) The Imam said: "Let Mr. Qasim recite the Qur'an. (78) Let's listen to it, parishioners." (79) (All said:) "Let's listen to it! Let's listen to it!" (80) I asked: "Shall I recite?" (81) They said: "Please recite." (82) I decided to recite a long chapter, sat on my haunches and recited. (83) They said: "Better we shouldn't say anything about Mr. Qasim." (84) I have much life experience. (85) Sometimes people ask me to imitate women. (86) Before I used to imitate ladies of seventy or eighty years old. (87) That is the story, it tells about life. (88) You know, it is impossible to say: "Both of us live forever." (89) Sometimes the children die, (90) sometimes the wife dies. (91) Because of this, I portray different lives together, (92) telling them one may experience such a life. (93) Some guests imitate me when they come to visit me. (94) I (practiced) alone before appearing in public. (95) Her father (= father-in-law) had a master called Saddle Abliz. (96) He got this name after he came here in the 1950s. (97) Her father used to work as an apprentice at that time. (98) I learned dancing alone when he played (music) of kettle and clarinet with big voice boxes. (99) It was so difficult for me to dance in public. (100) Despite knowing whether I have (danced) correctly or not, (101) I didn't dare to dance (in public) by myself. (102) Once we had a feast and I asked my friend to invite me (to dance), and he invited me by holding my arms. (103) I went public at that time, and I have been dancing until today.

10 verl. an.../am...
12 Bubl/Sign.-Dr.
13 Vermisst
14 Verlust
15 SSTO lt. Ve
16 unklar (Clea
17 kurz verl.
20 Signatur
21 Jahrga
22 Band
23 im
24 U
25
15
:56
0003975447
/54107
ndysheva,Olga
Potsdamer Straße, Lesesaal Abholb

64. usul, sänät

(1) sän'ät ümäkini / män kičix waχtïmda sänaji näpisi dejdïγan / (2) u dävirlädä / usul ojnap-päsun dejdïγan gäp joqidi / (3) ajiγujunï[787] qïpäsun dejdïγan // (4) nimi üčün ajəγujunï dejdu? / disä / (5) äsli ujγur usulïda / put qädimi asas / (6) qol härkiti qušumčä / (7) mušu put kä·mis[788] / qolnï miŋ kütügäm-bilän bika // (8) bäzi mäšräplädä / bäzi oγulla / qïzla / ajalla saraŋ wo qaγan qojdäkla / lok lok lok ojnap / (9) kivatamdu put / eniŋ vilä karï joq / (10) sizim mäsilisi // (11) bu ajaq här bir čikitni kip turγanda / andïn adämniŋ bädän qol härkätliri maslïšalajdu / (12) ajaq asas boγallïγï üčün / ajiγujni dejdïγan / (13) kijïn usul dävaldi / (14) bu taza toγra bo·mïγan gäp / (15) bu usul digän bir eγiz söznuŋ mänisi najti käŋ / (16) kijin / u ajaq ujunï digänniŋ orniγa maslïšï qaldï // (17) türkijini alajli / bizgä jeqïnaraq / (18) tilimizγa ottus qïrïq pirsän jeqillïšïdu / bizgä / (19) ula nimi üčün sehnidä aγmaqtäk ojnajdu? / (20) qol päqät asas ämäs / pütün ajaq / (21) bašqa millätlädimu put asas / (22) roslamu šundaq / (23) üzimiznïŋ az sanliq millätlädima ajdaq // (24) män put ritimini asasi jättin igelliginim üčün / mäm-bir ärtis vulup jitišip čiχtim / (25) bir minut birsini aγzidin därs aŋnïγan ädäm ämäs / (26) bir kümmu uqumuγan / qara türk ädäm / (27) dini mäxtäptä uquγan / (28) uqumïγam bosammu / mušu kesipniŋ nenïnï jävatqan buγallïγïm üčün / nuryum-matirijallanï kürüp / čoŋ adämlä vilän tula sözlišip / turpanniki sänät tarïχlirni azaraq ügängäm-män / (29) šinǰaŋda χälq usulliri köp / (30) mäsilän qäšqäγä vasaq / sama / dolan mešripi dejmiz / (31) u sama supizimliqtin kägän / (32) sama digän asman / (33) čögilap putni jädin majdaq kütägänni asmaŋγa sekriduq dävayan / (34) sama salïmïz dejdu / (35) u hämmisi supi išallaniŋ herkiti / (36) biznïŋ turpaŋγa nisptätän / qäšqä χutändä supila najti äviǰ ayan // (37) seidijä χalliγimu supizim / (38) appaγ-γuǰïmu supizim / (39) lekin supizim bir birigä oχšimajdu / (40) biri mäχpi / biri ǰäʔdi vuldu / (41) bula / munu čoŋ mičitni tuŋgini / kičik mičitni tuŋgini digendekču / (42) šunuŋγa oχšaš ikki χil // (43) bizdä bir kitap ba / män nečči qata küri kettim / (44) biznïŋ sata / qalun / čaŋ / qalun / tämbur / duta / bunuŋ ičidä on näčči tüšükluk nej balaman ba / (45) mušu qataliq muzikilani tariχi / (46) här bir ävlija / padiša devridä / jeŋidin birdin pejda vop tereqqi qïγaŋkin // (47) biznïŋ sän'itimiz / dävir üčün χizmät qïγan / (48) adäm ojlimiγan jälädin härkätliri čiqi qaldu / ulaniŋ / (49) χälγ ičidä / adäm ojlimiγan härkätläni qïvatidan ärlä va / ajalla va // (50) buruŋqi usullani / bir birsiniŋ čirajïγa qarap ojnimajdïγanti / (51) najti hajaliq / (52) ajalla vüsa / uzuj-jäŋ köjnexni učini tutväp / qulïnï kösätmej / jïnek vilän üzini tosap / jädin bašqa jägä qarimaj ojnajdïγan / (53) ärlä čäkčijip / unda qildan išla joqidi // (54) jïnek astindin tašlajdïγan härkätlädin jïq pajdilïnïmz / (55) ečiqïpla pajdilansaq / čippitä čušu qaldan härkätlä va / (56) bäzi härkätlä va / tütürsügä ajlindïγan ädämlä va / (57) bizgä intajin lazim / šundaq härkätlä / (58) nimčün disä / (59) ma mürümizgä qïzla keqaldu / (60) qïzni mundaq qartip / jigitni mundaq qartip ajlanγanda / čirajliq bir šekil čiqidu / (61) mušulani / kičik kičik jäläni ögünivasaq / bejitip ändikin / (62) χäq tujammajla qaldu //

787 *ajiγujunï* < *ajaq ojuni* 'foot-play, foot-dance'.
788 *kä·mis* < *kälmäsä*, SU kälmısä.



64. Dance and art

(1) The dance ensemble was called *sänaji näpisi*[789] when I was young. (2) At that time we had no expression like "Let them dance", (3) we used to say "Let them do foot-play". (4) If one asks: "Why did they call it foot-play?" (5) Originally, footwork is basic in the Uyghur dance, (6) while hand movement is secondary. (7) If the feet could not follow (the music) it is useless how you raise your hands. (8) At some gatherings, (I see) some boys and girls dance, walking like crazy sheep and cows. (9) They don't care whether their feet are following the rhythm. (10) This is a problem of sense. (11) Body and hand movements could follow the rhythm if the feet closely follow every point of rhythm. (12) It was called foot-play because the footwork was basic. (13) Later they got to calling it *usul* (dance). (14) This is not a very correct word. (15) The word *usul* has a broad meaning. (16) Later, it took the place of "foot-play". (17) Lets take the example of Turkey whose (dance) is closer to ours. (18) [Their language] resembles our language by thirty or fourty per cent. (19) Why do they dance on stage like trotters? (20) The hand is not totally basic, but only the foot. (21) In the case of other nationalities, footwork is also basic. (22) It is also the case for Russians. (23) In the case of the minorities in China it is also the same. (24) I became an artist because I was nearly a master of the footwork. (25) I have never taken any course from anyone. (26) I am an illiterate person who did not study even one day. (27) I studied at the religious school. (28) Despite not having schooling, I have read many materials, talked with aged people and learned something about the art history of Turfan due to being a person who eats by this job. (29) Xinjiang has many kinds of folk dances. (30) For instance, if we go to Kashghar we have Sama and Dolan-feast. (31) Sama originated from Sufism. (32) Sama means sky. (33) The turning and lifting of the foot from the ground was called: "We jumped to the sky." (34) They say: "We jump Sama." (35) All of them are the actions of Sufis and Ishans. (36) Compared to our Turfan, Sufism flourished in Kashghar and Khotan. (37) Saidiya kingdom is Sufistic. (38) Appa (Affaq) Ghoja was also a Sufi. (39) However, Sufism has different sects. (40) One is secret and the other one is modern (?). (41) This is just like the terms: Dungan of the big mosque and Dungan of the small mosque. (42) There are (two sections) just like this. (43) We have a book, and I read it several times. (44) We have (musical instruments) called satar, qalun, chang, tambur, dutar and including a flute with more than ten holes. (45) [The book tells] the history of such musical instruments. (46) Our music was developed kingdom by kingdom. (47) Our art served different political periods. (48) You will find movements never imagined. (49) Among people there are men and women who do movements one never would have expected. (50) Earlier dances were not danced by looking at the face of someone, (51) but with utmost modesty. (52) In the case of women, they used to dance holding the edge of a long skirt, not showing their hand and covering the face with the elbow and not looking in somewhere beside the ground. (53) It was not the case for men to dance looking with large eyes. (54) We make use of movements of the elbow. (55) If

789 This phrase seems to go back to Ar./Per. *ṣanā'-i- nafisa* 'fine art'.

65 nazurgum

(1) qäšqädä sama / šadijä / dolam-mäšräpliri ba vüsa / turpanda asasij biznij nazurgum čoŋ bir türni igellejdu / (2) biznij bu nazurkum / turpan χälqinij batur / qäjsär / ämgäkčan rohini ipadiläp kevatqan usul bu / (3) turpan / tarïχta ikki jüz nečči qetim ǰäŋ vuγan rajon / (4) üzi kičik rajon / (5) idiqottin tatip / ikki miŋ nečči qetim ǰäŋ vuγan jä bu / (6) mišädila ǰäŋ voγan / (7) nazurgumniŋ buruŋqi usullïrï / pütüm-bir ǰäŋni ipadilejdu // (8) mušu azadliqtin kijimmu / jašanγalla qarmu qarši ojnajdïγan / bu usulnï / (9) elišidïγan ärkätlä vilä ojnildïγan usul / bu / (10) kijin / bu biz sähnilärtürgändin kin siliqlišip / muhäbbät izhar vulup // (11) bu nazurgum digän bu usul / miniŋ qarəšimda / sänät türlüriniŋ bir anəsi / bu / (12) bir usul boγam-bilän / sänät türlüriniŋ anəsi / (13) nimä üčün anəsi dejmiz? / (14) ojnəlïvatqan härikätlädä / ǰäŋ ipadilinip turidu / (15) učuqla qarmu qaršiliq ipadilinip turidu / (16) qarmu qaršilïq boγandin kin / bunï ǰäŋ / uruš dejmiz / bunï // (17) doramčilïq / komidik härikätlä / ejtišis šekillïri / mujdaχ nä silä / hämmisi nazurkumdin čiqidu / (18) mušunuŋdin biz nuryun pajdilanγan // (19) bizdä äl näγmä najtän köpti / (20) ravap bilän / sapajä bir nä silä vilän / pütüm-bir väqälikni sözläp kitidïγan dästančilïrimiz vardi / (21) mäddalïrimiz vardi / (22) ǰäŋnamä sözlejdïγan / hikajä sözlejdïγan mäddalïrimiz vardi / (23) ravap bilän qošaqčilïq qilip / pütüm-bir väqälikni sözläp čikitalajdïγan adämlirimiz bardi / (24) hazir χänzulada äšu nä silä saχlinip qelivatidu / (25) mušunda nä siläni sözläjdïγan adämlirimz bizdimu baridi // (26) män χubolin bilä sözleškän / (27) män bïǰiŋgä bir köjbär[790] jezip / söz qurašturup / ujγurčä / mämlikätlik küräkkä badim / (28) turpandin män jalγuz badim / (29) berip sähnidä ojnïγinimnï χubolin kürüp / (30) ojnap boγandin kijin / sähniniŋ aldïγa čiqti // (31) siniŋ tiliŋni bilamidim / (32) härkätliriŋdin čüšünüp turdum / digän / (33) siladimu älnäγma / čüji[791] digän näsä bamu? / dejdu / (34) sän älnäγminiŋ piri / (35) pütün šinǰaŋni ajlïnip čiχsaŋ voγidäk didim // (36) bizdä / ajindaq nä silä bizdä ba / (37) majdaχ majdaχ nä silä bizdä ba / dividim / (38) hejraŋ-qaγan / χubolin / (39) sän mušuni igellidiŋmu? / däp / (40) igellidim / (41) bir qismini üzäm kögän / (42) bir qismini buruŋqi ustazladin igelligän / (43) šuŋa mäm-bunï saŋa učuq däp pirivatimä / disäm / (44) bir om-bäš minut / ikkimiz sözleškän / (45) mušu pačä härkätläniŋ hämmisi / nazurkumdin keŋäjtilgän / (46) biznij bu turpan vilajitidin / nazurkum birqančä urullaγa tarqalγan / (47) ǰänubi šinǰaŋγa ančä taqalmïγan / (48) γulǰïγa ta qalγan / (49) burun ili etinï najti daŋlajdïγan / (50) biznij naγrïmïznij čelinïšï / šu atnïŋ ajaq tivišiγa oχšajdu / (51) mujdaγ boγallïγï üčün / biznij nazurkumdin pajdilnïp / üziniŋ etinï maχtïγan // (52) bu nazurkum qandaq vop ujägä beri qaldu? / disä / (53) altï jüz qančä jildin burun / biznij turpandin jüz ajlini šu jägä jötkäp baγan / (54) γulǰïdiki turpajjüzi[792] / jüz a'ilä šu biznij ävladimiz / (55) šägä verip / boz jä ečip turu qaγan // (56) ikkidin

790 *köjbär* < Chin. 快板儿 *kuai-ban-er* 'rhymed narrative with the accompaniment of a bamboo clapper'.

791 *čüji* < Chin. 曲艺 *qu-yi* folk art forms including ballad singing, story telling, comic dialogues, clapper talks, cross talks, etc.

792 *turpajjüzi* ← *turpan jüzi* name of a place in the domain of Ghulja city.



we make use of them, some of them fit very well. (56) There are some movements in which some people turn to the opposite side. (57) We need such movements very much. (58) If you ask: "Why?" (59) Sometimes girls come to our shoulder. (60) If we turn having the girls look to this direction and the boys to that direction it looks very beautiful. (61) We improve (movements) by learning such small details, (62) but people do not realize it.

65 Nazurkum

(1) If Kashghar has Sama, Shadijä and Dolan-feasts, in Turfan our Nazurkum comprises a large variety of (dances). (2) Our Nazurkum is a dance expressing resolute, hard-work and the heroic spirit of the people in Turfan. (3) Turfan is a region that has experienced more than two hundred wars in its history. (4) Actually, it is a small region. (5) This place has experienced more than two thousand wars since the Idiqut's (period). (6) War has (always) taken place here. (7) All earlier dance varieties of Nazurkum used to express war. (8) Even after the Liberation, old generations used to dance it by opposing each other. (9) It is a dance to be danced with the movements of fighting. (10) Later, after we performed it as a play, it became smooth, expressing love. (11) In my opinion, the dance Nazurkum is the mother of art varieties. (12) Despite its being a variety of dance, it is the mother of dance varieties. (13) Why do we call it the mother (of art varieties)? (14) Its movements involve war, (15) expressing clear opposites. (16) The opposition involved in it, we call war. (17) Imitation, satiric movements, crosstalk and others things are involved in Nazurkum. (18) We have made a lot of use of them. (19) We used to have many kinds of folk arts. (20) We had story-tellers who can describe a whole story with ravap, sapay (rattles) etc; (21) We had meddahs, (22) we used to have meddahs who tell war stories and (other) stories, (23) we used to have our people who recited poetry, telling whole stories with a ravap. (24) Those things are still preserved among Chinese people. (25) We had people who tell such things. (26) I talked with Hou Baolin[793] (27) I wrote a crosstalk using Uyghur words and went to Beijing to a national art festival. (28) I went alone from Turfan. (29) I went there and Hou Baolin saw what I performed on the stage. (30) He came to the stage after I completed performing. (31) "I was not able to know your language, (32) but I understood your movements", he said. (33) He asked: "Do you have folk songs?" (34) "You are the master of folk songs. (35) It seems to be necessary for you to travel all over Xinjiang," I said. (36) "We have such things. (37) We have such-and-such things," I said. (38) Hou Baolin was surprised. (39) He asked: "Have you become a master at this (art)?" he asked. (40) "Yes, I have become a master. (41) Some of them I have seen myself, (42) some of them I h learned from previous masters. (43) That is why I am telling all of them to you c I said. (44) We talked about fifteen minutes. (45) These single movem developed from Nazurkum. (46) Nazurkum was spread to several region Turfan Prefecture. (47) It did not spread so much to southern Xinjian

793 Hou Baolin (1917-1993) is the most important master of *xiangsheng* or cross tal

ädäm ba sa / jüz ajlidä ikki jüz ädäm buldu / (57) üštim-bŭsa / üšüz ädäm buldu / (58) bäštim bosa / bäšüz ädäm buldu / (59) bäšüz ädämniŋ ičidä / qandaχ vomisun birnäččä naχša etidiγan / usul ojnajdiγan ädäm badä / unuŋ ičidä / (60) šundaq qilip / biznin nazurkum γuljiγa kätkän // (61) ula ämäs / (62) biznin χälq naχšilirimiz / gülijar / a jaräj / hajraniŋmän / dädiŋiz jaman digällämu / γuljiγa ta qilip kätkän / (63) buni γuljiliq asasliq muzikantlamu itirap qildu // (64) kijin / jigirminči jillaγa kägändä / biznin irajim tämbur digäm-bir muqamčimiz γuljiγa verip / birneččaj šu jädä turup qaγan / (65) unuŋdin γuljidiki rozi tämbur digällä / bu irajim tämburdin nuryun näsiläni ögängän / (66) kučaγimu baγan / (67) bula burundin tatip medinijät almašturušta jiq munasivätlik / (68) badi käldi qilišqan // (69) qumulnuŋ bäzi naχsilirï bizgä siŋgän / (70) biznin bäzi näsilirimiz ijägä siŋgän / (71) ula nazurkum däp ejtidu / (72) bašqila sidam bir ahaŋni / (73) allijej nazurgum / däpla ejtitu / qumulluqla // (74) biznin unduγ-ämäs / (75) biz čapčip turidiγan ahaŋ vilän ejtimiz buni // (76) biznin nazurkum / burun jäŋni ipadiligäm-bosa / kijin kišilä arisida qizïqčiliq / pütün mäšräpniŋ kejpijatini kütürüškä rol ojniγan // (77) nazurkum čelinsa / härqandaq toj qizïmaj qammajdu / (78) mušu nazurkum ojnalsa / bunuŋγa bäš alti qetim čavak urmaj qa majdu / (79) bu nimä üčün? / disä / (80) muzikisini ča simu tüvändiki ädämläniŋ midiryusï kildu / (81) adämiŋ šunda zuqini qozγajdiγan bir nimä // (82) bu χälq ičidä jatqan / (83) χälq ojnap kivatqan usuldi / (84) miniŋ säväbim bilän / atmišinji jillada tutušup / atmiš tötinči jillada küräkkä sayandin kijin / bu šundaq alqišqa učrap kitip / (85) qämbär χanim miniŋ pišanämgä birni söjgän / (86) balam / kiläčäxtä bir adäm bop qaγudäxsä / däp // (87) u waχtida / χeli jaš vaχlirimdi / miniŋ / (88) män özlügümdin ügünüp / bilginimni ügitip / bilmiginimni kišilädin sorap jürüp / munčilik / turpan täväsidä bir ädäm bo qaldim // (89) koniladimu ba / (90) sorap sorap musulman bol / digän bu tämsilmu ba // (91) burun mandaγikänduq / (92) hazir mandaq qisaχ vuγidäx däp qimisaq / nuryun näsilirimiz kümülüp qaldu // (93) biznin nazurkum / jäŋgä at säp maŋγav vaχtida / atniŋ tüvüšiγa kälturüp naγrani urup bäna voγan näsä / (94) jäŋdin täräqqi qilγan näsä / (95) özgirä özgirä / hazirqi halätkä käldi / (96) miniŋ buni / usulnuŋ anäsi digendiki säväp mišädä / (97) bu usulni jäŋ tuqqan / (98) pači numurla / mušu nazurkum ičidin tuγulγan // (99) nazurkum / bu nazir digän adämiŋ ismi / (100) akani qušu qojsila / nazir aka vuldu // (101) biznin turpünümizda / nazir aka digen adäm ötkän / (102) bir bajniŋ bir balasï vulup / (103) bu bajniŋ ajali uγul tuγmaj / qizla tuqqandin kin / aχirqi ömridä bu bajniŋ ajali uγul tuγu qojdi / (104) bu nazir aka digän adäm / bunuŋγa bala vaqquči vuldu / (105) bala vaqquči vulup / jetti sekkiz jašqa kirgüčülük kütürüp jürgän gäptä / bu balani / (106) meŋišni ögänmigän / (107) aχiri čoŋ vulup / miŋišni bilmigendikin / bu bala / majχap dessep // (108) kijin nazir aka ülü ketkendin kijin / u bala maŋmiγan / (109) apisi qupup / hä balam / düm / düm / disä maŋmiγandikin / (110) nazir aka uni düm düm däp ügiti qojγan / (111) atäsi qupup maŋ disä / u maŋmiγan / (112) šuŋa amal joq / hä balam / düm / düm / düm / disä maŋmiγan / (113) hä balam / nazurgüm / nazurgüm däp uryandikin / (114) nazir aka kütürüp jürgän bala vuγandikin / nazir akiniŋ ismini aŋnap / bu alčaŋlap maŋγan / (115) nazurkumdiki majγaq miŋiš / doramčiliqla šu baldin qaγan / (116) nazir digän adämniŋ ismi / (117) düm digän nayrïniŋ dümi / (118) bu nayra šundaq rol ojniγan //



spread to Ghulja. (49) Before, the Ili horse was highly praised. (50) The rhythm of our kettle resembles the step-voice of that horse. (51) Therefore, they praised their own horse taking advantage of our Nazurkum. (52) If you ask: "How did Nazurkum go there?" (53) Six hundred years ago, a hundred families moved there. (54) Turpanyüzi of Ghulja, (namely) the hundred families[794] are our descendants. (55) They went there, farmed there and stayed there. (56) If two people went [from every family], a hundred families would have two hundred people; (57) If three people went [from every family], it would be three hundred people; (58) if five people went from every family, it would be five hundred people. (59) Anyway, among these five hundred people there would certainly be some singers and dancers. (60) In this way our Nazurkum went to Ghulja. (61) Not only it, (62) our folk songs such as "Güliyar", "O my lover", "I am your surprise", "Your pain is heavy" etc. also spread (from here) to Ghulja. (63) The main musicians of Ghulja also admit this claim. (64) Later, when the 20s came of (this century), our Muqam singers Ibrahim Tambur and others went there and stayed there for some months. (65) Rozi Tambur of Ghulja and others learned many things from Ibrahim. (66) [Nazurkum] also spread to Kucha. (67) Those places are closely related in the cultural exchange from early times. (68) They had interchange. (69) Some songs of Qomul were incorporated into our (songs), (70) some of our songs were incorporated (into) their (songs). (71) They sing Nazurkum, (72) but in a very weak tone. (73) They, inhabitants of Qomul, sing it saying: "Alliyäy, Nazurkum". (74) Our (Nazurkum) is not like that. (75) We sing it with high sounding tone. (76) Our Nazurkum used to express war, but later it served for improving the atmosphere of feasts. (77) If Nazurkum is performed, every wedding certainly becomes interesting. (78) People certainly applaud five or six times when Nazurkum is performed (79) If you ask: "Why?" (80) If one plays its music, the one who sits under (the stage also) wants to move. (81) It is stimulating music. (82) It slept for a long time amongst the people, (83) it was a dance performed by people. (84) Because of me it was rehearsed again in the 1960s and in 1964 it was performed in an arts festival and was very much welcomed. (85) Madam Qambar kissed my forehead. (86) "My child, certainly you will become a celebrity in the future," she said. (87) That was the time when I was rather young. (88) I learned by myself and I taught others what I knew. I asked people what I had not understood and finally became such a celebrity in Turfan. (89) It is also told by old people. (90) Become Muslim by asking and asking, it is told so in a proverb. (91) [We should think as follows:] "It was so before, (92) and it seems to be done so," otherwise many of our customs would be forgotten. (93) Our Nazurkum was created by playing the kettle and imitating the running voice of horses when the horses ran into battle. (94) It was developed from war. (95) It has taken its present shape by changing. (96) This is why I have said: "It is the mother of dance-(varieties)." (97) War has birthed this dance. (98) Single dance varieties were born from Nazurkum. (99) Nazurkum originates from the personal name Nazir. (100) [Nazir] becomes Nazir Aka if we add *aka* to it. (101) A per-

794 *yüz* in the place name *Turpanyüzi* means 'hundred'.

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66. mäšräp

(1) buruŋqi mäšräplä / insanpärvärlik mäšräpliri / (2) hazirqi mäšräplä / jiltizni kolap qurutuš / jäp tügütüš / šunuŋɣa jüzländi / (3) bir ǰozidiki tamaqni / bir mälidiki töt bäš a'ilä käp / bir aj jejdu / (4) šu tamaqni / bir növättä / ǰozida jä kitimizɣu / šuni // (5) buruŋqi mäšräp / mejli baj vusun / mejli kämbäɣäl vusun / bir mälidä bir jigit öjlengäm-bŭsa / mäšräp buldu / (6) dadur[795] purčaq / χasuŋ[796] / qoɣun tawuz va / (7) järlik mividä bula / (8) šu mäšräpkä tajin qilip / (9) bir bajniŋ balәsini tutuvasaq / ašuni qästäŋgä gunakar qip / ǰazalap / tešidin mivä äkirdürdan iš / (10) anuŋ puli valiɣi učun // (11) asan kämbäɣälni balәsini günakar qimajdiɣan iš / (12) χijil vo qaldu däp / (13) imkam ba / bajniŋ ballerni ǰazalap / šu mäšräptä mivä ekirdürdiɣan iš / (14) bizä bizä ekiripla turɣandikin / jiq vop kitidikin bu /(15) šunuŋ vilän / kämbäɣälniŋ tujini / juɣan öjgä dasqan sep / digän mivini jejitip / mivä dastiχini qip / tojni molčilïq qildiɣan //

795 *dadur* < Chin. 大豆 *da-dou* 'soybean'.
796 *χasuŋ* < Chin. 花生 *hua-sheng* 'groundnut'.



son called Nazir Aka used to live in our Turfan. (102) A rich person had a child. (103) This rich person's wife had not given birth to any boys, but only girls. Finally his wife gave birth to a boy when he had become aged. (104) The person called Nazir Aka served as a baby-sitter for him. (105) He became a baby-sitter and always carried the child until he was age seven or eight. (106) [That child] did not learn to walk. (107) The child grew but did not know how to walk, walking only on a slant. (108) Later Nazir Aka died, but the child still could not walk. (109) His mother came and said: "O my child! Düm! Düm!" but he still didn't walk. (110) Nazir Aka trained him to say "Düm! Düm!" having repeated it often. (111) His father came and asked him to walk, but the child did not walk. (112) They could not find a way and said: "O my child! Düm! Düm! Düm!" but he still did not walk. (113) They pacified the child saying: "O my Child! O my Nazurgüm! Nazurgüm!" (114) and he walk hearing the name of Nazir Aka, since he had always been carried by Nazir Aka. (115) The slanted walking in the (dance of) Nazurkum reflects the walk of this child. (116) Nazir is a personal name, (117) and *düm* is the voice of kettle. (118) The kettle played such a role.

66. Feasts

(1) Earlier feasts were humane and modest feasts, (2) but now-a-days feasts destroy people by having them dug up by their roots, destroying them by eating (too much), they are turning in this direction. (3) The food offered at one table is enough for four or five families of a village to eat for a month. (4) We eat so much food once at one table. (5) Previous feasts were held when someone married, regardless if they were rich or poor. (6) [Usually] soybean, groundnut, sweet melon and watermelon would be offered. (7) Local fruits were also offered. (8) We prepared such things for feasts. (9) If we found a child of a rich family, we used to falsely accuse him of a crime and punish him by making him bring fruit from outside (10) since he had money. (11) We did not accuse the children of poor people of crimes, (12) considering that they would be hurt. (13) We punished the children of rich people and had them bring fruit. (14) It became a lot by bringing a little at a time. (15) And then we used to celebrate poor people's weddings plentifully by spreading a table cloth in a big room, laying out the fruits mentioned and preparing fruit table.[797]

797 Original: *dastiχan* < Per. *dastār xwan*.

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## 5.9 Texts from Toxsun

### 67. zöriχenim[798]

(1) burunqï zamanda / aχ patša vilä qara patša dejdïγan ikki patša varikän // (2) ikkisi oγa čikit perip / šundaγ vädä qilišiptu dedu / (3) ikkisiniŋmo ajalleri eγir vojke / (4) ämdi ikkimiznïŋ qa simizniŋmo qïs tuχulsa / bir kündä talaγa čïqɨrišini / (5) birimiznïŋ qïz birimiznïŋ uγul bŭsa / bir birsigɨ četišišqa wädä qilišini / (6) däp bula ähdamä[799] tüzüšüp / wädä qilišip / qol vesišip miŋïptu // (7) ajla ütüp / küllä ütüp / ulanïŋ aldïγa šundaq bir χävär čïqïpto / (8) aχ patšanïŋ aldïγa bir pičaχnï / qara patšanï aldïγa bir qa čɨnï tašlap qujup ütü kitiptu dejdu // (9) aχ patiša / miniŋ ajalïm uγul tuγuptu däp his qilidikän / (10) neriqisi qïs tuγuptu dejdikän // (11) šunuŋ vilän / bula odin janmaχči voptu / (12) aχ patiša atlɨrnï tuqup / na jti tineš kitiptu dejdu // (13) woj / toχta / billä maŋɨlï ayinä / tijnimä / billä maŋini ayinä ämdi / (14) wädɨmiz wädä vułdu / disä unmɨγïdäk // (15) šunuŋ vilä / qara patša aččïγï kïlip / palanï taχta körükkä verip / etiŋ putlušup / bojnuŋ qa rïlïp ölgüdiŋ / ilahim / haramzädä / däp qaγaptu // (16) digändäk / šu jägä ba γanda / aχ patšanï eti putlušup / bojnï qa rïlïp ülü qaptu dejdu // (17) ölgändin kijin / buni jaman qaγap qujuptimä däp / helïqï patišaniŋ äjalinïmu / qïznïmu ikkisini äkevelïp[800] beqïptu / orduγa // (18) beqïptu beqïptu / bula čoŋ vupto / (19) andin / bu zöri vilän tahirni baqïdikän / bu ikkisini / (20) ikkisini uqutuptu / (21) uqutup molla qïp bulav[801] jürgändin kijin / čoŋ vulup bula bir birsigä ašïχ vulušidiken / bula / (22) ašïχ bulušqandin kijin / otturuγa düšmän kirip arivittu // (23) bulanï arïvatqandikin / tahirni bir jurtqa parlɨvatmaqči vuludikän // (24) šu jädä juγan bir tiräk varikin / šu tirexni kesmexči vuludikän / (25) käskändin kijin / bu härä ötmäj turŭvaγan nimä / (26) turŭvaγandin kijin / zörini ečïqïŋla / sös tašləsun däptu // (27) zörä χenimnï ečiqqandikin / zörä χenim šundaγ dejdikän // (28)

haj tiräk / haj haj tirek /
tüvidin käsmek kirek /
tüvidin kisip kisip /
sanduγ ettermek kirek //

(29) digändin kijin / bu härä šädin šarridä meŋïp kitidikän / (30) andin bu tiräktin sanduqnï jasap püttüridikän // (31) sanduqnï püttürgändin kijin / bununγa qara patša dejdikän / buni šalaŋaraq jasaŋla / su kirip waχtida ölsun // (32) zöri χenim dejdikän / qellin jasaŋla buni / su kirmŭsun / (33) taza čapsa kältürüp äridäp / buni taza jïpsa jïpsa šilimdap / puχta qïlvitiŋla / dejdikän // (34) qara patša / bu atəsi šundaγ dejdikän / bu

798 For a literary version of this story see G. Raquette, *Täji bilä Zohra. Eine Osttürkische Variante der Sage von Tahir und Zohra*. Lund & Leipzig 1930. For a version from the so-called Taranchi dialect see Radloff 1886, pp. 180-188. For a Khotan dialect version see Jarring I, pp. 3-34. Notably, all versions display different details together with common elements.
799 *ähdamä* < Ar./Per. *'ahdnāma* 'agreement, treaty'.
800 *äkevelïp* < *alïp kelivelïp* (< *alïp kälip alïp*).
801 *bulav* < *bolap* (< *bolup*, PostV), such a form is not uniform within the Turfan region, but characteristic of the southern dialects.



### 67. Zörikhan

(1) Once upon a time there were two kings. (One) was called Aq patša (White king), (the other one) Qara patša (Black king). (2) They made an agreement when they were leaving for hunting. (3) Reportedly, both of their wives were pregnant. (4) They said: "If both our wives give birth to girls, lets marry them on the same day, (5) if one's (wife) gives birth to a girl and the other to a boy, let's promise to marry them to each other." (6) Saying this, they made such a promise, signed it and went off (hunting). (7) Some days and months passed. One day someone brought a message to them (8) and left putting a knife in front of Aq patša and scissors in front of Qara patša. (9) Aq patša realized his wife bore a boy, (10) and Qara patša[802] thought (his wife bore) a girl. (11) Then they planned to return from hunting. (12) Reportedly, Aq patša immediately saddled his horse and left. (13) [Qara patša said:] "Stop! Let's go together! Oh friend, let's go together! (14) Our promise will be valid", but [Aq patša] did not listen. (15) Then Qara patša got angry and cursed: "O, my God! You should die at such-and-such a bridge having the horse's foot caught and your neck bent!" (16) Just as (Qara patša) had cursed, Aq patša died when he reached that place, having the foot of his horse caught by something and having his neck bent. (17) After he died, (Qara patša) thought: "Clearly I cursed him badly" and brought that kings wife and daughter to his palace and took care of them. (18) He took care of them and they grew up. (19) He took care of Zörä and Tahir the two (children). (20) He had them educated. (21) He had them learn and made them mullahs. During this time they grew up and became lovers. (22) After they became lovers an enemy appeared between them and separated them. (23) After they were separated, they (the enemy?) planned to send Tahir to another country (faraway). (24) They had a big poplar there and they wanted to cut it down. (25) They tried to cut it but the saw would not go through. (26) Since the saw wouldn't go through, [the king] ordered: "Bring Zörä and let her recite a verse." (27) They brought Zörä xenim and she said: (28)

"O poplar, o high poplar,
it is necessary to saw it off from the root.
Sawing it off from the root,
it is necessary to make a box."

(29) After she has said this, the saw immediately went through [the poplar]. (30) Then they made a box from the poplar and (finally) completed it. (31) When they made the box ready, Qara patša said: "Make it thinner so water enters in it (easier) and he may die sooner." (32) Zörixenim[803] said: "Make it thicker, may no water enter in it. (33) Saw (the wood) well in order that it fits together, glue it well and make it firm." (34) Qara patša, the father said that, but his daughter did not accept it. (35) They completed the (box), making it thick. (36) They threw it in the river, but it is told that (the box) stayed there not flowing (down the river). (37) Since it had stopped there, (the king) ordered:

802 Original: *neriqisi* 'that one'.
803 *Zörixenim* respectful address for *Zörä*, might be translated 'Ms. Zörä'.

qïzï unümajdikän / (35) bunï pütküzidiken / qelïn jasajdikän // (36) dejjaγa tašläγandikin / bu peqarap maŋmaj turŭvaldu dejdu / (37) turuvaγandikin / zörini ečiqiŋla / sös tašläsun digändikin / (38) zörä dejdikän /

sillïq[804] sanduq čapturdum /
appal bilän japturdum /
tahir digän jajrïmnï / jajrïmnï /
χudajïmγa tapšurdum //

(39) digändikin / bu sanduq eqïp peqerap jene ǰajïγa kildikän / (40) andïn tahir ejtidikän/

su kirär nïqta / waj nïqta /
däjjaniŋ waj tegi taχta /
sändin bašqa jar tutsam / zöräǰan /
qan qusup ülǎj waχta /

(41) šunuŋ vilän / bu sanduq eqïp / jürüp kitidikän / bu suda // (42) bu sanduq eqïp peqerap / toqqus taram digäj jägä baridikän / (43) bu karganlanï ütüdïγan jirikän / (44) toqqus taramγa kägändikin / bu kargallaγa sös tašlajdikän / (45)

män käldim / waj toqquz taram /
mändin zöhrägä waj salam /
saläsimnï ammisa / aj zöräm /
bašta söjgünüm haj haram //

(46) bunï kargalla χätlivilip / zörämniŋ qulïγa tapšuridikin / bunï // (47) bu toqqus taramγa jiti periptu digen χävär ba:mamdu / ijägä // (48) šunuŋ vilä peqerap peqerap / šundaχ bir kölgä kirkitidikän / bu ajrilipla / (49) bir kölgä kirgändikin / bu sanduq peqerap / bir patišaniki jurtuγa berï qalidikin // (50) u patišanï qïzlïrï / kimigä čüšüp ojnajdïγan köliken / uču / (51) šu kölni ičigä kiri qaptu / bu // (52) qarəsa dašnaχ čirajlïq bir sanduχ turγudäk // (53) ata / mujdaχ bir sanduχ kiri qaptu / qandaχ sanduχ bu? / digändikin / (54) bu sanduχnï ädämlänï ečïq disä / ečiqamiγidäk bunï / (55) tutuχ vämigidek / bu sanduχ peqerap // (56) ändi bu qïzlerni däptu / e qïzla / mušu sanduqta čečiŋlanï tašlap beqïŋla // (57) qïrïγ γulaš / qïrïγ γulaš čečï va qïzlariken / uzun dejduču / ulanï // (58) čuŋï tašläγandikin iläšmäptu / (59) otturaŋǰïsï tašliγinikän / anči munčä ilišip qäptu / (60) üčinčisi / kičigi tašliγinikänduq / bu sanduq jögürülüp jaqqiγa čïqïptu / (61) jaqqiγa ečiqiväptu / bu sanduqnï / (62) jaqqiγa ečiqiväp / bu sanduχnï / qäjäridilla qarəsa ašqïlï vommajdïγan / (63) ašqïli vommajdïγinikin dejdu / (64) u šundaχ ǰäpsi[805] vop ketkendikin / uqquli vommajdu dejdu // (65) sös tašlap beqïŋla digändikin / qïzlaγa / (66) heliqï qïz vala söz tašlaptu /

örülüp kälgän / waj sanduq /
čörülüp kälgän / haj sanduq /
iččidä nimäsi ba / nimäsi ba /
iš gipiŋni e:t / waj sanduq //

804 *sïlliq* < ? *sirliq* 'colourful'.
805 *ǰäpsi* 'firm', identical to *ǰïpsï* found in the previous lines.



"Bring Zörä and let her recite a verse." (38) Zörä said:

"I have made a colourful box,
having covered it carefully (?)
Tahir, thee are my lover,
I turned him over to God."

(39) After she recited thus, the box drifted, turned, and stopped at its original place. (40) Then Tahir said:

"Water enters barely, o, barely,
the bed of the river is flat.
If I take another lover, my Zörä,
let me die immediately vomiting blood."

(41) Then the box drifted away on the water. (42) The box drifted and travelled and finally arrived at a place called Toqquz Taram. (43) It was a place the caravans pass through. (44) Having arrived at Toqquz Taram, (Tahir) recited a verse to the caravans: (45)

"I came, o Toqquz Taram,
greetings to Zöhrä from me.
If my Zörä will not take my greetings,
may all my kisses be cursed."

(46) The people in the caravans wrote this down and handed it over to Zöräm.[806] (47) As you know, the information was transmitted there: "He has reached Toquz Taram." (48) Then (the box) travelled and travelled finally leaving (the river) and entering a lake. (49) After it entered the lake, the box travelled and arrived in a country of a king. (50) It was a lake where the princesses play with boats. (51) It went into the lake. (52) They looked and found a beautiful box there. (53) They asked: "Dad, we found such-and-such a box, what kind of box is this?" (54) They ordered their servants to bring it, but they were not able to bring it. (55) The box did not allow them to catch it, turning and turning. (56) Then (the king) spoke to his daughters: "Try to throw your hair to the box." (57) Reportedly, the princesses had hair of fourty fathoms long. (58) The oldest one threw (her hair), but was not able to catch hold of it, (59) the second one threw (her hair), but she only caught hold of it a little; (60) the third one, the youngest, threw (her hair) and the box came (near) a bank being caught hold of (by her hair). (61) They brought the box to the bank. (62) They brought it to the bank, looked at its every side and found it could not be opened. (63) Reportedly, it was not possible to open it. (64) Since it was (glued) so firmly it was not possible to know (where it might be opened). (65) (The king) asked the princesses to recite a verse, (66) and the (third) princess recited a verse:

"The box having come by turning,
the box having come by rotating
What is inside you, what is it?
Tell me your true word, o box."

806 *Zöräm* is an affectionate form for *Zörä*.

(67) digändikin / unuŋ ičidin zuwan čïqïptu // (68)
täpsä sanduγ ačïlur /
gül bašïmγa sančïlur /
män zöhräni kögändä / kögändä /
köŋnüm güldäg ačïlur /
(69) digändikin / hä / bu täpsä ečilɨdïγan sanduγiken / däptu / (70) täpsä ičigä ečilɨdïγan qïp qoγɨniken / (71) tipiptu / išik ečiliptu // (72) samandäk saγɨrïp bir jigit o:taγidäk / aldïγa quranni qujup / (73) buni täviplläni äkilip kösätkändikin / qïrïχ kičɨ kündüz qaraŋγɨ öjdä beqïp / qara irixni güši vilä baχsa / äntikizä äxsigɨ kildu digäm-bir sösni qildikin / bula // (74) šunda qïγandikin / bu jigitni šu jädä baqïdikän / (75) qïrïχ kičɨ kündüz qaraŋγɨ öjdä baqqandikin / bu ävälqï äxsigä kiłdikin / bu / (76) kägändikin / bu qïzγa toj qiłdiken // (77) bu qïzni äppägändikin / bir huǰurγa äkirip qutu qoǰγandikin[807] / otturuγa bir χänǰärni sančï qujdikän / (78) sän tikilɨnip käsäŋ / sini χänǰär kisip ö:türdu / män tikilɨnip ba:sam / mini χänǰär kisip ö:türdu / (79) jiqïn kämä bunuŋγa / däp otturγa bir χänǰärni sančï qujup jatidikin / bula // (80) bu qïznïŋ kündin küngä čiraji saγɨrï kitpaγan / (81) atəsï sormamdu änkin / bu qandaγ iš / bu? / (82) buni sorap beqïŋna / digändikin / (83) bu ändikin / män mušdaχ jädin kägä adäm / digändikin / (84) andaγ vüsa / buni šähär čögułtüp ečïqïp / buni jolγa sapaχsaŋlara[808] buni / digändikin atəsï / (85) bu qandaγ zat bu? / (86) atχanəγa igäχanəγa ekirpaχsaŋla / qandaχ igä tuqalajdu bu? / (87) padiša zatmu / kämbäγäl zatmu bu? / digändikin / (88) igäχanəγa äkirgändikin / bu patiša üzi mindïγan atnïŋ igɨrini tallap / kütürüp ečïqïptu dedu / bu // (89) patiša minidïγan atqïla tuquptu / dedu // (90) hä / bu patiša puštikin / bilidikin bu išni däp / oŋ qol vezir sol qol vezirlɨri bazaγa ečïqïp / bir jägä kägändä / pisiŋŋite külüptu dedu / (91) külüp qujup ütü ketti / dedu / (92) qïγan iši šu ikän / bazanï pəqərap / jürüŋla kitini / däp jeni käptu // (93) nim boldï? / (94) birdämdila jeni käpsilägu? / digändikin / (95) hä mujdaγ / digändikin / (96) söz pöz qïmɨdïmu? / digändikin / (97) bir jägä verïp / pisiŋŋitä külü qojdïγu / däp šunda didi dedu // (98) bu nimɨdu? / däp / sän nim däp / ujägä verïp küldüŋ? / (99) qursüγuŋdikini dä / digändin kin / (100) bir ädäm ütük ǰo:lïtvatïdu / ömri üš küllük qeptu / (101) puχta wosun / bäx vosun / čiŋ wosun bu / dedu / (102) birsi boš wosun / jumšaχ wosun / buni putqa patmajdïγan bosun / däp ǰo:lütuvatïdu / (103) bäx vosun / čiŋ wosun diginniŋ üš küllüx ömri qaptu / (104) maniŋ / jänä jigirmi jil ömür kürdikä / (105) šunuŋγa küldüm / digändikin / (106) hä / undaγ wusa / säm-mušu hajvanatlanï qandəγini minsäŋ minip / jurtuŋγa bir berïp käsäŋ voγədäk / däptu / (107) bulud däp / jurtqa bamaχčï buludikän // (108) attin sorajdikin / üč ajda altajda apɨrimi[809] dejdiken / (109) išextin sorəsa / bir jïlda aparïmä digidäk / (110) kalədin sorəsa / iškki jïlda appərimä digidäk / qašaŋ birm boγandikin / (111) tügilädin surəsa / iškkajda / bäšajda / altajda apïrïm digidäk // (112) šundaq bir tügɨ jetiptikin / ävara / jeγïr / aǰïz / közlirdin čupəγï örläp turγan bir tügɨniŋ qešïγa verïp / šundaχ suraptu / (113) hej tügä / mini sän miniŋ jurtumγa qačan apurursä? / däp / (114)

807 *qutu qoj-* < *qatip qoj-* 'to join'.
808 *jolγa sapaχsaŋlara* < *jolγa salip baqsaŋlar-a* 'try to send (him) back'.
809 *apɨrimi* < *alip barimän* 'I bring/I bring and go'.



(67) After she has recited this verse, a voice came from (the box). (68)
"The box will be opened if one kicks,
flowers will be stacked on my head
When I have seen Zörä, when I have seen (her),
my heart will open like flower."
(69) Then they said: "This is a box to be opened when one kicks." (70) Reportedly, it was made to be opened when one kicked. (71) They kicked, and the box opened. (72) [Inside the box] they found a young man who had become yellowed like straw, he was sitting there, putting a Qur'an in front of himself. (73) They brought magicians and showed him to them, and they said: "If we take care of him in a dark room for fourty days and nights with the meat of a black ram, he will recover." (74) They took care of him as told. (75) After they had taken care of him for fourty days and nights in a dark room he recovered to his original state. (76) After he recovered, they had him married to this girl. (77) After they had him married to this girl, they brought them together in a room, but they slept placing a knife between them. (78) "The knife will kill you if you come (to me) by rolling, it will kill me if I go (to you) by rolling. (79) Do not come close to it", he said (thus) and placed a knife between them and slept. (80) The girl has become yellowed day by day. (81) Naturally, her father asked: "What does this mean? (82) Try to ask them (the reason)." (83) Then (Tahir) said: "I am a person who has come from such-and-such a place." (84) Then the (girl's) father said: "If this is so, bring him to the bazaar, let him travel there and try to send him back. (85) What kind of person is he? (86) Bring him to the stable and see what kind of saddle he will choose. (87) Is he a prince or the son of a poor person?" (88) They brought him to the saddle-room and he chose the saddle of the horse that the king rides and brought it out. (89) He saddled it exactly to the horse that the king rides. (90) Then they knew he was a prince. The right-hand and left-hand vezirs of the king brought him to the bazaar and he faintly smiled when they arrived at a certain place. (91) Reportedly, he just smiled and passed through it. (92) It was what he did, and they walked around the bazaar and went back since he said: "Come on, let's return!" (93) [The king] asked: "What happened? (94) Why did you return so fast?" (95) They said: "Such-and-such." (96) [The king] asked: "Didn't he say a word?" (97) They said: "He smiled faintly when we arrived at a certain place." (98) [The king] asked: "Why did you laugh when you went there? (99) Tell me what was in your mind?"[810] (100) "A person was requesting some boots though he had left only three days of life, (101) he said: 'They must be durable, firm and solid.' (102) The other one was requesting (some boots) saying: 'They must be soft and smooth, and should not hurt the foot.' (103) The one who said: 'They must be firm and solid, had only three day of life left, (104) but the other will live further twenty years. (105) That is why I laughed", he said. (106) Then (the king) said: "If it was so, you may return to your country riding any of these animals." (107) He said: "All right!" and planned to return to his country. (108) He asked a horse, (but the horse) said: "I will

810 Original: *qursuγuŋdikini* 'the one at your stomach'.

sorəγandikin / bu tügɨdin šundaγ bir ǰuwap čïχti dedu / (115) män mušu halda turɨmän / mušu halda turməsam / sini jurtuŋγa bir kičɨ kündüzdä jetküzü qujimän / didi dejdu // (116) šunoŋ vile / alladin tilɨdi dedu / hej alla / mušunuŋγa bir mevǰot bäsäŋ / ävälqï äxsigä äki paχsaŋ / digändikin / (117) bulud däp / alla taladin χävär keptu / qojnuŋnï sïla digendek / (118) qulïnï qojnŭγa tïqïvïkänduq / bɨř almɨ čïqïptu / (119) almənï jerïmïni birisä / jerïmïni učəsïγa sürkäjsä / ävälqï iskätigä kilidu bu / digendikin / (120) bulud däp / almənï jerïmisini ayzïγa tïqïptu / jerïmïnï düŋgüjsigä sürkɨgändin kijin / buluttäk bɨř tügä vop qupu kittu dejdu / bu / (121) šundaq čirajlïq tügä vop qupu kittu // (122) undaχ vŭsa ǰabduq qïlajlï / däp bu tügɨgä mingändin kijin / bu ajal tusaptu bunï / (123)

sän ba saŋ män barurmän /
bɨř buluŋda qalmasmän /
zöhrä digän jajrïŋnïŋ / a jajrïŋnïŋ /
qulïγa su qujpiralurmän //

(124) digändin kin / bu /

män barsam sän barmassän /
bir buluŋda qalursän /
zörä digän jajrïmnïŋ / waj jajrïmnïŋ /
qulŭγa su qujpirälmassän //

(125) digändikin / bu qïz vala jïγlap jïγlap qalidikän / bu // (126) šundaq jïγlap qelïp / bɨř taqqa üzini ata vägändikin / bɨř taγ vop aldïnï tusap turvaldikän / bu // (127) tahir sös tašlajdikin / (128)

bu taγla igiz / waj taγla /
γerïpnïŋ julïnï bayla /
γerïp ölsä kim jïγla / kim jïγla? /
γerïpqa γerïp jïγla //

(129) digändikin / bu taγ paqqitä a·rïlï kitidikä / (130) a·rïlï ketkendikin / bu tügɨni qujruγï uzunkänduq / šu waχladaču / bojnï tüzikä / šundaχ vuldukä / (131) hä / qu·ruγï uzun bulud dedu // (132) šädin ändikin / huf dimä ǰumu / teš ota digändikin / (133) bu taγdin šundaq ištik ütü ketkendikin / (134) bu uzun qu·ruq huf däp ütüšigä ta·təlïp / kisilip kalta vop qaγan nimɨkin / bu / (135) bunuŋ qu·ruγï dašu taγnïŋ qïsïnčïγïda qïsïlï qaldï / dedu / (136) ajnaq qïlïp / qujruγï taγnï astïnda qaldï dedu // (137) ütü kätti bu jädin / änkizä / (138) ütüp bu änkin / jurtuγa bamamdu / bu // (139) jurŭtqa epirip qojdï / bunï // (140) taŋ waχtïda jetküzüp epiri qojγandikin zörïχenimniŋ išigidä söz tašlɨdï dedu // (141)

men keldim / waj taχtɨda /
zörä jatur / waj taχtɨda /
qišqarsam ün bämidu / bämidu /
qara kapir qojnïda //

(142) digendin kin / bu jänä ŭχanmɨdi[811] dedu / (143) oχanməγandïn kin / bu jänä /

811 *ŭχanmidi* < *ojγanmɨdi* 'did not awake'



bring you there in three to six months." (109) He asked a donkey, and the donkey said: "I will bring you there in one year." (110) He asked a cow, and the cow said: "I will bring you there in two years", since it is an obstinate guy. (111) He asked camels, but they said: "I will bring you in two months", "I will bring you there in five months" and "I will bring you there in six months", respectively. (112) He found an sad, weak, swayback camel lying there and its eye lids were drooping from the eyes; he asked thus: (113) "O camel! When could you bring me to my country?" (114) After he asked, reportedly such an answer as this came from the camel: (115) "I remain in this condition, if I were not, I would bring you to your country in one day and one night." (116) Then he prayed to God: "O Lord! Please give power to him; please try to bring him back to his original state." (117) God (may He be exalted) said: "All right" and a message came from God saying: "Feel your bosom!" (118) He inserted his hand to his bosom, and found an apple. (119) [God] said: "You should have him eat half of this apple and the other half to the back, then it will recover to its original state." (120) He said: "All right!" and inserted half of (the apple) into its mouth; after that he applied the remaining half to its back. It became a camel (soft) as cloud and stood up. (121) It stood up having become a very beautiful camel. (122) He said: "Let's do preparation", but when he rode on it, his wife blocked him. (123)

"I will go, if you go,
I will not leave at a corner
For the hand of your lover, Zöhrä
I may at least serve water."

(124) After she said this, he said:

"You should not go, if I go,
you should leave at a corner
For the hand of my lover, Zörä
you could not serve water."

(125) Since he said this, the girl left there crying. (126) She left there speaking thus, and immediately threw herself to a mountain and blocked his way having become a mountain. (127) Tahir recited a verse. (128)

"O mountains, the high mountains,
block the way of a poor man.
Who will cry if a poor man dies,
(only) poor man will cry for poor man."

(129) After he has recited this, (the mountain) separated. (130) It separated; then reportedly, the camel had a long tail and straight neck, it was so. (131) Well, it is told that its tail was long. (132) It said: "Don't say whoa, sit silently." (133) It passed through the mountain very quickly, (134) but its long tail was cut off having been stuck when it passed through (the mountain) because Tahir said: "Whoa!" And then (its tail) became short. (135) Its tail was left in the crack of the mountain having been caught. (136) It is told that its tail was left under the mountain by doing this. (137) Then he passed through there. (138) Naturally, he arrived at his country by passing through

män käldim sumbuj[812] / waj šunčä /
χudanïŋ pärmanïčä /
rum šähridin qïz aldïm / qïz aldïm /
umu baduř siniŋčä /
(144) däp änkizä / jiγlav jiγlav / itigi tošqandïn kin čača vägändin kin / (145) bir tamčä jamγur vulup / üzigä tigip / jügürüp ornïdïn qupuptu / tahir kiptu däptu // (146) heliqïni ejtipoγandikin[813] / jene čïqməγandikin / tahir tügini urdi dejdu / bu / (147) sän sös tašla tügü / digändikin / (148) sös tašlamajmä män / digändin kin / (149) uryandïn kin / qešini jeri qojdi tüginiŋ // (150) šunuŋ vilä tügä /
haj bešïm / haj haj bešïm /
aγrïdi häjäp bešïm /
sän zörini däp kilip /
jerïldi miniŋ qäläm qešïm //
däp söz tašlap qojdi dejdu / bu // (151) zörä qarəsa kitpaγan bir tügi vilän / (152) än tusədi / jaγlïqni pulaŋlitip toχta däp / (153) berip tügini bojnïnï girä säp qučaγlap / šunuŋγa ägri vop qaγan bujun dejdu / bu tügini bojnïnï // (154) šä dä zörïχenim čïqqandïn kin / čulwurumni bojnumγa tügüp qojavägin / män jurtumγa kätmisäm bommajdu / digändin kin / (155) bu zörïχenim bilä ikkisi tepišqandïn kin / bu čulwurni qujavägän gäp / (156) quju pägändin kin / bu turuq vämäptu / (157) bu berip sürilläp[814] / sürilläp / tašnï qisinčisïγa qïsïli qelip / tügä šu jädä turup qaχ vo ketmämdu jenä / (158) qaχ vu kätkändikin / bu tügä šu jädä qa γïdi dejdu / (159) bu alämdä miradïŋγa jetmej ütü ketkijdiŋ[815] däp / (160) šuŋa bu zörïχenimla / dünjada miradïγa jetmej ütü ketken ädämlärän / bu / mušu tügini bojnïdiki čulwurïnï čigi qojməγaŋγa //

812 *sumbuj* < *sumbä* (< Per. *sunba* + INTER *woj*).
813 *ejtipoγandikin* < *ejtip bolγandin kejin* 'after having completed telling/reciting'.
*läp* 'moving', in other parts of Turfan *sürülüp*.
*jdiŋ* < **ötüp kätkäj ärdiŋ* 'would have passed …'.



there. (139) [The camel] brought him to his country. (140) It brought him there in early morning and he recited a verse in front of Zörixenim's door. (141)
"I came by a board,
Zörä sleeps on a board.
She makes no sounds when I call,
she is at the bosom of the black infidel."
(142) It is told that she did not awake though he had spoken thus. (143) Since she did not awake, he (recited the following verse) again:
"I came here so (straight) as a ramrod,
with the order of the Lord.
I married with a girl in Constantinople,
she is certainly as (beautiful) as you."
(144) He recited this and cried and cried and immediately sprinkled his tears from his skirt that was filled (with tears); (145) a teardrop dripped through the skylight and fell on her face, and then she stood up immediately thinking: "Tahir has come." (146) Since she did not come out though he had recited the (verse), Tahir beat the camel, (147) and said: "You, camel, recite a verse!" (148) But it said: "I cannot recite verse". (149) It was told that he beat it and broke the camel's eyebrow. (150) Then the camel recited the following verse:
"O my head, o my head
my head hurts terribly.
Coming here for you, Zörä,
my beautiful eyebrow was broken."
(151) Zörä looked and saw he was leaving with the camel. (152) Then she stopped him by shaking a handkerchief and calling: "Stop!" (153) She went to him and held the neck of the camel in her arms. It is told that that is why the neck of the camel became curved. (154) After Zörixenim came out, (the camel) said: "Please immediately bind the halter to my neck and let me go, I have to return to my country." (155) Having been reunited with Zörixenim, he immediately made the halter free. (156) After he gave the halter away, (the camel) did not allow them to catch it anymore. (157) It ran and ran, but became stuck between the mountains; it became again ugly[816] from staying there so long. (158) After it became ugly, the camel cursed them: (159) "May you pass this world away without fulfilling your wish!" (160) Therefore, Zörixenim and Tahir passed away without fulfilling their wish, since they did not tie up the halter of that camel.

816 Original: *quru kittu* 'dried out'.

68 gülämχan

(1) šundaγ bir padiša ötkinikin dejdu / (2) u patišaniki bir danə qizi varkin / (3) bu qiznin eti / gülämχan däp atilidikän // (4) künlädin bir küni / bu gülämχan χeli čoŋ vop qaγan čaγda / atəsini bir bürgä čeqivaγan čeqi varkän / šu bürgini sanduqqa sulap beqiptu / dedu // (5) bu bürgä šundaχ čoŋ vo kittu dejdu / bu bürgä juγurap // (6) mušuni esip qujimä / qasusi teppasa güläm atliq melikämni šunuŋγa četip qujimä / däptu / (7) tappaməγan ädämniŋ kalləsini aləmä / digidäxču patiša // (8) kägälla jigit birsi müšük digidäk / birsi tülki digidäk / hämmisiniŋla kalləsini čepip / nuryun jašlani kalləsini čepi kittu dejdu // (9) birsi kirip müšügikin[817] digenkin / tars qip bešini evittu buniŋki // (10) šunuŋ vilä bir kapir käp / hej patiša / mäm-mušuni teppasam / birämsä šu qizni / digiriken / birej däptu // (11) u kiripla / ujuzgä bujuzgä qarap / bu bürgikän digändikin / (12) bu ändikin / bu qizini bu kuparγa bämäxči vulup / qiriχ bir kičі kündüz toj qimaχči vuldikin / bununγa // (13) šu waχlani adıti šukän / patišalaniŋ // (14) gülämχan tuγulγan waχtida / bir aʔtni jorup gülämχanγa bägінikän / bir aʔtni / (15) bu gülämχan tuγulγandin kijinla aʔtni beqip / paraŋ selišip / paraŋγa ügіti qujuptu bu aʔtni // (16) bešimγa kün čüšti / hej aʔt / qanda qilisä mini? / (17) mušunuŋγa biri qujduγan boldi / atam ämdi mini / digändikin / (18) anda wosa / sän jamduγuŋni qipaq / män sini äkitej digändikin / bulud däptu // (19) ändi hämmä närsіni äp täjja voγandikin / (20) ändi sän taγaq / süzgü / äjnäk vahakaza birmіlirіŋnimu aldiŋmu? / digändikin / (21) jaq däptu / (22) al / mušulani a misaŋ / biz bu jolni besi kitamajmiz / digändikin (23) bu taγaq süzgü äjnäk vahakaza birmіlirni äp meŋiptu // (24) bu aʔt bir kičі kündüzdä altі ajliq jol vasidikin / (25) bu kupparniŋ bir išіgi varkä / altajliq jol vasidikä / bumu // (26) bu ikkisi qačidikin / bu kuppar istejdikin bunuŋ a qidin / (27) bunuŋ qečі ketkenligini uquväp / bu išіgini jügürtidikän bunuŋ a qidin / bu qačidikin // (28) qečip qečip bir jägä bayandin kijin / at bizä haryandäk vulup / išek jitišivalidiγandek voγanda / unda vüsa / sän taγіγіŋni at aqiŋγa / digändikin / (29) bu taγіγini atavägändikin / bu taγaq taγ vop tusajdikän / (30) bir kičі kündüz jolni besivaldikin / šu arliqta / (31) altajliq jolγa ketmämdu / bu // (32) bu kuppar ijizigä qip / bijzigä qip / u taγdin čiqivelip / jänä jitišivalaj digendikin / (33) äŋkizä / bu süzgüsini etivatidikän / a qisiγa / (34) süzgüni eitivatqandin kin / bu süzgüsi jäŋgil[818] majdan / azγan sazγan / bir parčä birmіlä vop / jänä bunuŋ aldini tusuγan / (35) tusuvaγandikin / bu jänä birmunčalіγan jolni besivaγandikin / jene jitišivaptu / bu // (36) jitišivaγandikin / äjnäxni ataväginikändux / bu äjnäx däjja vop / julini tusuvaldu bu / (37) tusuvaγandikin / u däjjaniŋ nerqi qetida / bu beriqi qetida / u iškkisi paraŋ selišip oturdikin / bula // (38) sän gülämχan qandaγ ütivaldiŋ bijägä? / digändikin / (39) män majnaγ majnaγ majnaγ öttüm / digändikin / (40) qandaγ öttüŋ? // (41) šu äsnalada / därjaniŋ u qešida üš tügmän teši qaldikin // (42) iškki biligimgä birdin arttim / birni bojnumγa kügäzdim / däjjaγa säkrіvidim / mušu ävitivätti[819] mini / däp jalγinejtidikän bu // (43) bu kuppar hä däp / iškki biliggä iškkini asidikän / bojniγa birni asidikän / taχlajdikän bu däjjaγa / (44) čükүp kitidikän // (45)

817 *müšügikin* ← *müšük ikän* 'it was a cat'.
818 *jäŋgil* 'jungle', in other regions of Turfan *jäŋgäl*, SU *jaŋgal*.
819 *ävitivätti* 'sent (me) away', in other parts of Turfan and SU *ävätivätti*.



68 Gülämkhan

(1) It is told that there was a king (2) and that king had a daughter. (3) His daughter's name was Gülämkhan. (4) One day, it is likely that a flea bit her father when Gülämkhan was fairly grown up, and he locked it in a cage and raised it. (5) It is told that this flea became very big. (6) He said: "I will hang it up and whoever can guess (what it is) will marry my princess Güläm. (7) But I will kill those who cannot guess", the king said. (8) Out of the young men who came there, one said: "It is a cat", and the another one said: "It is a fox", and he killed many young men. (9) One person came and said: "It is a cat", and he cut off his head immediately. (10) Then came an infidel and asked: "O king! Will you marry the girl to me if I guess it?" and the king said: "I will." (11) He entered, looked around and said: "It is a flea." (12) The king planned to marry his girl to this infidel, holding fourty day wedding for them. (13) It was the custom of kings of that time. (14) He had given a horse to Gülämkhan when she was born, a horse. (15) Gülämkhan had taken care of the horse since she was born, spoke with it often and taught it language. (16) "I am exposed to a misfortune, O horse! What will you do for me? (17) My father is going to marry me to this (infidel)", she said. (18) [The horse] said: "If this is so, try to prepare yourself, I will help you to escape." She said: "All right." (19) When she was finished packing all of her things, (20) [The horse] asked: "Now, did you bring your comb, *süzgü*-comb,[820] mirror and other things?" (21) She said: "No." (22) "Take them, if you do not bring them, we cannot finish our journey", it said. (23) She took her comb, *süzgü*-comb and mirror, etc and left. (24) Reportedly, this horse can run six-months' distance in a day and night, (25) and that infidel has a donkey that can also run six-months' distance (in a day and night). (26) Both of them escaped and the infidel came seeking after them. (27) [The infidel] learned they had escaped, ran his donkey after them, and they escaped. (28) When they arrived at a certain place the horse seemed to be tired. When the donkey came closer, (the horse) said: "Throw your comb behind!" (29) She immediately threw her comb and the comb blocked the (infidel's) way having become a mountain. (30) During this time, they ran (faraway) – a day and night's distance. (31) Clearly they went six-month's distance. (32) The infidel, doing this and that, crossed the mountain and came close again. (33) Then she immediately threw her *süzgü*-comb behind. (34) Since she had thrown her *süzgü*-comb, it became a jungle and thorns and other plants blocked his way again. (35) After they blocked the way they got to run a lot but he came close again. (36) When he came close, she immediately threw her mirror, and the mirror blocked his way having become a river. (37) Since it was blocked (his way), she was on the other side of the river, but he had left this side and they sat there chatting with each other. (38) He asked: "Gülämkhan, how were you able to cross to this side?" (39) She said: "I crossed this way-and-that, and this way-and-that." (40) "How did you cross?" (41) Reportedly, around that time, millstones were left on the other side of the river. (42) Then she told a lie: "I loaded a millstone in my arms and put another around my neck, jumped into the

820 Original: *süzgü* 'double-edged fine-toothed comb', cf. Schwarz 494b item *süzgä*.

ämdi bu qutulaštim däp / bula ämdi bašqa bir patišanïŋ šährigä beri qaldikän / bula // (46) ijägä bayandikin / birnäčči zaman šijädä[821] jürüjdikin / bu // (47) šu äsnalada / u kuppar birmïläni qïp däjjadin čikittu / (48) χudanï iradisï vilä čiqïvaldikä / buču / (49) bu däjjanï bujïya öjni säp o:turdikän / mušu ajalni kütüp / bu jurt ičidä jürüjdikin / (50) bu satiraščïlïq qïlïdïyan boptu / bu ämdi // (51) bu jurutnu patišasi / iskändär zulqärnäjin digäm bir ädämkin bu / (52) bunuŋ muŋüzi varkä / (53) bu patišaniŋ bešini čüšägälla ädämni uzi ötürvatidikän / bunï / (54) bešïnï bir qetïmla čüšägändin kin / u ädämni ötürvatidikin / čeppatidikin bu // (55) nim däp bundaq qïlïsä? / disä / (56) muŋüzini aškara qïp qujdïyaŋya unmajdikäm-bu // (57) unda voyandikin / šunda bir satiraš pejda vop qaldï / na:jti usta / šunï ekilni dejdikin / (58) äränčä jasïnïp mušunda boyandikin / bu na:jti usta // (59) setiraš čašni ep bop uχlap qayandikin qarəsa / na:jti čirajlïq katta / (60) häjäp siliq čüšürdikä bašnï / bunï ö:tämisäm boyïdäk däp köŋnigä insap čüšüp / öltürmidi dejdu // (61) küllä ütüp / jilla ütüp / bir ikki jilla waqït ötkändin kin / bunuŋ otturüya bir düšmän kirdi / (62) hej patiša aläm / bu ajal kišikäm-bu / är ämäs bu / digändikin / (63) bunï qanda qïlmïz äm bunï? / äjallïyïnï qanda uχturmiz bunï? / däjdikändä // (64) bu šu otturlada / otturdiki šüpäxčilä dejdu ämäsmu // (65) bu jigit vilän bir jaš jigitni sigüzpaqïnï / bir ravaq jasap ečïqïp / (66) qasusunuŋ süjdigi uzun bulduyannï kürü paχsaq / ajal kiši digänniŋ kalta vuldu bunuŋ / šunda digändikin / (67) bulud däp // (68) bu aʔtqa mäslät saldikin / bu / (69) bulud däp / bir čümüš tap ämdi / (70) bir čümüš tep / mujnuŋ vilä sijišsäŋ / aniŋkidin siniŋ uzun čikitidu / (71) šu waχtïda sän bunuŋdin qutulušsä / digändikin / (72) bulud däp / bu ändi bir čümüšni tep tejja qïptu / (73) ravaqqa čïqïp sijgändikin / unuŋkidin qïrïy yulaš ütü kittu dejdu / bunuŋ // (74) hä / bu ǰadigärlä saraŋ teptu bu däp / digäŋkin / jeni unumüyïdäk / bula // (75) anday vosa / haray ičirpaqïnï / (76) haraχ šarap ïssä / mäslixtä birim bulud digändikin / (77) bu aʔt däptu / hej gülämχan / sän mini etïm jaman tipidu / tišlejdu aldïya käsä däp / etïŋnï bayla:tma / uzun bayla mini / üzäŋ bayla mini / (78) sän qančä ïssäŋ ičivägin / siniŋ iškän harïyïŋni ta:tivirimä mä mišäd turup / sini ula birim qïlammajdu / digändikin / (79) bulud däp / bu haraχni ičiviriptu / (80) bir kičï kündüz iškendin kin / bizä kallasï birim bo qayammu / aʔtnï bizä kalta ta:tip qojsa / aʔt tipirlap / gä qïlamaj aččïyï kip / jänï tatlap tursümu / päqitmäjla bizä kaltatïp[822] qujuptu / bunï // (81) šu äsnalada bizä jïq ičivayammu / mäs vu qaptu bu / (82) mäs vup qayandikin / äjallïyïnï šädä aškara qïvaldi / (83) bu patišaji aläm ammaχči voldï bunï / (84) toqquzunči ajallïqqa alədikin / bunï // (85) ayandikin / šu äsnalada birä jil ötkändikin / bu ballïq vuldikän / (86) iškki uyul tuyuldikä // äŋkizä / (87) iškki uyul tuyulyandikin / qayan χutullïrï bizni bujäni qajdimïzda ügzügä[823] čïqïp tuyudu / tüjnüktin tuyudu bunï / (88) däp saraŋ teptu bunï // (89) tüjnüxtin tuydurup / iškki balənï suquvep / iškki kučüxni tašlap qujuptu / bunuŋya / (90) bala jïylap čüššä / qanday vulïdu bu išt valesï / däp äqli hejran bomamdu / bu // (91) šu äsnalada bu padiša o:ya čikitidikän / (92) o o:lap kirgičä / ma:la aldïya bardikä / majnay majnay bir iš / ajaliŋ tuydi / iškki išt tuydi däp // (93) bunï än šädila bujruq qïl-

821 *šijädä* < *šu järdä* 'at that place'
822 *kaltatïp* < *kaltartïp* 'making short'
823 *ügzügä* 'to the roof', DIR of *ögüzä* 'roof'.



river, and the millstones carried me away." (43) The infidel said: "I see" and hung two (millstones) on his arms, jumped into the river with another one around his neck. (44) He sunk down in the river. (45) Then she said: "I have been rescued", they arrived in a country of another king without being noticed. (46) She stayed there for a while after she arrived. (47) Around the same time the infidel did something else and got out of the river. (48) Thanks to the Lord's will he was able to get out. (49) He built a house on the riverbank and stayed there waiting for Gulämkhan[824] but she travelled around inside the other country. (50) There she had to act as a barber. (51) The king of the country was a man called Iskandar Zulqarnayin. (52) He had a horn. (53) He killed everybody who cut his hair. (54) He killed everybody after they had cut his hair. (55) If one asks: "Why does he do so?" (56) Because he does not want them to reveal his horn. (57) Since it was so, someone said: "Suddenly the barber so-and-so has appeared, he is very skillful, let's bring him." (58) She dressed herself up like a man and became very masterful (at hair cutting). (59) The barber[825] slept after he cut the (king's) hair, and (the king) looked at him and found he was very beautiful. (60) It is told that (the king) thought: "He cuts hair very smoothly, it seems to be better that I do not kill him", and did not kill her having a little sense of justice in his mind. (61) Days and years passed. After two years had passed, an enemy appeared between them. (62) He said: "O the king of the world! He is a woman, not a man." (63) They conferred: "What shall we do now? How can we let (people) know she is a woman?" (64) Around that time the instigators between them said thus: (65) "Let's build a porch, bring them there and have this young man and the other young man piss. (66) Let's try to see whose urine goes furthest, since a woman's urine does not go far." (67) [The king] said: "All right." (68) [Gülämkhan] consulted with the horse. (69) [The horse] said: "Well, now find a ladle. (70) If you find a ladle and piss through it, your urine will go further than of his. (71) Then you will be rescued from this." (72) She said: "All right" and found a ladle. (73) They pissed from the porch, reportedly her urine went fourty fathoms further than of his. (74) [The king] said: "Obviously, these sorcerers have made me foolish", but they did not give up. (75) "If so let's have them drink alcohol. (76) Something will happen if he drinks alcohol and gets drunk", they said. (77) The horse said: "O Gülämkhan, do not let them tie me saying: 'My horse is bad, it bites if someone comes in front of it.' Tie me yourself but tie me (leaving) long (lead). (78) You may drink as much as you will. I will stay here and take away the brandy you have drunk so they cannot do anything to you", it said. (79) She said: "All right" and drank continuously. (80) After she had drunk for one day and night, it seems that she had some problem in her head and she shortened the tie of the horse a little. The horse terrified, raked the ground, having become angry, but it was not able to speak. She had shortened the (rope) not understanding the horse. (81) Around that time she seems to have drunk too much and became drunk. (82) Since she had become drunk, they learned she was a woman. (83) The king of the world planned to marry her. (84) He married her as his ninth wife. (85) He married her and about one

824 Original: *ajal* 'woman'.
825 From here on Gülämkhan was described as a barber as well as a man.

dïkä / aʔtqa sürdürtüp ö türvitiŋla bunï däp / (94) aʔtqa sürdürtüp / taza tosun aʔtqa sürdürtüp qojavirdikä bunï / (95) qanda voldï / bir jälägä kägändä / ayamčɨ üzülü kitip / qutulu qaldïkä bu // (96) qutulu qaɣandikin / bu ämdi bijizigä peqera / ijizigä peqera / helïqï dejja vujïɣa keqaldïkä / bu jänä / (97) helïqï kuppar saqlap turdu ämäsmu / bunï / (98) bu ämdi käldiŋmu? / disä / hä däp / (99) munï ämdi tutuvaɣandikin / ämdi bu jinä bir ilâjï qïldïkä / bu / (100) hej toχta / män äšu etïmnï teppalaj / etïmnï teppammïsam bomajdu / (101) sa̅ma išɨgiŋ nädä / išɨgiŋni tap / billɨla jurutqɨla kitini / atamnï qešïɣa / digändikin / (102) bulud däp / bu äχmäq // (103) šundaq qïlïp bu aʔtni tapədikän / (104) tapqandikin / šu äsnalada bu aʔt ballanï baqïdikän // (105) än bu aʔt / balla mišädä ba däp / ballənï anəsïɣa kösɨtidikän / (106) ballə[826] anəsïnï elïp / čoŋ vulup / berïp bir därja vujïɣa verïp öj selïp o turidikin / bula / (107) bu aʔt o o lap ekipirdikin bulaɣa / (108) šu ǰärän birmɨläni tutup / qoɣlav jürüp dässäp söräp / čišläp kütürüp ekilip / dašulanï baqədikin ämdi // (109) künlädin bir küni / jejdïɣan hešnimïsi qa maj / owlajdïɣan jälämu qa maj / ändin baləsïɣa däptu / (110) ämdi mini ö türüv jäŋnä / ämdi / (111) qančɨ kün boldï silä mušundaq jürgili / aš qursaq qaldïŋla / (112) mini jä kätküčilik / χuda bir jägä burur silänimu ämdi / digändikin / (113) bulud däp / ämdi čaqqanaraq birsi / häqli kičigaraq birsi ö türü qujuptu bunï / (114) apəsï bir jägä kitivikänduχmu dejmä // (115) ö türü qojɣandikin / jiɣlap qaχšap / bu göšni jäp jürüptu / (116) bir näččɨ vaχ ötkändikin / azaz azaz[827] istimal qïlïp jürüp / bu gömu tügäptu / ämdi / (117) ämdi bunï qanda qïlïmïz? / däp turɣandikin (118) / bir adäm kilip / šundaχ katta ballərkän ämdi / (119) bu küzätküči kilip padiša alämgä jätküzidikin / (120) padiša a läm üzi kilip sürüštürsä / ajalï šu / bu gülämχan // (121) bununǰdïn ähval surəɣandikin / majdaɣ majdaɣ ähval / (122) män tuɣutumda tamaχ jigändikin / mini könä qajdä bujičä tüjnükkä čiqïp tuɣusïlä däp / säkkis χutun mini dašägä ečiqïp saraŋ qïp / mini dašädä tuɣdurdi / (123) küčüxni ekip tašlap qujuptu / siligä mušdaχ mälum qïp // (124) mini aʔtqa sördürtvättilä / (125) aʔt bir jägä berïp / qajdaɣ voldï aɣamčɨ bika vop kitip / män qutulaštïm / (126) etïmnï istäp teppalaj däp ba sam / etïm mujdaɣ bir ǰaŋgili mejdanda jürüptu / (127) aʔtnï tapsam / ballanï kö stüp / siniŋ ballərïŋ mišädä / šunï qoɣdap jürivatïmïz däp / (128) miradi mäχsät vilä išškis[828] mujdaχ jürüptu / (129) bir kijik jigüzüptu / bunï mujdaχ qïp jürüptu // (130) äm kilip mušu därja bujïɣa kätäx selïp o taduq / aʔt bizni baχtï / (131) aʔtmu öldï / jä kättuq bu aʔtnïmu ämdi / hal mišägičä käldï / digändikin / (132) patišaji a läm hämmɨni uqup / anda vüsa kitimiz ämdi / däptu // (133) ekilip / bu sekkis χutunnï / anda vüsa silänï aʔtnï qujruɣɣa sürdürtüp / üzäm öltäsäm boɣədäx däp / ulanï aʔtniŋ qujruɣɣa sürdürtüp ölturvittu / ämdi // (134) sekkis χutunnï hemmɨsini juqutup / ämdi bu bałła vilä qäp / birnäččɨ jilla bu jurutni surəɣandïn kin / atanəsïnï jad itiptu / (135) miniŋmu atam bilä anam ba vuɣijdi / (136) jurtum palanï jädïdi / jïraq ämdi / (137) apasaŋ mini šägä / digändikin // (138) ämdi bu däjja vujïɣa kägändikin / kuppar jänä tusaptu / jänä / (139) mäm bu ajalnï qoɣlušup mišägä kägän / sän bu ajalnï tativapsä / jandurpä bu ajalnï däp turvaldikin bu // (140) hej / män saŋɣa patišalïɣïmni bädim / alä

826 *ballə* ← *balalar* 'children', in other parts of Turfan mostly *balla*.
827 *azaz azaz* < *az az az az* 'little by little', repeated form of *az* 'little'.
828 *išškis* ← *ikkisi*.



year later she became pregnant. (86) She gave birth to twin sons. (87) After the twin sons were born the other wives (of the king) said: "According to the regulation of our country one has to bear climbing to the roof and give birth from the skylight." (88) They said this, making her foolish. (89) They had her give birth from the skylight, hid the twin sons and threw down two puppies to her. (90) She wondered extremely: "Obviously a child came down crying, how can it be puppies." (91) Around that time the king left for hunting. (92) On his return from hunting they went in front of him and said: "Such-and-such a matter, your wife gave birth to two dogs." (93) The King immediately gave an order: "Kill her by having her run after a horse!" (94) They ran her after a horse. They had her run right behind a very wild horse. (95) It is not clear what happened. The rope broke when she arrived somewhere and she was rescued. (96) After she was rescued, she travelled here and there and again came to the bank of the river. (97) You know, the infidel was waiting there for her. (98) He asked: "Have you come?" and she said: "Yes." (99) He caught her but she again found another way. (100) "Wait a moment, let me find my horse, I have to find my horse. (101) Where is your donkey? Find your donkey too and let's return to our country, to my father's side together", she said. (102) He, the foolish guy said: "All right." (103) Then she found the horse. (104) She found the horse and the horse took care of the children around that time. (105) The horse said: "The children are here" and showed the children to their mother. (106) The children grew up and brought their mother to the bank of a river, built a house and stayed there. (107) The horse hunted and brought (his gains) to them. (108) It captured gazelle and other animals by driving them and brought them back by baiting, dragging, biting and lifting. It took care of them by doing so. (109) One day, they had nothing left to eat and had also no place to hunt. (The horse) said to (Gülämkhan's) child: (110) "Now, kill me and eat me. (111) You have been living this way for many days, you are starving. (112) Until you have eaten me up, the Lord may give you a way", it said. (113) One of the children who was impatient and foolish killed the horse without knowing. (114) It is likely that their mother had left for somewhere else (by that time). (115) They killed it without knowing. They cried, they wept but lived by eating its meat. (116) After some time had passed, they also finished eating its meat, eating it little by little. (117) They conferred: "How shall we deal with this now?" (118) Then a person came there and found those children to be very smart. (119) This scout went to the king and told about them. (120) The king of the world came there and asked the people and learned that she was his wife Gülämkhan. (121) He asked her what had happened, and she said: "The situation is such-and-such. (122) I ate food after the birth, the eight women brought me there saying: "According to our traditional regulations you must bear climbing on the skylight", so they had me give birth there making me a fool. (123) I found they had brought puppies and threw them there then informed you of this-and-that. (124) You had me run after a horse. (125) The rope broke when the horse arrived somewhere else and I was rescued. (126) I went to a place in order to find my horse and found the horse was staying in a jungle. (127) I found the horse and it said: 'Your children are here, we are protecting them.' (128) As one may wish both children were staying there safe. (129) [The horse] had them eating deer and they lived so. (130)

bu tamɣəlanï hämmɨsïni / (141) säm mušu jurūtnï surap olturivä / (142) bu jurūtnï sura / sän patiša vol säm bijägä / (143) däp jurūtnï bunuŋɣa birivitip / qïznï iškki balәsï vilän ijägä ba sa / (144) ula šu qerïp / munup halɨdin kiti qaptu dejdu // (145) bula ulanï kürüp / anda vūsa / sämma amdalla kipsä / (146) sämma bir patišajikänsä / (147) säm-mušu jurutni surap / sämma äm mišädä iškkiŋla hajatïŋlanï kučürüp ütü kessäŋlara / (148) mämma bäk qerï kittimä ämdi / (149) däp patišalïχnï äjädin kägän patišaɣa birivetip / tärki dünja vup qäptu dejdu / (150) u kupparmu heliqï jurutni surap qeptu dejdu / (151) mämmu jini käptimämmu nimä / öjgä // (152) šunda bir hikajikän bu / ämdi / (153) addila qïp ejtipädim / män ämdi / (154) bunï ejssaχ jïq / mäm-bunï bunuŋɣa ejti pirmä / uχlʉtammajču //



Then we came to the bank of this river and built a small room and stayed there and the horse took care of us. (131) The horse also died and we ate the horse, this is the situation", she said. (132) The king of the world got to know everything and then said: "If this is so, let's go back now." (133) He brought them back and spoke to the eight wives: "Now I shall kill you myself by having you run after a horse" and he killed them having them run after a horse (having tied them) to the tail of the horse. (134) He killed those eight women, left with the children and ruled the country for some years. Now she missed her parents. (135) "I should also have parents. (136) My country is at such-and-such a place and fairly faraway. (137) Could you please bring me there", she said. (138) They arrived at the bank of the river but the infidel blocked them. (139) "I came here running after this lady and you took this lady away, return her to me", he insisted. (140) (The King said:) "Hey, I give you my kingdom, take the seals and everything. (141) Just stay here and rule this country. (142) Become a king and rule this country." (143) Saying this, he gave him this country and came (to Gülämkhan's county) together with Gülämkhan as well as the two children. (144) They found Gülämkhan's parents had become very old and weak. (145) [The parents] saw them and said: "It is so nice you came here. (146) You were also a king. (147) You rule this country and both of you enjoy your life here. (148) I find I have become very old now." (149) Saying this, (Gülämkhan's father) gave up his royal throne to the king who came from another country and left there and had become world-weary. (150) Reportedly, the infidel ruled the other country. (151) [After that] I returned home. (152) It is such a story. (153) Now I have made it simple and told it to you. (154) There are a lot of (tales) to tell. I tell them to her (= my wife) to put her to sleep.

69. miniŋ tariχim

(1) bijäsini könisigä hejtaǰin kariz däp atajdu / (2) jeŋisïya ojman kariz däp qujdu / (3) böri ulaqqa qarajdu / (4) män toχsun qarəsudin / (5) bijägä toj qilïp kägänču // (6) män on tö ješimda toj qïyan / (7) onaltï ješimda tuɣdum / (8) u balam tügä kitip / ojjettä ješimda jeni birni tuɣdum qarəsïla // (9) joldušumniŋma atəsï joq / (10) miniŋ atam könä inqïlapta tügäp kitivikänduq / (11) urus jeɣilïɣï däp qujïmïz / u kämlädičo // (12) biz bäš altï jaš waχlirïmizkä / (13) qumul jeŋi buzulɣan waχla däp qujidikinčo / unï // (14) atam bir jil turup qumulɣa verip / qumul buzulup bir jil kilamaj turup / (15) bijägä kip / bijä jeɣilïq vop/ (16) atam bijägä kilip äskär vulup / (17) mamut siliŋni[829] äskiri dajdiɣav-vaχlamiki / (18) šundaq qïp äskär vulup / atam mušu ko:ra[830] tiräpigä äskär vop berïp / šä dä tügäp kitiptu // (19) biz u kämdä / alti jaštäk qeptïmïz / (20) šu kämlädä / atamniki atəsï säxsän toχsaj jašlada bamidikin / (21) dadïmïzma / jüz jašqa kägändä tügidi // (22) u dadamniki / mini joldušum ävrisi / män nävrisi / (23) bulaniŋma atəsï joq / miniŋma atam joq / (24) iškki jitimniŋ bešinï oŋlap qujaj däp / dadam rähmätlik mušu ädämgä toj qïptu / ävrisigä mini // (25) dadam rähmätlik / tojnï qïlïmïz däp turɣan vaχtïda / baritajliɣiniŋ[831] jettisi ülü qelïp / (26) on töt miniŋ tujum boldi / (27) mini haravəɣa selïpla / daŋgur duŋgur ǰïχ toj qïmaj / haravïɣa sepla a:ɣan / (28) bijägä ekip qojɣan // (29) bizmu atəmïzdin kičik qelïp / bäš bala jitim qaɣan qarəsïla / (30) eniŋ qoltuɣïda / bunuŋ qoltuɣïda čoŋ vulup // (31) ajdaχ qïp / (32) änkizä mäm-ballani kičigidim / (33) hämmisini toj qï kitip / dadam mini ävrisigä ekipägän[832] / (34) ilallïχ digäj-jädä olturïdikä / u χäχču // (35) u waχlada ilallïχ dejdïɣan / hazïr böri ulaq dejdu / (36) bijädä / miniŋdin čoŋ bir igičim ba / qarəsïla / (37) toχsäj-jašqa kirdi / (38) bijädä ämäs / birinči dadijdä / mijädä / (39) munu χošnam säxsän näčči jašqa kirdi / (40) mušu mähällidä / čoŋ bis[833] ikki ajal qalduqmikin / (41) ämdi qaɣalla sap jaš / älliɣ atmiš / (42) šundaq bijiččilä ba / (43) taza miniŋ vilä täŋ / taza bijit ejtidïɣalla baridi / (44) hikajä ejtidïɣalla baridi / ülüp ketti // (45) balam altijdi / (46) altistin hazir bäšisi ba / (47) čuŋï atmïš jašqa kiri qaldï / (48) kičigi aqïlǰam bilä täŋ / älliɣ altinči jili tuɣulɣan / ballanï kičigi // (49) joldušum tügä ketkili tö jil voldï / (50) qïzïm joq / qarəsïla / (51) ikki qïs tuɣdum / ula tügä ketti / (52) ikki qïz nävrämni baχtïm / birsi tügä ketti / birsi ba // (53) u qïzïmnï atəsï ülü ketti / atəsïdïn biraj agal / oɣlum tügidï / (54) joldŭšum täräppal tügä qaldi / (55) bir aj ütkändä / oɣlum tügä qaldï / (56) u bala kisäl čaɣlada / atəsï tazidi // (57) bäš balәsï vardi / birni maŋɣa vägän / qïzi joq apamniŋ däp / (58) ašuni män beqïp uqutup / tö jil / (59) bijil ombirinčajda išqa čušti / bazada išlejdu // (60) uɣul valłanï čuŋi / atmiš jašqa kirdi / mijädä o:turdu / (61) ikkinčisi / ikkinči šodŭj däp birsidä o:turdu / (62) birsi bazada muhällim / (63) učinčisi mijädä o:turdu / umu jeničmda / (64) tötinčisi vilä bir o:turmä // (65) atəsï tügäp / bilägidi / (66) säm-miniŋ vilä otur /

829 *mamut siliŋ* 'Commander Mamut', consists of personal name *mamut* and the title *siliŋ* < Chin. 司令 *si-ling* 'commander'.
830 *ko:ra* place name, SU *korla* the capital city of Bayingholin Mongol Autonomous Prefecture.
831 *baritajliɣï* < *barat ajliqï*.
832 *ekipägän* < *elïp kilip bärgän* (< **alip kälip bärgän*).
833 *bis* < *biz* 'we'.



69. My background

(1) Long ago this place was called Heytajin Karez, (2) now people just call it Oyman Karez. (3) It belongs to Böri Ulaq. (4) I am (originally) from Qarasu in Toxsun. (5) I came here by marriage. (6) I married at the age of fourteen, (7) and gave birth at the age of sixteen. (8) But the child died. I gave birth again at the age of seventeen, you see. (9) My husband also had no father. (10) My father passed away during the old revolution. (11) We called it the Russian War at the time. (12) [At that time] we were five or six years old. (13) It was also just called the time when Qomul newly rebelled. (14) My father went to Qomul and stayed there for one year. He stayed there for one year not being able to come back since Qomul had rebelled. (15) He came back but there was war here also. (16) My father came here and became a soldier. (17) I guess it happened at the time when people used (the expression) Commander Mamut's troop. (18) Doing so, having become soldier, my father went in the direction of Korla and died there. (19) We left there at the age of about six. (20) At that time presumably my grandfather was eighty or ninety. (21) Our grandfather died when he reached the age of one hundred. (22) My husband is the grand-grand child of my grandfather and I am his granddaughter. (23) They also had no father and neither did I. (24) My late grandfather married me to this person, to his grand-grand child, thinking: "Let me arrange the marriage of these orphans." (25) My late grandfather planned to hold a wedding, but he died on the seventh of the Barat month. (26) On the fourteenth of (the Barat month) my wedding took place. (27) [He] married me taking me in the chariot. It was not a very noisy wedding, they just took me in the chariot. (28) They brought me here. (29) We lost our father when we were small and we five children became orphans. (30) We were raised in the armpit of this and that. (31) It happened so. (32) Well, I was the youngest amongst the children. (33) My grandfather waited until he had married all of them then brought me to his grand-grand son and I married him. (34) Then people used to stay at a place called Ilanliq. (35) At that time we called it Ilanliq, but now we call it Böri Ulaq. (36) My older sister is there, you see. (37) She is ninety years old. (38) She is not here at the first brigade, but there. (39) This neighbour is more than eighty years old. (40) I think only two old people are left in this village, (41) the others are young, about fifty or sixty. (42) There are some very skilful folk singers. (43) We had people at my age who sing very well. (44) There were story-tellers but they died. (45) I had six children (46) and five out of those six are now alive. (47) The oldest one is almost sixty years old. (48) The youngest one is of the same age as Aqiljan, he was born in 1956, I mean the youngest one. (49) Four years have passed since my husband died. (50) I have no daughter, you see. (51) I birthed two daughters, but both of them died. (52) I took care of two granddaughters. One has died and the other one is living. (53) The father of that granddaughter passed away and my son died one month before his father. (54) My husband suddenly passed away. (55) Having passed one month, my son also died. (56) My husband was healthy when the child was sick. (57) He (the son) had five children and he gave me one of them, thinking: "My mother has no daughter." (58) I raised her and had her study for four years. (59) November of this year she began to work. She works in the town. (60) The oldest son is sixty years old and he lives here, (61) the

ämdi jenïmda voγandikin / disäm / (67) ula tamɨγïmnï itip qičɨrïdu / (68) tamaχnï ičimä / čïqïp qïŋγɨjip jatïmä / (69) bizä bizä quran uqup qujimä / (70) namɨzïmnï uqup / ballaniki bäχtigä duwa qïlïp / (71) ballanï amallïγγa / patšanï insavïγa duwa qïlïp o turmä / qarəsïla // (72) alla tala igäm / qačan bizgä täγdir tušu qaγïčilik / mujdaχ o turidikämmiz / (73) tojlaγɨmu barïmä / näzirgɨmu barïmä / musivätlägimu barïmä / (74) barïmä hämmɨ jägä / maŋïmä //

70 tatqan älämlɨrïm

(1) miniŋ nävrilirimču / maŋa hikajä ejtpäsilä ana / (2) jezivalaj / kijirräxlädä lazïm bu qammamdu / dejdu / (3) hä dejmä / (4) joχ vop kitidikin / mujdaχ bir adäm suriγandïn kinla // (5) üzäm / jaš waχtlɨrïmda tatqan älämlɨrïmni / tatqan išlɨrïmni / kö gän küllɨrïmni däppäsäm / (6) miniŋ ämdi bir χetïm joq / (7) χetïm buγam-bŭsa / χatirä qaldurup / bir däptägä jezivitip kätkäm-bŭsam dejmä // (8) biz kičix čaχlada / öjlüx voγaw waχladəma / öjlädɨma käŋlik birmä bo məγandikin/ qarəsïla / ǰapamu tattuq / (9) joχsusluχnu dädinimu tattuq / (10) balla tuγulγandəmu ǰapa tattuq // (11) taladïn tapəmïz / bɨrni ikkigä tapədu / qarəsïla / (12) küzlük tapqan bɨrmïmïz / küzlükkä kitidu / (13) biz ikkimiz qalïmïz / qarəsïla / (14) ä χutun ikkäjlän jänä mušu öjdä // (15) silkinïpla / bäš šiŋ qunəγïm ba däp / mä äkirimä / (16) bu qïzïm kiridu / bir küri qunəγïm ba däp // (17) ä χutun ikkäjlän tapqan buγdajla / qunaχla / küz voγəčɨlik hämmɨsi čikitidu / (18) qałmïs / jene balla vilä / (19) jene ätijaz vuldu / küzlükkä äp jäjdïγan gäp / jänä / qïjnïlïp / (20) küz vuγanda čikitu // (21) buγdajnïmu χäχnikini terijdïγan buγandikin / (22) on dadän čïχsa / on dadän dejmïz / ämdi u kämlädä / bäšni u χäχkä väsäk / bäši bizgä qałdu / (23) bäštin jenä ras bägili tursaq / üzimizgä qa majdu / jänä // (24) ašu bäš dädän buγdajdin / bäš kürini jɨ ni mundaq ujup / samannï qujup / šunï ičigä buγdajni qujup / tüpigä samanni jepïp / tüpigä tupəni tɨ tï qujmiz / (25) än niŋ-qïlsä? / däŋ / (26) ätijazliqqa šä ni kolap elïp / jɨ gä čačïmïz eni / (27) jɨ gä čačsaq / jä bir küri qałdu / jä bäš šiŋ qałdu / jä ikki šiŋ qałdu / ja bir šiŋ qałdu // (28) u küllänï ašnaq qïp ötkäzduq / (29) bir ikki šiŋ qa sa / unï tügmäŋgä äpirip ta tïp / (30) u buγdajnï mandaχ χaltɨγa qačɨlap / äjläkkä elïp / (31) u kämlädä ä läxlä va / mujdaγ ä läjdïγan / (32) ä läp / igiz jutqa equjmiz / qarəsïla / (33) silidäk / kičik qïzïmdäk mimaŋ-käsä / äläxtä ä läp / eniŋγa bizä qunaχnï qušup / munda munda qïlïp / jä muku muku qïp mäta qïlïmïz / (34) ja bomïsa / änï ašu bizä pöškäl qïlïp / jaγlanï sürkäštürüp / mimallanï uztümïz // (35) šundaq qïp kün küčürüp ütidïγan / (36) ballaγa nä diki // (37) hazir bu partijäni waχtïda / qarəsïla / jäj disäx va / (38) kijäj disäx va / nim digän käŋ taša // (39) u kämlädä ta tï kätkän älämlänï χjjal qïsaq / zari zar jïγlajdïγan // (40) kičɨsï äšädä o turup / tapsəni ajəγïda / (41) ballanï atəsï vilä učaχnï ajlida o turup / siz eti piriŋ / män kümürni salaj / (42) manda manda kümürlänï tirip äkep / sałmïs // (43) palančidin bir küri / pustančidin bir küri ałmïz / (44) bir küri digäŋgä / išk küri birmiz / unuŋγa / (45) iškküri[834] digäŋgä jil čïqamdu? / (46) ällig ǰïŋγa / jüz ǰïŋ virmiz / (47) ajdaχ qïlïp / ballanï beqïp čoŋ qïγan // (48) birä kičɨlɨrïčo / χjjal qïsam / taŋ atqəčä ujχum kämäjdu

834 *iškküri ← ikki küri*



second one lives at a place called Second Small-brigade, (62) the other one is a teacher in the town; (63) the third one lives here beside me. (64) I live with the fourth child. (65) He used to (live) alone when my husband died. (66) I said: "Stay together with me since you are living next to me." (67) They cook food for me and invite me. (68) I take my food, lie down and take my rest. (69) Sometimes I read the Qur'an a little bit. (70) I do my prayers and pray for the fortune of my children. (71) I sit here and pray for the safety of my children as well as for the mercy of the king, you see. (72) My God ((may He be exalted), we stay (in this world) so until our destination has arrived. (73) I go to weddings and I go to nezirs. I also go to funerals. (74) I go everywhere. I walk.

70 Suffering I have experienced

(1) My grandchildren say: "Grandmother, please tell me a story, (2) and let me write it down. Probably we can make use of it later." (3) I say: "All right". (4) [The story] disappears when someone asks me. (5) If I try to tell you of my own sufferings and the life that I experienced during my childhood . . (6) I am illiterate.[835] (7) If I could write, I would like to make diary, write them down in a note book and then die. (8) We suffered when we were small and we married, since our family had nothing, you see. (9) We have suffered from poverty. (10) We have suffered when our children were born. (11) We worked outside, one had to earn two for each one kept, you see. (12) Our earnings for the autumn had to be used for autumn. (13) We two live here, you see. (14) Again, we two, my husband and I (live) in this house. (15) I bring something saying: "I have five *sheng* of corn." (16) This daughter comes saying: "I have one *küri* of corn". (17) All the wheat and corn earned by us, by this couple will be spent by autumn. (18) We leave again with children. (19) The spring comes again , and we suffer again and had to eat by taking (rent) for the autumn. (20) All to be spent in the autumn. (21) Since we had to grow wheat (with borrowed seed) from others, (22) out of our ten *dadän* of earnings — that time we used to use (the expression) ten *dadän* — only five *dadän* were left for us when we pay back the five *dadän* to others. (23) If we pay for other things with this five (*dadän*), again it leaves nothing for us. (24) Out of the five *dadän* of wheat, we (keep) five *küri*. We dig the ground, put on the straw, arrange the wheat in it, cover it with straw and bury it with earth. (25) If one asks: "What do you do with it?" (26) In spring we dig the ground and sow it in the field. (27) If we sow it in the field, it leaves only one *küri*, maybe five *shengs*. It may also be two *shengs* or only one *sheng*. (28) We spent those days like that. (29) If there are one or two *shengs* left, we brought it to the mill and ground flour. (30) We loaded the wheat in a sack like this and put it in the flour-sieve, (31) at that time we had a flour-sieve to sift (flour), (32) we sifted it and put it in the niche above, you see. (33) If guests came like you and like my youngest daughter, we sifted it with the flour-sieve, mix a little maize with it and cooked meat-dumplings covering it like this. (34) Otherwise, we cooked some fried cake by applying some oil to it, and offered it to guests. (35) We used to spend our life like that.

835 Original: *miniŋ ämdi bir χetïm joq* lit. 'I have only no letter/script.'

jumu / (49) kö gän külläni / ošu jahanni / bügüŋki dölätkä äkilḋiyan bŭsaq / nim digäj jaχši / hazir // (50) kijim disä kijim ba / (51) hej balam / pat birim jigim keketti / dise ekip pirdu / qaraŋ // (52) u kämlädä nä dä vułdu? / qonaχ nandim-biläx / (53) kükürü kätkän ikki küri qunaχni / bir küri buydajya elip jejdiyan / u kämlädä // (54) šu kämlädä / birmilä nägi kätkän boyijdi? / (55) hazirqi / nim digän rahätčilik bu / däp šundaχ disem / (56) balla ayzimya qarajdu // (57) bizniki u kämlä / buluŋ buluŋ ikki buluŋ / jerim šiŋ / (58) jerim jerim ikki jerim / bir šiŋ / dejdiyan gäplä varidi / (59) bir kün išlisiŋiz / jerim šiŋ buydaj viridiyaŋkänduq / šu kämlädä // (60) hazir / čüšimä disiŋiz / mašin turyan / (61) minim disiŋiz / vilispit turyan / matut tuřyan / (62) balilirim matotluχ ayil kilip / äpirip äkep qujdu / (63) majnay tursa // (64) aqiljan / bir χušna bir balam ba / mašinliq äkilḋu / apirdu / (65) mäjädä čoŋ oylum ba / ijägä jajaq kirmis / (66) ballani bäχtimu čoŋ tursa / qerilaniŋ bäχtimu amdan // (67) hazir göš jejmi disiŋiz ba / qaraŋ / (68) u kämdä / bir küri qunaqqa göš asəŋiz / bäš šiŋ qunaqqa bir jiŋ virdu / qaraŋ / (69) hazir / göšläni nečilik jejmi disiŋiz jejsiz //

### 71 toχsunda toj

(1) tuqqalla / χulum χošnila toj qisa / bizni bijlä äp maŋiḋučo / čoŋ däp // (2) oyul täräpniŋ qis täräpkä älči kigäzsä / silidäk bir ädämni kirgüzidu / qarəsila / (3) sili kirip / qandaq / amda n o turamla? / (4) qandaq ävalleri? / däp nim qiyandikin / (5) waj amdan kirdilämu? / (6) nejniya bejniya dijšip / (7) ämdi / balla munday munday boptu / qanda qilmiz? / (8) ämdi muwapiχ körämla kömämla? / disä / (9) kö gällä / kürimiz dejdikä / (10) kö migällä / muwapiχ kö miduq dejdikä / qarəsila / (11) ajdaχ qilišip bułdu / äl qataričču // (12) χäχniŋdin bala aldan boyandikin / kirdikämmiz qarsila // (13) mämma alti oylni sekkis qata ö lidim / qarsila / (14) čuŋini bir qata ö lidim / kičik oylumni üš qata ö lidim / qarəsila / (15) eniŋdin qayallani / bir qatadin toj qilduq // (16) aldida bir barimiz / (17) amda olturupla / qanday mijäzliri? / däp bir tunušqili varimiz / (18) äni a qidin änkinizä / hoj amdan olturamla? / bizni amdan lajiχ kürüpla / däp berip / (19) u χäχ vilä nejniya bejniya qilišip / tunušup tuqqan bulušup / (20) äŋkizä / bizä birmiläni äpirip aldiya qujmiz / (21) eniŋ a qidin / aš aparmiz / (22) aldida / tajzimya varmiz däp barmiz / (23) birä qata barmiz / ämdi / ikki qatamu bardu // (24) čaj apirmiz däp bir bar-



(36) What can be (left) for children?! (37) Now, at the time of the (Communist) party, you see, we have (food) if we want to eat, (38) we have (clothes) if we want to wear them. Life was so plentiful. (39) Thinking of the severity of what we have experienced we used to weep. (40) Evenings we sat there, just in front of the seat immediately by the door. (41) I sat together with my husband[836] and said: "Please throw me the coal, I'll put it in (the fireplace)." (42) We made fire by collecting small coal pieces. (43) We used to borrow one *küri* from such-and-such a person and one more *küri* from another person. (44) For one *küri* we had to pay back two *küris*. (45) How can one spend a year with two *kuris* of (grain)? (46) We had to pay a hundred *jin* for fifty *jin*. (47) Doing this, we raised our children. (48) If I thought about them some nights, I could not sleep anymore. (49) If we compare the days we have spent with today's fortune, how it is good today! (50) There are clothes if one wants dress. (51) If I say: "O my child! I want to eat such-and-such immediately", they bring it. (52) What did we have before other than the maize-bread! (53) At that time we used to eat two *küri* of mildewed corn, for which we had exchanged one *küri* of wheat. (54) Where have the things of that time disappeared to?. (55) If I say: "It is so comfortable today", (56) the children are astonished. (57) During our time: "Two quarters are a half *sheng*, (58) two halves are one *sheng*", we had such a saying. (59) Obviously, at that time they used to give half a *sheng* of wheat if one worked for a day. (60) Now there are cars if you want to take them, (61) there are bicycles and motorbikes if you want to ride. (62) My children come by motorbike to pick me up and send me back (by motorbike, too). (63) It is so. (64) My child Aqiljan is my neighbour, he brings me and sends me back with the car. (65) My oldest son is here and we go there by foot. (66) The fortune of children is great, the fortune of old people is also great. (67) Now, there is meat if you want to eat, you see. (68) At that time if you buy meat for one *küri* of corn, they used to give one *jin* (meat) for five *sheng* of corn. (69) Now you may eat as much meat as you want.

### 71 Wedding at Toxsun

(1) Relatives and neighbours bring us together when they hold weddings, considering us to be experienced. (2) If the side of the bridegroom sends a messenger to the side of bride, they send someone like you, you see. (3) You visit them and say: "How are you? (4) How is your life?" (5) They will say: "It is nice you came here." (6) After having talked of this and that, (7) [the messenger] says: "Well, the children have become this-and-that, what should we do? (8) Do you think it is favourable or not?" (9) Those who favour will say: "We think it is favourable", (10) but those who do not favour it will say: "We think it is not favourable". (11) It is arranged by doing so, in the common way. (12) We have to visit them since we are taking others' child. (13) I arranged marriage eight times for six sons, you see. (14) I married the oldest one once and the youngest son thrice, you see. (15) The others we married once, respectively. (16) We visit the (bride's family) once earlier. (17) We go there in order to get to know them

836 Original: *ballani atisi* 'the father of the children'.

mïz / mandaχ bir dastɨχan qïlïpču / (25) birä čaj / töt bäš nan elïp / u χäχnikigä / bir ikki kijimlik räχ elïp / barmïz / (26) čejï däp / enï aqïdïn aš aparmïz // (27) ešïnï apaγan čaγda / enkinizä / tojluγïnïma alïdu / (28) ävällädä / tojluγïnï kijin apardïγan / (29) hazir šu / ašnï apardu / tojluχnïmu apardu / pulnŭmučo / (30) üš miŋ koj aparamdu / tö miŋ koj aparamdu / ašu toj boγïdäk birmä apardu / (31) ja u χäq / öj särämǰallɨrnï üzüŋlä eliŋlä / munčä birmä ekiliŋlä / dejdu / (32) bizgä / toj tüggɨčä mijman uzatqïdäx birmä ekiliŋlä / dejdu / (33) jä misä / sajmannï üzimiz alɨmis / munčilixtin äkiliŋlä / dejdu / (34) jä bäš miŋ kej ekiliŋlä / dejdu / jä tö miŋ koj ekiliŋlä / dejdu / (35) šundaχla qïlïpla qïlïmïz / ämdi tojlanï // (36) un aparmïz / bir ikki üš χalta / üš töt χalta / (37) jaγ apparmïz / (38) qoj / šundaχ birmɨläni apɨrmïs / (39) toχsunda idä joq / turpallada qïldu / (40) biz kičix čeγïmizdɨla joq / u / (41) turpallada šundaq qïlïdikän // (42) büšükkä saγan čeγïda / ǰamahätni qičïrïp / bizčo / (43) buγursaχlanï selïp / andaχ ballanï qičïrïp / büšüxnï bešïdin örüp / mandaχču / qïlmïz / (44) biz büšükkä salduχ dejmiz / iŋgimamɨmu däp qujmïz / (45) büšükniŋ astïndïn / iŋgimama disä / (46) da jindin bir bala turup / mana saŋγa / iŋgimama / däp / büšüxni astïndïn qulïnï tïχsa / (47) mana saŋγa / däp birdïγan // (48) toχsullanï qajdɨsï mundaγïdi / (49) hazir šu / büšüxtin örüpla / ballaγa ečïqïp tarɨtï pïrmiz / boγursaχlani selïpču / (50) andïn / balənï büšükkä salmïs / (51) andaq / tuγutnŭ nimɨsi däp / näzirläni qïmajmïz / bijädä //

72 bijit

(1) isïmdïn kütürülü kitiptu / (2) ädäm čoŋ vuγanda / jadɨda tuřmajdikä / (3) däpla turmɨγandikin / bir gäʔpläni // (4) bir jägä čïqïp / jügürüp qupup nimɨ qïmɨγandikin / öjdä nejnïγa bejnïγa bulup // (5) nimɨmu därmä / ämdi / (6) toj bijitlïri vosəmu bulamdu? (9)

igis taqqa čïχtïm män /
altun ǰozəγa čüštüm män /
häqajsilïri vilä toj qïlïp /
miradimγa jettim män //

altə aj jolla meŋïp /
tizlɨrimda maγdur qalmɨdï /
katta qïzlanï äkilip /
ičimdä armɨnïm qalmɨdï //



saying: "How are you? And how are you getting along?" (18) After that, we go there and say: "How do you feel today? Thanks for your favouring of our proposal." (19) We do this and do that with them, get to know with them and become relatives. (20) Then we bring small gifts and presents to them. (21) And then we bring "the food".[837] (22) First we visit them saying: "We came to greet you with respect and honour." (23) Normally we visit once, but some people also visit twice. (24) We go there having prepared simple presents and say: "We bring the tea". (25) We go to them bringing one packet of tea, four or five loaves of bread and cloth for one and two sets of clothes. (26) [This] is called "tea", and then we bring "the food". (27) They accept wedding gifts when "the food" is brought. (28) Before, we used to bring wedding gifts later, (29) but now one brings "the food" together with wedding gifts, actually money. (30) People bring three thousand *koy* or four thousand *koy*. Precisely the amount enough for the wedding. (31) Some people may say: "Please buy furniture for yourselves, and bring an amount (of money)." (32) They tell (us): "Bring an amount enough to spend for guests until the wedding ends." (33) If not, they say: "We will buy the furniture by ourselves, please bring so much (money)." (34) They say: "Bring five thousand *koy*" or say: "Bring four thousand *koy*." (35) We arrange weddings in this way. (36) We bring (them) about two or three sacks or three or four sacks of flour. (37) We bring (them) sweet oil. (38) [We bring] sheep, we bring such things. (39) In Toxsun there is no cradle party, but it is held in Turfan. (40) We did not have it when we were small. (41) It was held in the regions around Turfan. (42) We invite the congregation when we put a (child) in the cradle. (43) We cook *buγursaq*, invite children, and turn over the top of the cradle, we do it like this. (44) We call it putting a child in a cradle, also calling it *iŋgimama*. (45) If (a child) says *iŋgimama* and stays under the cradle, (46) in other words, if a child stretches his hands out from the under cradle and says: "This is for you, *iŋgimama*", (47) we give her/him (something) saying: "This is to you." (48) This was the custom of Toxsun. (49) Now we cook *buγursaq* and other things, turn them over the top of the cradle and distribute them to the children. (50) And then we put children in the cradle. (51) Here we do not hold nezir ceremonies for births.

72 Poetry

(1) It is forgotten. (2) Nothing lives in the memory when one has become aged. (3) On the other hand, we do not always repeat these stories. (4) Since we do not go outside to do anything and always stay at home. (5) What shall I say? (6) Would it be good if (I tell) you the poetry recited at weddings?

I climbed the high mountain,
I took a golden sedan-chair.
Marrying with respectful you,
I fulfilled my desires.

837 Here "bring the food" refers to bringing major wedding gifts.

73. ajal kadir

(1) mān ālliginji jildin bašlap išlıgen / (2) šu partijā kāldila suŋda[838] išlıduq / (3) kapirasijā volduq / (4) āllix tötinči jili dajin[839] bolduq / (5) āllik bāšinči jili kapirassijā volduq / (6) dajin gurup buγav-vaχtida / zujaŋ[840] voldum / (7) kapirassijā vuγav-vaχtida / jurum[841]-boldum / (8) sāxsā iškinči jili / jašlašturuš digendin kin / biz urun bušutup / hazir diχančiliq qīvatimiz / āmdi // (9) mini on tö jišimdıla toj qī qojγan / (10) u waχlada / kičix toj qīldīyan bŭγaŋkin / (11) tuγulušum turpanda tuγulivikāmmā / (12) bir jašqa ki gāv-vaχtıda / apımla mišāgā ākivevikānduq[842] / mini // (13) šunuŋ vilān / mišādā čoŋ vumajmāmmu / (14) oj jāttā ješimda tuγdum / (15) bizni waχtimizda / ajalla ančā uqumıdi / (16) biznimu šaqqītila toj qī qojdi / uqamıduq / (17) üzām türk voγallīγīm üčün / ballanī hāmmısinila uquttum // (18) da baγda / om mo jādā üzümlük beγimiz va / (19) šā:gā išlejmiz / māmmu tularaq šā:dā turīmā / (20) öjlā šu pitila turuvatqan gāp / baqqa ketkāŋkin / (21) maŋqirillanī eplaču / (22) bügün ballani ep kip / öj vešiqturpaqajmu jā / dāp kip / unuŋγa waχtīm jetmıdi / (23) terilγu jirimiz baγ vup / on üš mo jirimiz va / (24) on modin čuŋaraq etizda jirimiz va / (25) ikki mo bir puŋdāk üzüm jirimiz va / (26) šu baynī ičidā / sej köxtat terip jigıdāx jirimiz va // (27) uγul vallaγıma / jan sanīγa qarita bülüp birip / (28) čoŋ öjgā qarīta / ikki mo bir puŋ jādā üzümmiz va / (29) töt baš mo jā:gā paχta terijmiz / kivāz / (30) bāš modāx jā:gā buγdaj terijmiz / (31) āšu buγdajnī terivāp / ornīγa / jiγivāp / buγdaj terijmiz // (32) paχtınī setip / üzümni setip / bizniŋ iχtisadi kirimmiz šu / āmdi // (33) balla / birsi birlāšmā bānda[843] išlejdu / (34) bir oγlum māxtāptā išlejdu / (35) birsi mašinisī va / šopurluq qīp bizā künaldu / (36) bir oγlum / bostan ottura mextāptā išlejdu / ajılī vilā ikkisila / (37) oγulladin birsi / kičigi oquvatidu / (38) bir jil qaldī / uqu paχsa / qančilix vulur / āmdi // (39) bāzi jillıri / birā tümān koj pul vo qaldu / (40) bāzi jilliri / altı jetti miŋ kej / jetti sekiz miŋ kejmu bo qaldu / (41) bultur / üzümmiz bizā amdan bo qelividi / birā tümān kojnuŋ üstünigā ötkān / (42) buγdaj / qunaq / paχta vop / üzümmu toqquz miŋ kojdāk üzüm satqan / (43) ötkāj-jili / üzümlāmu ančā bāk uχšap ketmıdi / (44) altı miŋ / altı jerīm miŋ kojluq üzüm sattuq / (45) bir ikki miŋ kojluq paχta sattuq //

838 *suŋ* < Chin. 村 *cun* "village".
839 *dajin* < Chin. 大营 *daying* "big brigade, lager".
840 *zujaŋ* < Chin. 祖長 *zuzhang* "head of a group".
841 *jurun* < Chin. 主任 *zhuren* "head", here it refers to the head of a rural district.
842 *ākivevikānduq* < *alip kälip alip ikänduq* (< **alip kälip alip ikänduq*).
843 *birlāšmā bān* "united team", *bān* < Chin. 班 *ban* "team, class".



Travelling for six months,
I left no power in my knees.
Got to have such beautiful girls,
I left no desire in my heart.

73. A Female cadre

(1) I started working in 1950. (2) Soon after the (Communist) party came we worked in the village. (3) We became a commune. (4) We became a big encampment in 1954. (5) We became a commune in 1955. (6) When we had the big encampment I became the group-head (7) and I was the leader when the commune was established. (8) After they supported rejuvenation in 1982, we vacated the position and now we are farming. (9) My [parents] married me at the age of 14. (10) At that time people used to marry at young ages. (11) Actually, I was born in Turfan. (12) My mother and others brought me here when I was one year old. (13) Then, naturally I grew up here. (14) I gave birth at the age of seventeen. (15) In our time, women did not go to school so much. (16) [Parents] married us very early and we were not able to study. (17) Since I was left illiterate, I sent all of my children to school. (18) There we have a garden, ten *mu* of vineyard. (19) We do its work and I also mostly stay there. (20) The house is left untidy since we have left for the garden, (21) just taking the necessary things (?). (22) Today I came here with the children and tried to clean the rooms but I had no time. (23) We have thirteen *mu* of land including cultivable land and garden. (24) We have more than ten *mu* of land. (25) We have a vineyard of two *mu* and three *fen*. (26) We have a field inside the garden to grow vegetables. (27) We distribute them to our sons according to the number of family members. (28) We have a two *mu* and one *fen* vineyard belonging to our own family.[844] (29) We cultivate cotton in four or five *mu* of land. (30) We cultivate wheat in about five *mu* of land. (31) We harvest wheat and then cultivate wheat in that land.[845] (32) We sell cotton and grapes. Those are our economic incomes. (33) One of my children works at the united-team. (34) One of my sons works at the school, (35) one of them has a car and he lives by his job as a driver. (36) One of my sons works at Bostan Middle School. His wife also works there. (37) One of the sons, the youngest one is studying. (38) There is one year left (until his graduation). We just let him study though it is not clear how the result will be. (39) Some years we earn ten thousand *koy*, (40) some years we only can earn six thousand or seven or eight thousand *koy*. (41) Last year our grapes gave a rather good harvest, so we earned more than ten thousand. (42) We sold wheat, corn and cotton, and we have sold grapes for about nine thousand *koy*. (43) Last year the grapes gave not so good a harvest. (44) We sold the grapes for six thousand or six thousand five hundred. (45) We sold the cotton for two thousand.

844 Original: *čoŋ öj* lit. "big house", refers to the parents' family. But this expression is only used in Urumchi and in the northern and eastern parts of Xinjiang in this meaning.
845 The definite meaning of this statement is unclear.

74. tojlanïŋ gipi

(1) tojnï däp käsäk / buruŋqï waχtlada / najtï addi ötküzidïγan / (2) könä ǰemïjät vuγambilämma / üzïniŋ nimïsi bujičä ütidïγan / (3) kijin / partïji kägändin kin / bir mäzgil tärtipkä selïnïp / (4) diχallanïŋ turmušïγa qarïta ötküzidïγan boγan / (5) jetmišinǰi jillaγa kä gičä / na:jti addi saddi ötti / tojla // (6) u waχtlada / χäχniŋ quɬda / käŋ taša birmä joq / (7) na:jti ïχtisaččalliq vilän ötkäzduq / turmušlanï / (8) kijin / bu sïjasätni ämilläštürgändin kijin / χäχniŋki turmuši / kündin küngä juqurï kütürüldi // (9) bir jil össä / bir jil χäχniŋ turmušïmu jaxšïlïndikän / (10) jä / su / hämmini χäχniŋ qulïγa bägändikin / χäχniŋ turmuši iligirïläp maŋdi / (11) šunuŋ vilä / šaqqïtïla / bu tojla na:jti eγirlap ketti // (12) šähärdä olturγallanïŋ / kadirlanïŋ turmuš sävijisi juqur / (13) bir kadir toj qïlïšqa toγra kä:sä / diχalladïn artuγaraq qïɬdu // (14) toj eγirlap / ikki tümän / ikki jerim tümäm-bilä toj qïldïγan derïǰgä badï / (15) mušu atmïšinǰi jillada / atmïš bäšinči jillirγa kä gičä / birsi qïs tuγuptu / disä / (16) vaj / ïkki miŋ kojnï tuγuptu / dejdïγan / (17) hazir bir jerigä verïp / ikki tümändin eši ketti / bu tojla // (18) dini zatlamu bïzä täšviq qïlïp / partijämu täšviq qïlïp / hazir jeni bïzä tuvälldi / (19) bir mäzgil / na:jti juqur kütürili ketkän / bu toj išlïriču // (20) israpčïlïqmu köp // (21) hazir / birä tümän kojla vilän tojla buwatamdu nimä / (22) bijilladin / tojlamu najti muwapiq buwatïdu // (23) mušu χošnïlaniŋmu bir qïzïni talaγa čiqadï / bijil / (24) šu / üziniki nimïsini kütägidäxla qïp / čiqïripädi // (25) mini inim / bir qïzini talaγa čiqadï / (26) matot / jene birimä dimäŋla ükäm / (27) biz kičix vaχlada / išigaravïsïmu[846] joqidi / (28) äm bu matotni nim qïldu? / hazir a:γam bilämma / (29) matot a:γan töt bäš miŋ koj pulγa / bašqa χïraǰitini qïliŋlä / (30) χäχkä pattaŋ vilä täŋ qärz artïp qojsaŋla / (31) jänä šu balaŋla berïp üzidu / jänä unï / (32) digändikin / ulama muwapïq qïpla // (33) tümändin ešïptu digän gäplä / hazir mävjot ämäs // (34) sünnät tojnï / biz diχalla / biz tuqqallanï / ǰamähätni čillapla ötküzimiz / (35) öjlädä ötküzimiz / unï / (36) tujïnï ötküzivitip / bir dörisigä tutquzmaχči vop qaldïγu / (37) neččisi birlišip / tutturidïγan ädäm kip qasa / tutturivitip turup / kijin / qulüγa birmä kägändä nezirsini qïvatïdïγan išlamu ba / (38) tutturivitip turup / kijin qïlïdïγïnïmu ba / (39) nezirni qïvitip / kijin tutturduγallamu ba / (40) jatquzuvitip turup qïmajdu / tojnï // (41) qulïda iš miš tügäp / (42) bijä bir / diχančïliq urulla vuγandikin / jä küzlök jïγïm taqïšïdo / (43) ja jazliq jïγïm / ja ätijazliq terïm taqïšïdu / (44) mušundaq bir pejtni ötküzivitip turup / bika voγan pejtläni tepïp qïldïγan bo qevatïdu // (45) čoŋ oγlumniŋmu / bir qïzi toj qïldï / χätmï toj / (46) bäšinčajda qïvatti / ulama / (47) bunuŋ nerïsïγa / jazliq jïγïm / unuŋ nerïsïγa / küzlük jïγïm ǰiddilïšïdu / (48) mušu waqtla boš vaqtkin däp / bešinǰaj bajramda ötkuzivatti / (49) bir qïzïmïz χätmï toj qïmaχči / mušu / (50) oninčajda ötküzivatqïli bulüdumïki / dävatïdu / (51) miniŋ üš qïzïm ba / bäš kïlnïm ba / (52) ulaniŋ tuγutlïrnïmu

846 *išïgaravisï* < *išäk aravisï* 'donkey car'.



74. About weddings

(1) If we talk about weddings, in previous times they were held very simply. (2) Even in the past, they were held according to their own customs. (3) After the (Communist) party came, they were put in order, (4) and they were held consulting the life of farmers. (5) Until the 1970s, weddings had been held very simply. (6) At that time things people had on hand were not plentiful. (7) We lived our life in a very economical way. (8) Later, after the (door opening) policy was implemented, people's living standard rose day by day. (9) People's lives were improved year by year. (10) People's lives were gradually improved since (the government) had given the land, water and other things into the farmers' hand. (11) Following this, weddings immediately became difficult to hold. (12) Living standards of the city dwellers and cadres were high. (13) If one cadre had to hold a wedding, more was spent than by farmers. (14) Weddings became hard, beginning to cost twenty thousand or twenty five thousand. (15) Around 1960, until the 1965s, if one had given birth to a girl, (16) we used to say: "So, she gave birth to two thousand *yuan*." (17) Now, in some cases a weddings' (cost) exceeded twenty thousand. (18) Religious personages produced some propaganda and the party also produced propaganda so now (the cost) became a little less. (19) Once (the cost) of weddings was very high. (20) Waste was also obvious. (21) Now it is likely that weddings are held for about ten thousand *koy*. (22) Since this year weddings have been held properly. (23) This year my neighbour married one of their daughters. (24) They married her spending an amount just enough to cover the costs (of the wedding). (25) My younger brother married one of his daughters. (26) "Do not ask for a motorbike and other things, my brother. (27) We didn't even have a donkey-car when we were small. (28) What can be done with motorbike if one has bought it now? (29) This four or five thousand *koy* to be spent for a motorbike, please use them for other things. (30) If you owe the bride a heavy debt, (31) your child has to pay it back." (32) After I had said this they just held the wedding properly. (33) A (wedding's cost) does not exceed ten thousand anymore. (34) We farmers hold circumcision parties just inviting relatives and the congregation. (35) We hold it at home. (36) Now it is developing in the direction that first the party is held, then the circumcision is done at the proper time. (37) If the person who performs the circumcision has come, people who do the circumcision collaborate with each other, do the circumcision first, but do the nezir when they have the (money) on their hand. (38) Some people do the nezir first, then do the circumcision. (39) Some people do the circumcision first, then do the nezir. (40) The party is not held before the circumcision has taken place. (41) [It is held] when people have time. (42) Since this is a agricultural region, either the autumn harvest interferes with (the party), (43) or the summer harvest or the spring cultivation interfere with it. (44) People intend to hold it when such periods have passed and they find a free time. (45) My granddaughter also held a party, a circumcision party. (46) They held it in May. (47) "After that first there is the summer harvest and then the autumn harvest will become tense, (48) this is the only free time." They thought thus and held it during the May festival. (49) One of our daughters is planning to hold a circumcision party. (50) They are considering: "Would it be possible to hold it in October." (51) I have three daughters and five daughters-in-law.

qīmiduq / (53) teš tuɣuvapsilā / dāp juχlap barimiz / (54) ūš tōt qetīm / āhvalīŋla qandaχ? / dāp berip qujimiz / (55) birā ikki aj buɣičā / apisinikidā turdu / (56) ja vomisa / qīrqī tošqičā / berip / apisīya bir kijimlik / atisīya birā kijimlik / adimāččilik qip ekivalimiz // (57) χojānsān turpallanikidāk / čoŋ tuɣut qilip / čīɣ tandišip / andaχ qīmajmiz / (58) esimizni bilsäxla / andaχ išla joχkā / bijādā / toχsunda // (59) bāk χošal wo kätkälla / jā oɣli joqla / jā qizi joχlaču / ballərī birā jašlaɣa kirgändā / büšüx toj qī pirmiz dāp / özara eɣillirni / tuqqallirni čillap qilidīɣalla ba / (60) šalaŋ čiqidu undaχla //

75. bijit

(1) taŋ sähärdā učup jürgän / quryuj balasī /
ata:si joq / ana:si ba / jitim bala:si /
qijamätkā säpär qilip / kätkän ata:si /
ja:ɣuz öjdā jiɣlap qaldī / ɣerip apa:si /
igā vulup / čiqīrpädi / ikki aɣasī /
ja:ɣuz öjdā jiɣlap qaldī / ɣerip apasī //
(2) musu astana digāj-jādā / bir bajniŋ qizini / talaɣa čiqamaχči voptu / (3) u čoqur balikändux / učo / (4) äm bu apimlaniŋ χošnisi vuɣandikin / apisi ejtqan bijitikäm / bu /
(5) täm täm güllük čičäg dani / badur üzidā /
mähämmätniŋ nuri badur / čolpan küzidā /
altun namat aɣzidadur / šikär tilida /
gül zäpärlā ečilip qalur / basqan izida //
(6) balam čoqur / čoqur dimäŋlā / digäm mänidā däjdudā / u gäpni //

76. ballani ismisi

(1) ballanī ismisi lajiq vommisa / ölgändā alla tala soɦaq soɦdīɣan bir ǰaj vaɦkin // (2) busuq disā / u bala ijādā / mini nimdāp busuq qojduŋ? / (3) mān musuɦman[847] tuɦsam / dāp dava qildu dāp // (4) balənī ismisini amdan qujuŋla dāp / kitapladəma šu baɦkān // (5) mišādā / busuq / setivaldi digān isimlanī jötkivatqan jā:lāmu ba / (6) buni nimičün? disā / da mänigā toɣra kā:mājdu dejdu / (7) allanī ismisini qojsa / ballamu osal vommijdikā // (8) bizmu kitapni ǰiq uqumiduq / (9) da:nī ismisi setivaldidi / kijin kamil dāp quju qujuptiɣu // (10) bala tuɣulɣan haman isim qojsima amdankā // (11) šinjaŋdin sā'udi äribistaŋɣa verip / jigiɦmi jil turu kägän alimimiz vaɦdi / χevirajī damolla dediɣan / (12) šu kiši kägändin kijin / ismini tinisäŋla üč kündin kijin / jo:misa jetti kündin kijin qojsaŋla jaχši vuldu / dāp // (13) haziɦ / bäzällā tinisā / a'ɁtnI üč küngičā qujvatimiz / (14) bäzälliri jetti kündin kijin isim qujdan / bu mušundaɣ a:dät // (15) agal balənī elip / oŋ qulaqqa azan[848] e:timiz / (16) andin kijin / sol qulaqqa töt qata tegbir e:timiz / (17) aχirsida verip / la ilahä illällo[849] dāp tügitimiz // (18) uqu ketkendin kijin / kilmi täjbä[850]

847 *musuɦman* 'Muslim' < Per. *musulmān*, SU *musulman*.
848 *azan* <Ar. *aẓān* 'the call to prayers'.
849 *la ilaha illallo* < Ar. la ilāha illallāh.
850 *kilmi tajba* < Ar. kalima tavba.



(52)We did not hold a (ceremony) for their birth. (53) We visited (them) and said: "It is so nice you gave birth safely." (54) We went there three or four times just asking: "How is everything?" (55) During the first to second months they (= mother and baby) stay at the mother's house. (56) Or we bring them back after a full fourty days, and prepare garments for her mother and father. (57) We do not hold big birth parties here like in Huoyanshan and Turfan. (58) Those kinds of things did not exist in this place, at Toxsun, ever since we can remember. (59) The people who had previously no son or daughter and then have one, hold a cradle-party and invite their close friends and relatives, when their child becomes about one year old, but only when they feel very happy. (60) Such people are very rare.

75. Poetry

(1) The one which is flying in the morning dawn is the child of sparrow-hawk,
she has no father, but has a mother, she is an orphan.
Her father left for the Day of Resurrection,
her poor mother left alone crying at the home.
Her two older brothers hold the wedding and married her,
her poor mother left alone crying at the home.
(2) At this place called Astana, they planned to marry a rich person's daughter. (3) Reportedly she was a girl whose (face) was pitted from small pox. (4) She used to be the neighbour of my mothers. The following was the poetry recited by her mother. (5)
Small pieces of flowers are on her face,
shines the Muhammad's light on her bright eyes.
Golden fine-sugar is in her mouth, and sugar is on her tongue,
flowers of victory (?) might be opened on the footprints she has taken.
(6) She recited this indicating that: "My child has a pitted face, but please don't call her pitted face."

76. Children's names

(1) It is told that there is a place where God (may He be exalted) will question after death if the names of children are not properly given. (2) If a child is called Busuq,[851] the child will accuse: "Why you have given me the name Busuq (3) although I was a Muslim?" (4) It is also thus stated in the books: "Please give good names to children." (5) In some places people have changed the names such as Busuq, Setivaldi[852] etc. (6) If you ask: "why?" It is said that they have no proper meanings. (7) If one takes the names of Allāh, children will also not have misfortune. (8) We did not read books much. (9) One's name was Setivaldi, but later they changed it to Kamil.[853] (10) It is also good to give names to children soon after they have been born. (11) We had a scholar called Xevir Haji Damullah who had been in Saudi Arabia, having spent twenty years there.

851 Lit. threshold.
852 Lit. (s)he/they bought.
853 *Kamil* < Ar. *Kāmil* 'perfect'.

kilmi šahadätni[854] uqup / χuda sini aχirätligiŋni bä:sun däp / uqu qujmïz // (19) ämdi / mini adïtïm šu / ämdi //

77. ülükni juγučï

(1) ülükni juγučïγa / töt ädäm kïrdu / (2) ikkisi su qujpïrdu / ikkisi jujdu // (3) bä:zilädiču / bäʔš altä bo kitimizčo // (4) adättiki tärätni aldïrmïz ülükkä / (5) qollïrnï jup / eγizlïrγa üč qata su almiz // (6) nejni oŋ müŗigä su qujmïz / sol müŗigä su qujmïz / (7) ätikin baʔšqa su qujmïz / (8) šundaq qïp adättikidäk tärät aldïrmïz // (9) ajaχ juγučï voγan baʔšni jujdu // (11) kipänni / taš čedïr däp voγan ajaχnï jujdu / (10) baʔš juγučï voγan baʔšni jujdu // (11) kipänni / taš čedïr däp tešširγa nim qïlïmïz // (12) üzüni japïdu däp / ikkinči čedïr däp / ikkinčisigä qïlïmïz / (13) üčünčisi / adättiki majdaχla köjnäk ečïp qïlmïz // (14) ajallaγa kijmal qïlmïz / (15) köksi midïrimajdu / (16) ijni bijnïγa maŋsa däp / dajnaχ qïlmïz // (17) ličäk dä̃ qujmiz / (18) böʔk dä̃ qujdïγan agallada // (19) kijimničo / bäʔšni qïlmïz // (20) jup / tarap / nim qïγanda / unï aγïlï kïrdu / än biz jin kilmiz / (21) topluq a:majmiz // (22) köjnäxni majnaχ ta:tïmïz / (23) taʔtqan nä:sigä čaʔčni sä qujmïz / (24) jeŋijačä da:kinï qï qosaŋla amdan dijdi / (25) özgïrgïnčo ämdi / (26) unuŋ tařiχïnï sözläp kä:säk / ajalladəma bïř kijimlik bïřmä qujdu / (27) bala / tüpidin bizä bïřmä quj qujdu / (28) joχla a:majmïz disä / qu qujdu / juduŋla bunï däp / (29) jizilaγa ba:saq / juγučïγa qatnəšïdu / tešiq qïldu däp / bizni bïř öj ajal juquřγa čïqïřdu // (30) hämmisigä bunï qïsaŋla jaχši / bunï qïsaŋla jaman demiz // (31) ülidu / jup tařap qujïdu /quran uqujdu a:qïdïn / (32) minaǰatnï[855] uqumajmiz biz ämdi / (33) könilikni tašlïvatqinïmïz bu ämdi / (34) išqïp / nä:gila ba:saq juγučïγa qatnaštuřdo // (35) ba:la ba:γa ba:tuř / joχla joχni izdimejdu //

854 *kilmi šahadät* < Ar. *kalima šahādat*.
855 *minaǰat* < Ar. *munācāt* 'a silent and fervent prayer'.



(12) This person came back and said: "It is good to give names after three days if one hurries, otherwise after seven days. (13) Now, if someone hurries, names are given within three days. (14) Some people give names after seven days; there is such a custom. (15) First we take the child and pray holding the right ear, (16) and then we praise God by saying "Allāhu Akbar Allāhu Akbār" four times, holding the left ear. (17) At the end we complete it saying: "Allāh is great!" (18) After having read that we recite kalima tavba and kalima shahādat praying: "May Allāh give you blessing in the next world!" (19) Well, this is my way (of giving names).

77. Purification of the corpse

(1) Purification of the corpse is carried out by four people. (2) Two people serve water and two people wash. (3) Sometimes we five or six people wash it. (4) We perform the normal *taharät*[856] for the corpse. (5) We wash the hands and rinse the mouth three times. (6) After that we pour water on the right and left shoulders, (7) and then we pour water on the head. (8) Doing so, we perform the normal *taharät*. (9) The one who takes responsibility for washing the lower part (of the body) washes the lower part, (10) and the one who takes responsibility for washing the head washes the head. (11) First, we cover (the corpse) with a white shroud calling it "the outside tent", (12) secondly, we make a face cover, calling it "the second tent", (13) thirdly, we make a normal shirt. (14) For women we make a bra, (15) so the breasts do not move (16) when they walk here and there, we do it thinking so. (17) We (cover the head of women) with a thin veil, (18) before it was called a hat. (19) We prepare five clothes. (20) People come to take the corpse when the washing and combing is completed and then we return. (21) We don't charge for that. (22) We dress the shirt so. (23) We insert the hair in it. (24) It is said the use of gauze is good with the new way. (25) Well, this is the so-called change. (26) If we talk about its history, people used to present a set of clothes in the case of women, (27) and then the children used to present something else again. (28) Poor people insisted on giving gifts (to us) by stating: "You have purified (the corpse)" though we claim: "We won't take anything!" (29) If we go to the countryside a room of women invite us to the seat of honour, considering we will participate in the purification and will tell them (the law). (30) We tell all of them: "It is good if you do this! But it is evil if you do that!" (31) If someone dies, the body will be purified and after that the people recite the Qur'an. (32) We do not recite *munācat*. (33) This is the so-called "throwing away of the old customs". (34) Anyway, we will be invited to participate in the purification. (35) One who has (property) presents everything that is owned, but one who is poor does not worry.

856 *taharat* < Ar. *ṭahārat* 'the canonical purification of the body, purity', cf. Jarring 1964: 298.

78 ulum jitim

(1) najɨ[857] bujičɨ / töt jizimiz va / ämdi / (2) bašqa ikki guŋšiγa selišturγanda / mušu guŋšida na:jti addi / (3) isqat[858] digäm-birmɨläni ta:qatturmajdu // (4) damollam / aχunimiz mišädä vuγandɨkin / ülükkä taqitiš amdin ämäs däp / hazir hešqandaq näsä ta:qatmaj / (5) äšu äχirätlikläriniɨ täjja qilip / juγučiγa / jäligini čapqan ädämnila razi qisaχla buldu / (6) undin qaγan ädämlägä qisa toγra ämäs / dinda däp / (7) hazir χeli jilla voldi / čäklini ketti / u iš / (8) ulum jitim iši äšundaq // (9) ämdi / nezir čiraqla oj jigirmigä jätkän / (10) damollam täšviq qilip / undaχ näzir čiraχniŋ pajdäsi joq / (11) buni /muhim bałlәri / öjdikilä qilimiz disäŋla / jamɨsa hämmiŋla jiγilip / mijit čiqqan öjdila ötkuzivässäŋlamu büldu / (12) digändikin / ämdi χeli rätkä čüšti //

79 teši q

(1) bɨř küni / kilin balәčo / dänšigä qařap o:turdu // (2) qařɨsam / bɨř qiz kästin[859] čapallani kijip čiqipto // (3) birdä toqajni a:gip kitpařdu / (4) jin bɨřsi[860] kiřdi čapanni kijip / (5) u bijzigä kitpařdu // (6) towa / nä:du mišälä? / (7) män kilingä digɨnim / (8) alla / nä:du mišälä / disäm / (9) mu'ällimčo / bizni kilin bala / (10) tešiqaččila däp šunda dedu // (11) hej / nimigä tešiq qildu bula? / disäm / (12) kijim / pusunni teši q qildu / (13) bijädɨmu šuniŋγa jarɨša kijiŋnä digɨni / de:du // (14) ä:tikin / mä turup / idijämdä mä šunda didim / alla / dänši digän hämmɨla öjdä ba:turša / (15) muščaq kö:küzpäsä qandaχ vuluř? // (16) kö:niliktin pařaŋ sa:sam / čoŋ vuγaŋkin / bišimizγa jaγliq salmiz / (17) čoŋladin haja qilmiz // (18) nimä disä / (19) šuni saqlap qa:sa / jemitimiz[861] balaladin saqlap qalamdiki däpčo // (20) dänšidä dävassa / šuniŋγa özgiräp kittu däp / šuniŋγa qojdum // (21) bumu idijäm miniŋčo // (22) qandaγ disä / ilmäm joqčo / sävijäm joq / tüřük / (23) ämdi / dä qojγunum mušnaqla //

80 čač

(1) bɨř adämni aldiγa ba:sa / bu bɨř a:dämni aldiγa ba:di däp / bä?š tal čač örüjmiz / (2) ikki tałni qimajmiz teχi // (3) birani tuγup qilγanda / ikki tal čač örüjdiγan // (4) qiz vaχtida uššaχ örüjdu / (5) toj qisa / χäχni aldiγa ba:sa / bä?štal čač örüjdu / (6) unü neřisiγa / čoŋlani do:rap / ikki tal örüjmu ja de:diγan // (7) hazir ämdi uni bijägä selištuřsa / özgiräš va //

857 *najɨ* < *nahijā* < Per. *nahiya* 'a country, district'.
858 *isqat* < Ar. *isqāṭ*, refers to things distributed at the funerals, e.g. money, cloth, sugar etc.
859 *kästin* 'uniform' < Rus. *kostjum*, SU *kastjum*.
860 *jin bɨřsi* ← *jänä bɨřsi* 'another one'.
861 *jemitimiz* 'our society', the ACC ending is missing.



78 Funerals

(1) We have four rural districts in the whole county. (2) Compared to two other rural districts,[862] (the funeral) is simple in this rural district. (3) Nothing is allowed to be distributed (at the funerals). (4) Since our Damullah Akhun is here and he said: "It is not good to distribute things at funerals."[863] Now nothing is distributed. (5) It is enough to prepare the funeral and satisfy the people who have purified (the corpse) and dug the grave. (6) They said: "According to Islam, to present things to others is not correct", (7) and that matter has been forbidden for many years. (8) The matter of the funeral is like that. (9) Well, there used to be ten or twenty (kinds) of mourning ceremonies. (10) [Our] Damullah (Akhun) said: "So many mourning ceremonies are not appropriate and do not help. (11) They may be held by the children or the family members (of the dead person), they may also take place together (with several people) only at the family where the funeral was held." (12) Since he said that it was put in order.

79 Advertising

(1) One day I found my daughter-in-law sitting there looking at the TV. (2) I looked at the TV and saw a young girl appear on it wearing a costume. (3) She was walking there turning over a hill. (4) And then came another one wearing a caftan, (5) but she went in another direction. (6) "Oh dear! What is this?" (7) I asked my daughter-in-law. (8) I said: "Oh my God! What are they?" (9) You know, our daughter-in-law is a teacher. (10) She said: "They are advertisement-makers." (11) I asked: "For what do they make advertisements?" (12) "They make advertisements for clothes for fashions. (13) They want to tell us: 'Please wear the same things we do." she said. (14) And then I stayed there for while and thought: "Oh my God! Every family has TV. (15) What will happen if they show (such things)?" (16) If I tell about our old customs, we wore a headscarf when we became adult. (17) We showed modesty for old people. (18) If one asks: "Why?" (19) Since we think: "If we keep those rules our society might be saved from disasters." (20) [Our custom] has changed since they show it on the TV, I understood it thus. (21) This is only my understanding. (22) If one asks: "Why?" I lack knowledge, and my level is low, I am illiterate. (23) Well, I just have told it so.

80 Hair

(1) We braid five strips of hair if one marries, considering she has married. (2) We don't braid two strips of hair. (3) We used to braid two strips of hair when someone had given birth. (4) It is braided thinly when one has not married. (5) If one marries, one braids five strips of hair. (6) After that, they used to braid two strips of hair imitating adults. (7) If we compare it with today's custom, there are changes.

862 Here on the narrator used *guŋši* 'commune' instead of *jeza* 'rural district'.
863 Lit. "It is not good to distribute things for the dead person."

# 6 DIALECT VOCABULARY

The entries are arranged in the following order: a, ä, b, č, d, e, f, g, γ, χ, h, i, ǰ, k, l, m, n, o, ö, p, q, r, s, š, t, u, ü, v, j, z.

*a* that
*a:* (SayK) moon
*abaka* (Yor) parents < ? Mong. *abaγa* 'paternal uncle' (Lessing 2b-3a)
*ačma* v. *tïlma*
*ada* mental pain < Mong. *ada* 'evil spirit, demon' (Lessing 9a)
*adaq* (Tox) foot, end (archaic)
*ikki tuqqan toj qïlduq*
*obdam bo:sun a:qï adaqï.*
We, the close relatives married, may its result be good.
*adagät* contradiction SU *adawät*
< Ar. *'adāwat*
*adal bol-* (Mur, Tur) to feel worried, put oneself to trouble
*ada vol-* (LükD) v. *adal bol-*
*adä* (Yang) horse < Mong. *ada* 'horse'
*on adä atni minip* 'riding ten excellent horses'
*a:dïrïm* (Pich, Tur) Abdurahim (personal name) < Ar. *Abdurrahīm*
*a:dïrop* (Pich, Tur) Abdura'up (personal name) < Ar. *Abdurra'ūb*
*aγa* 1 older brother
*aγa* 2 (Tox) a way
*aγara-* (LükD) to roar (tiger, wild animal) SU *warqira-*
*aγna-* to roll on one's back SU *eγina-*
*aγrï-* to complain of pain
*özlädin aγrïmïdïm, ballïrïmdïn aγrïdïm* 'I did not complain of you, but of my children'.
*a:γïr* stallion
*aγïz* (SayK) mouth
*aγzïm* < *aγïz* 'mouth' + 1sg POSS
*agal* (Yang) before, the old days < Ar. *awwal*
*agut* (Pich, Tur) Awut (personal name)
< **awut* < Ar. *ābit*
*aγaš* (Mur) tree
*aχtama* clod caused by plowing the earth
*aχtuřma* (Pich) turnip
*aʔlïq* (Mur) mounted, on horseback
*aʔt* (Mur, SayK) horse
*ahu* (Yang) small goat < Per. *āhu*
*aka* (Lük, SayK, Yang) v. *äkä*
*akam kä:gändidi* 'My father apparently has come'.
*akaŋza* (SayK) older brother < *aka* + *–ŋza*
*aka:wïř* (Mur) v. *aka:wuř*
*aka:wuř* (Pich, Tur) arrogant, haughty
< ? Ar. *akābir* 'greater', *akawuř bäg* 'great officials, imported officials'
*akït* (Yang) a kind of medicine
*aktän* a kind of medicine
*a:l* (Lük) front, front side

*ö:ni a:lï bay* 'the front (side) of the house is a garden'
*ala:ka* (Lük, QaraGh, SayK, Sing, Yang) mother's younger brother
*a:lan-* (Yang) to turn, become SU *ajlan-*
*alaŋ* barren, uneven OT *alaŋ*
*alaŋ jeř* 'barren earth', *bu:da alaŋ ünü qaldï* 'The wheat sprouted unevenly'.
*alaŋla-* (Tox) to become barren
*alčuq* (Mur, Tur) hut, bult of reed, straw and branches
*al-muŋ* (Tuy) condition, suffering < Per. *hāl* 'condition + *muŋ* 'suffering'
*alte* (Mur) six OT *alte* SU *altä*
*altunči* goldsmith SU *zärgar* (< Per. *zar-kār*)
*alvačun* therefore
*a:ma* (Mur) apple SU *alma*
*amajnät* (Mur, QaraGh) deposit, safe < Ar. *amānat*
*amdä* (Tuy) well, good
*an* poison
*an qïl-* (Mur, Tur) to poison
*ana* (Lük, Pich, Tur, Tuy) grandmother, mother (only in SayK) SU mother
*anaj* helpless
*anajni anaj tapma, qijamättä sorəyï va* 'Do not bully helpless, it will be questioned at the Day of Resurrection'
*anaj tap-* (Mur) to bully, to be hard on
*andaq* like that
*anǰïřya* weak and ugly
*antikin* (LükD) then < *andin kejin*
*anuŋ* (Tur) GEN of *a*
*aŋala* 1 (Mur) v. *agal*
*aŋala* 2 (Mur) v. *aŋwala*
*atam kila:midi, aŋala mä käldim* 'My father was not able to come, therefore I came'
*aŋgal* (Tuy) v. *agal*
*aŋičün* therefore < *aniŋ üčün*
*aŋičün hajat yuǰamla dedu* 'Therefore, they were called 'Living Saints that slept.'
*aŋna:-* (Lük, Mur, SayK) to listen
*aŋna:-du* 's(h)e/they listen(s)'
*aŋnïq* (Mur) aware, conscious
*aŋqař-* to realize
*aŋwala* (Pich, Tur, Yang) therefore
*aŋwala mujnaχ voptu* 'Therefore it became so.'
*apa* (Pich, SayK) mother
*aqač-* (Mur) to take away < *alïp qač-* 'taking escape'
*aq qašqïř* (LükY) a variety of grape, lit. white *qašqir*
*aq sa:va* (SayK, Tuy) a variety of grape, lit. white *sayva*
*aq üzüm* (LükY) a variety of grape, lit. white grape
*ara-čola* (Pich, Tur) time, opputunity
*arawa* chariot < Ar./Per. *arāba*
*a:rïqïlïq* a hurting each-other mentally
*a:rït-* (LükD) to hurt
*a:rivät-* to break up by beating/attacking
*ařga* v. *arawa*
*a:rï-* (Mur) to pain
*ařlïq* (Pich, Tur) courtyard, yard
*ařistä* (Yang) hands-free
*ařtuŋ-sařtuŋ* (Pich, Tur) ragged, shabby
*ařwaŋ-sařwaŋ* ragged, shabby
*ařzïla-* (Mur) to wish < Per. *ārzū* + *-la*
*a:sïqal* (Yang) white beard, alderman, head of an village, meddler SU *aqsaqal*
*aslan* (SayK) little cat OT *arslan*
*asma qara* a tool used to check the straightness of the well of a karez
*asqa-* (Pich, Tur) to limp SU *aqsa-*
*asqaq* lame SU *aqsaq*
*astïn* under, below
*aša* lower
*aša jařlä* 'field at the lower side'
*ašday* (MirY) like that



*ašdaq* (LükD) v. *ašday*
*ašχ̌ana* restaurant SU *ašχana*
*ašχoř* (Lük) one who has great appetite
*ašla-* to ward off the evil eye, a religious practice performed by a Shaman (*baχšï*), especially the case of a person considered beautiful falls ill
*ašnaχ* (LükD) v. *ašnaq*
*ašnaq* (Tox) like that SU *ašundaq/ašundaq*
*ašu* (Lük) that
*ata* (Lük, Pich, SayK) father
*ataq* (SayK) a kind of chariot object
*attavář-* (Lük, Pich) to throw away
*avlimit* (Mur) Abdulhamid (personal name) < Ar. *Abdulxamīd* SU *Ablimit*
*a:wun* (Tur) many
*a:wuǰ* honour, pride < Per. **āb-rūy*
*a:wuǰluq* brilliant, honest
*ajda* (Yang) v. *ajdaχ*
*ajdaχ* (LükD) like that
*ajindaq* (Tur) like that
*ajl* (SayK) before, front
*čüšni ajli* 'before midday'
*ajla* (Pich, SayK, Yor) elder sister, aunt < Ar./Per. *xāla* 'aunt'
*ajnay* (LükD) like that
*ajnaq* (Tur) v. *ajnay*
*ajzi* that side
*a:zan* (Lük, Pich) cheap < Per. *arzān*
*äbäj* (Mur) a short time ago, some minutes ago
*äblä* Abla (personal name) < Ar. *Abdulla*
*ädäm* mankind, person
*ädigal* (Lük) blanket, cover < Rus. *odeyalo*
*ädikin* (LükD) then < *andin kejin*
*ägäl* (LükD) v. *agal*
*ägäš-* to follow (only govern DIR)
*silägä ägišip käldim* 'I came here following you'.
*ägläk* (Pich, Tur) bolter, flour-sieve SU *älgäk*
*ägmä* (Pich) vaulted
*ägmä öj* 'vaulted room, domed building', other name for *kimiř öj*
*äh* (Mur ) INTER expresses regret
*ä:kin* (LükD) then v. *ädikin*
*äkä* 1 v. *aka*
*äkä* 2 (LükD) older sister OT *eke*
*äkči-* to dry
*äkirdür-* (Tur) to have brought
*älä-* (Tox) to sieve
*äläk* (Tox) v. *ägläk*
*älänǰä* remedy, way < Ar/Per. *'ilāc*
*äläp* (Mur) fodder consisting of bran and straw SU *häläp*
*älliğ* (Mur) fifty
*älm-tälm* situation
*ältäk* outgoing, forward
*äm* (SayK) vagina OT *am*
*ajallanï e:m-i*
*ämček* (SayK) breast
*ämsüř* unconscious
*qïzïm ämsüř vo qaldï* 'My daughter became unconscious.'
*än* (Tuy) then
*ändäk* (Tox) big
*ändirä-* (SayK) to be in a hurry
*änǰïř* (Lük) fig-tree < Per. *anǰir*
*ängizä* (Pich, Yang) after that, then < *andin kejin* + CLIT *zä*
*änkin* (Tuy) then
*änkizizä* (Tuy) v. *ängizä*
*äŋin* dress, clothes
*äŋn-i* 'her/his dress'
*äŋizä* (Pich, Tur) v. *ängizä*
*äŋkin* (Tuy) v. *änkin*
*äp* v. *äp-čäp*
*äp-čäp* knack, way of doing something
*äppäj* INTER expresses regret
*äppäj, nimiš bu!* 'Hey, what is this!'
*äppi* (Tox) inter. expresses surprising
*äppi, qačan kävaldiŋiz?* 'Oh, when did you come?'; *äppi, häǰäp čirajlïqqu bu*

*bala!* 'Oh, how beautiful is this child!'
*är* (SayK) man
*äräŋ* v. *äräŋ-säräŋ*
*äräŋ-säräŋ* strange
*ärğa* (Mur) spirit < Ar. *ʿarwāh*
*äridä-* (Tox) to saw
*äsäjdul* (Yang) Saidulla (personal name) < Ar. *Sayyidullah*
*äsl-gäst* (Yang) local people, nobles < *äsli* (< Ar. *aṣl* 'root') + 3 POSS + *gäsli* (< Ar. *wāsil* 'joined') + 3 POSS *–i turpanni äsli gästiliri* 'local people of Turfan'
*äšä* that place < *äšu jär*
*äššä* (Tuy) local name of ancient city of Qocho <? *ät* + *šä* (< Per. *šahr*)
*ätigän* v. *ä tisi ätigän*
*ä tilik* (LükD) tomorrow
*ä tisi ätigän* (Pich) tomorrow
*ävvälän* (Tuy) first < Ar. *awwalan* 'at first'
*äjal* (LükD, Tuy) woman < Ar. *ajāl* 'iyāl SU *ajal*
*äjdiha* (Mur) dragon < Per. *aždahā*, SU *äjdiha*
*äjlä* (Yang) v. *ajla*
*äjlek* v. *äglāk*
*äjlän-* (Mur) to travel
*äzikin* (LükD, QaraGh) then v. *ädikin*
*äzkizä* (Mur ) after that < *äzikin* + *zä*
*ba:* (Yang) rich
*bayru* stone-hearted
*baʔna-* (Mur) to get into a temper SU *batna-*
*baǰa* tax < Per. *bāc*
*baǰi* v. *baǰa*
*balaŋza* (LükD, SayK) boy, child < Chin. 巴郎子 *ba-lang-zi* (< *bala* + *-ŋ* + *zi* 'your child')
*balčuq* small, branch, ring
*u jeqïmmu alčuq*
*bu jeqïmmu alčuq*
*äjäp ubdaj-jarašti*
*ja:rïm bäŕgän balčuq.*
'On that side is a hut,
on this side is also a hut.
It suite me so well,
the ring given by my lover.'
*balčuqla-* (Yang) to have many small branches, to braid
*ba:maq* (SayK) a thumb SU *barmaq*
*bařlïq* (Yang) rich Khal. *vāʳrluy*
*turpanni bařlïq ädämlirdin bo qaptu* 'He became one of the richest persons of Turfan.'
*bařqa* young sheep which came to the age of shearing
*baš* v. *bädän baš*
*baʔš* (SayK) head
*batnïχor* one who easily gets angry < ? Ar. *batn* 'stomach, interior' + Per. *xʷār* 'contemtible, abject'
*bat qïl-* to show off, flaunt
*bawšuq* (SayK) a sort of melon
*aq bawšuq* 'white *bawšuq*' (a sort of melon)
*bajla-* (Lük, Tuy) to bind SU *bayla-*
*bajlam* (Mur) bundle, stuck
*bajna* (Lük, Pich, Tur) exuse < Per. *bahāna*
*bä:čäj* (Pich, Tur) Chinese cabbage < Mong. *bäcäy* (< Chin. 白菜 *bai-sai*)
*bädän baš* (Yang) body
*bädän bišši* 'her/his body'
*bäʔnam* (Mur) defamation, false charge < Per. *bad-nām*
*bäk* firm, expert SU very
*bïř tam ba šundaq bäk* 'There is a wall which is very firm', *gäʔpkä bäk* 'master at speaking'
*bällä qïl-* (Tuy) to do < Chin. 辦了 *ban-le* + *qïl-*
*bämältäk* (SayK) the third finger
*bänšä* meat-filled dumpling < Chin. 便食 *bian-shi*



*bärikä* blessing < Ar. *baraka*
*bäšvaltaq* (Pich, Yang) a thumb; quail SU *bašmaltaq*
*bäjna qïl-* (Mur) to construct < *bäjna* (< Ar. *binā'*) + *qïl-*
*bäʔz* (SayK) gland
*beyïř* (SayK) liver OT *bagır* SU *jïgär*
*beyïřsaq* (Pich, Tur) kind, considerate OT *bagırsak*
*beläk* (Mur) other
*belän* (Mur) many, good, plentiful < Mong. *belen*
*belïq üzüm* (LükY) a sort of grape, lit. fish-grape
*benčän* (SayK) capital < Chin. 本錢 *ben-qian*
*bendi* (Tuy) local < Chin. 本地 *ben-di*
*bendi ädäm* 'local people'
*beš* (LükY) five SU *bäš*
*bejni* (Mur) this side < *bu jan* 'this side' + 3 POSS *-i*
*bezinda* (Pich) a cloth used to tie the child's foot and hand in a cradle
*bidän* (LükY) body < Ar./Per. *badan* SU *bädän*
*bigupa* (Tox) unfaithful < Per. *biwafā*
*bïǰaqï* (Lük, Pich, SayK, Tuy) a sort of grape
*bïǰïk* (Yang) container just above the door
*bïkä-* come here < *bïj* (< *beri*) 'here' + *käl-* 'come'
*bïlä-* to pick up
*bïř ïjïn bïlä-p jäj dïsä* 'when she intended to take a piece (of grape) and eat it'
*bïläg* (LükD) v. *beläk*
*bïldïr-* (Yor) to make a thing known, inform
*bïlγï* (Lük, Tuy) a sort of grape, *bïlγï* grape
*bïlok* (Buy) a wood used to take water from the well
*bïmäsäl* tasteless < ? Per. *bīmiṣāl*
*ezi häsäl, tolasï bïmäsäl* 'Few is honey, many are tasteless.'
*birimaq* unhappy, uncomfortable
*birinča* (SayK) January < *birinči* 'first' + *aj* 'month'
*bïřǰïŋ* v. *bïřǰïŋ göš*
*bïřǰïŋ göš* (SayK) the thigh, muscle of the thigh SU *bulǰuŋ göš*
*bïřmä* (Tuy) thing < *bir nemä* 'a thing'
*bïřvaraqï* gradually
*bisäj* (Pich) Chinese cabbage < Mong. *bïčäy* < Chin. 白菜 *bai-cai*
*bišïŋčä* (LükD) ordinary, common < *bišïŋ* < Chin. 百姓 *baixing* + *čä*
*bišïqtuř-* (Yang) to clean up, put in order SU *besiqtur-*
*bijiqï* (Tuy) this SU *beriqi*
*bijisi* (SayK) this side (near) SU *beri*
*bijlä* (Tox) together
*bizä* (Lük, Mur, Pich, Tur) a few, little
*boγun* (Tur) bee
*bolum* ability SU *boluš*
*bolumi joq* 'no ability'
*bo:n* (SayK) neck < *bojun*
*boquř-* (Mur) to despise, mistreat OT *bokur-*
*bořdam* (Yang) fat man
*bowa* (SayK) grandfather
*bojlam* (Mur ) CLASSIF cut
*bïř bojlam jïγač* 'a cut of wood'
*bök* (Pich, Yang) cap OT *börk*
*böläxčïla* (Pich) specially, extremely
*bügün böläxčïla kattïγu özlä* 'I found you are extremely smart today.'
*böřgä* (Tox) flea, bug SU *bürgä*
*böri* wolf OT *böri* SU *börä*
*börü* (Mur) v. *böri*
*börilik* (Yang) wolfishness, 'wolf time' ( = period of being young), OT *börilik*
*böz* (Yur) cotton cloth, coarse cotton-stuff OT *böz, ana kürüp qïz al, qïrγaχ kürüp böz* 'Marry with a girl after you saw her mother, buy cotton-stuff after you saw its

edge'
*bözčilik* cotton-stuff profession
*budaj* (Mur) wheat SU *buγdaj*
*buγda:lïq* (SayK) throat
*buγmaq* (Lük) with joints
*buǰuχ* (Tox) threshold
*bukänlä-* (Mur) to produce excrement (of a cow)
*bul* (Buy) a wooden stick to which the rope of water-taker binds
*bul-* (Buy) to turn
*bula* 1 (Pich, Yang) nave (of a cariot)
*bula* 2 a roller used to dredge a karez
< Chin. 轆轤 *bi-lu*
*bulay* (Mur) spring
*bulaytin* 'from the spring'
*bultuř* oza (SayK) previous year, last year
*buluχ* (SayK) dense, thick
*buluš* v. *bulušu qal-*
*bulušu* qal- to restore good relations
*bunčän* (LükD) v. *benčän*
*buqqa* (LükY) bull SU *buqa*
*buřda* trap, snare
*unu buřdüsüγa čüš kätmä* 'Do not to be fooled by her/his misleading.'
*buřda* tap- to cheat, mislead
*buřja* (LükD) a corner, edge
*buřjaŋ* a corner, edge
*buřul-* (Mur, Tur) to turn, revolve
*buřun* (QaraGh, SayK) nose
*buřunlada* (SayK) ancient time, long ago
*burunlada dediγan* '(We) used to say before.'
*busuq* (Lük, Pich, SayK) threshold
< Mong (Khalxa) *bosog*
*busuř-* (LükD, Tur) CAUS of *bas-* 'to press' SU *basur-*
*bujnaχ* (QaraGh) like this
*bujnätä* (Mur, Tur) this morning
< *bügün* 'today' + *ätä* 'tomorrow'
*bujun* (SayK) nape
*bujzi* (SayK) this side
*büri* v. *böri*
*büšük* v. *büšük kářgüči*
*büšük kářgüči* (Pich) a cloth used for tighting the hands of children in a cradle
*büjnätä* (LükD) v. *bujnätä*
*ča* (Lük, Mur, Pich, Tuy) tea < Chin. 茶 *cha* 'tea'
*ča?la-* (Mur) to paste, stick SU *čapla-*
*ča?š* (SayK, Yang) hair SU *čač*
*balčuq ča?š* 'thinb braid of hair', *jaŋaq ča?š* 'hair on a young lady's temples'
*čaštäŋgä* (Yang) silver hair clasp specifically used in the Turfan area
*ča-ma* (LükD) tea and tea-like drinks SU *čaj-paj*
*čambaš* (Pich, Tur, Yang) boxer
< Chin. 拳巴士 *quan-ba-shi* 'boxer'
*čamča* (Lük, Pich, Yang) man's shirt
< Mong. *čamča*
*čaŋχo* (LükD) chariot-driver
< ? Chin. 車夫 *che-fu*
*čap* v. *čip-čap*
*čap-* to sting
*išäx čap-* 'to sting by a scorpion'; *išäx čapqandïkın* 'since she was stung by a scorpion'
*čapča* spike-toothed metal harrow; wooden or iron pitchfork OT *čapča*
*čapča-* to rust
*čapmu-čap* face to face
*čapqu* (Yang) a sickle used to harvest grass
*čapsa* hole
*čaptïř-* (LükD) to have dug SU *čaptur-*
*čaq-* to crash SU *soq-*
*uni mašïna čaqti* 'A car crashed into him.'
*ča qa-* (Pich, Tur) to rinse in water SU *čajqa-*
*čaqan* (Tuy) fast SU *čaqqan*
*čaqqa* (Lük, Pich) general term for a hanger



used for drying grapes
*čaqqïla* (Lük) immediately
*čaqqïla ävep* 'immediately taking over'
*čaqsa* very simple door, temporary door
< ? Per. *čaqsa* 'a perch or roost for birds' (Steingass 397a)
*čařčaŋ* v. *čařčaŋ qïl-*
*čařčaŋ qïl-* (Tuy) to have a rest
< ? *čarča-* 'to be tired' < Mong. *čarča* 'tired' + *qïl-*
*čašlïq* (Lük) with much hair; unmarried
*čašlïq bala* 'unmarried young lady'
*čatquč* (Yang) silver chain
*čaγla-* (Yang) to hoe SU *čaγla-*
*čäkküč* (Lük, Pich) a poker used for punching decorations on bread < Per. *čakūš*
*čälgi-* to float
*čämäč* a thin stick on which the grapes are hung
*čäŋχo* (Tox) v. *čaŋχo*
*čäŋχu* (Lük) v. *čaŋχo*
*čäŋzä* (Tuy) stick, small short laths, which are put between the roof-beams < Chin. 椽子 *chuan-zi*
*čäp* v. *äp-čäp*
*čäpčä* v. *čapča*
*čečra-* (Mur) to splatter, splash, to die (of small children) SU *čačra-*
*čeqïl* v. *čeqïl-čuqul*
*čeqïl-čuqul* (Pich, Tur) mixed; worthless; sickness arising from the eating of very different foods (cold and hot) at one time < ? Mong. *čaqïl* 'sand, small stone' + *čuqul* 'anger'
*čeqïlïš-* to crash into each other
*ikki mašina čeqïlïši kittu* 'Reportedly, two cars crashed into each other.'
*čequl* v. *čequl-čuqul*
*čequl-čuqul* v. *čeqïl-čuqul*
*čigejle* (Mur) early ripening melon SU *čilgä*
*čigiliš-* v. *χun čigiliš-*
*čikät-* to go out < *čiqip kät-*
*čikät-kän* 'having gone out'
*čikïlä-* (Tuy) to lose bitterness (of grapes)
*üzüm čikïläptu* 'The grape lost its bitterness'
*čikkä* (Pich, Tur) forehead Chag. *čäkkä* < ? Per. *čikka*
*čïlak* (Mur) pail; a spindle, bunch of corn
*čïliŋ* (Tuy) smaller bunch of grapes than *sapaq* (or *üzüm sapaq*)
*čïlla-* to invite < *čïr + -la*
*čïmït-* to despise
*čïŋvaš* v. *čïŋvaš qunaq*
*čïŋvaš qunaq* (Mur) a sort of corn
*čïp* v. *čïp-čap*
*čïp-čap* unsatisfactory; tasteless, not delicious
*čïq-* to go
*ürümčigä čïqïmä* 'I go to Urumchi.'
*čï:qan* (SayK) abscess
*čïqař-* (Tox) to marry (a woman to ... )
*talaγa čïqař-* 'to marry a woman to ...'
*čïqařduř-* (QaraGh) to let go out
*čïqïš-* (Lük) to divorce
*čïqïšï kät-* 'to divorce'
*čïrkın* dirty
*či:š* (SayK) tooth SU *čïš*
*čïšaŋ* (SayK) protruding teeth
*čitik* (Yang) a kind of soft-bottomed shoes
*čït-* (SayK) to join, marry
*čïtïš-* (SayK) to join two persons (in marriage)
*čïvä* the groin
*balənï čïvïsï pišlaq vo qapto* 'the child's groin has become red and dirty.'
*čijnä-* to take aim
*čola* v. *ara-čola*
*čon* (Buy) ball-shaped things
*čoŋ ana* (SayK) grandmother
*čoŋ ajla* (SayK) elder sister, elder aunt
*čoŋ kör-* (Pich, Tur, Tuy) to esteem, respect
*tuřsun uni čoŋ körüptu* 'Tursun respected him very much'

*čoŋ kičä* (LükD) late evening, midnight
*čoqu* (Yang) handler of a cart
*čoř* a kind whistle made of clay
*čořuq* roller-gin used to clean cottonseed SU *čiyrïq*
*čoš* (Tuy) wooden waterpipe
*čošla-* to make high
*čöčünči* (Yang) good quality white silk cloth < ? Chin. 綢裙子 *chou-qun-zi*
*čöglä-* to travel
*baza čögläp* 'travelling in the baazar'
*čökän* (LükD) slender or delicate branch
*čökür-* to despise
*čömäč* a cariot axel
*čörlimä* (Tuy) first grape tree of two rows in a vineyard
*čötkä* (Pich, Tur) brush < Rus. *šotka* SU *čotka*
*čučaχ* (SayK) penis (of younger boys)
*čulluŋ* (Lük) v. *čuluŋ*
*čuluŋ* (Lük) v. *čiliŋ*
*čupaq* (Pich, Tur) ocular mucus, eye gum SU *čapaq*
*čuqqa* (Tuy) crest, top, sign of dangerous places in karez SU *čoqqa*
*čuqqulaχ* (Lük) handler of a cart
*čuqul* v. *čeqïl-čuqul*
*čuquř* (SayK) pitted from small-pox
*čuřčaq* (Pich, SayK) penis (general term)
*čusuŋka* (Pich) felt boots bearing a sole on the bottom
*čujuχ* (LükD) bare tree branch
*čüg-* (LükD) to bind, pack SU *čig-*
*čügüp* 'binding, packing'
*čügän* (Mur) fruits of the bean and cowpea
*čükä* chopsticks SU *čuka*
*čükäčon* (Yang) pig-iron bar used for wooden axles of old-fashioned carts
*čükänlä-* (Yang) to bear fruit (of bean and cowpea) *puřčaq čükälläptu* 'The bean bore fruit'
*čükünäm* disrespectful
*u tazimu čükünäm biřmikä* 'I found he is a disrespectful guy.'
*čükürük* a special hoe used to normalize the well-wall of a karez
*čülük* (SayK) name of a kind of tree
*čümbölä* (Yor) ant SU *čümülä*
*čümöjlä* (Mur) v. *čümbölä*
*čümpüt-* to trust < *čin püt-*
*čünčä* shady and well-ventilated special building for drying grapes
*čürgä* (Mur) a side-channel through which the mill-water is led away when not needed in the mill < *čüšürgä*
*čüvün* (Tuy) fly SU *čïwin*
*čüš-* to take
*mašiniya čüš-* 'to get in a car'
*čüšlä-* (Pich, Tur) to pass noon (< *čüš* < *tüš* + *-lä*)
*čüšük* (Pich, Tox) abortion, miscarriage
*čüšür-* (Pich, Tur) to lower down
*čüšür qo-* (< *čüšürüp qoj-*) 'to lower down'
*da* (Pich, Yang) that
*dabaja* (Pich, Yang) long before
*dabajïtïn* a little time ago < *dabaja* 'long before' + ABL *-tïn*
*dabiza* (SayK) big-nose (a sort of pigeon) < Chin. 大鼻子 *da-bi-zi*
*dada* (Lük, SayK, Tur, Tuy) grandfather
*dadïmla* 'my grandfather and other relatives'
*dagut* (Pich, Tur) Dawut (personal name) < Ar. *Dā'ud*
*daylatqa* (Pich, Yang) exanthema
*da?* (Mur) v. *da* that (refers to a rather far place)
*dalan* (Yang) outer room, porch < Per. *dālān*
*dalaj-* v. *döjlä-*
*da:muŋ* (SayK) gate < Chin. 大門 *da-men*
*daniŋ* (Lük) GEN of *da*



*daniŋya* (LükD) DIR of *da*
*daŋgilat-* (SayK) throw a hard dry clump of soil, *daŋgiletip* 'throwing a hard dry clump of soil'
*daŋgiřat* modern churn
*daŋla-* (LükD) to mortgage < Chin. 当 *dang* 'to pawn' + *-la*
*daŋqa* (LükD) mortgage
*daqal* (Yang) goatee
*dař* v. *dař-dař*
*daraχ* (Mur) tree < Per. *diraxt* SU *däräx*
*dař-dař* discussion
*bu išni nuryun dař-dař vilä häl qïyan nimä* 'This matter was solved with many discussions.'
*da:rï-* to catch a cold
*maŋya šamal da:rïptu* 'I have caught a cold.'
*dašä* (MirY) that place < *dašu* 'that' + *jär* 'place'
*dašnaq* (Lük, Pich) so, like that
*dašnaχ* (LükD) v. *dašnaq*
*dašo* (LükD, Mur) that
*dašu* (Pich, Yang) v. *dašo*
*dašun* v. *dašun jip*
*dašun jip* (LükD) rope < Chin. 大線 *dasheng* + *jip* 'string'
*da:taŋ* (LükD) main hall, big hall < Chin. 大堂 *da-tang*
*dawa* name of a disease < ?Ar. *dawā* 'a medicine'
*dawu* that (farther than *da*)
*da:wu* (Pich, Yang) v. *dawu*
*dajnaq* (Tuy) like this, such
*dajnaqla gäp* 'such a matter. /it is just so.'
*dajni* (SayK) that side < *da jenï*
*dajzi* that side
*dazo* (Yang) running < Chin. 大走 *da-zou* SU *jügürüš*
*dädij* (Mur) brigade < Chin. 大隊 *da-dui* production brigade (of a rural people's commune) SU *dadüj*
*däfnä* (Mur) burial, funeral < Ar. *dafna* / *dafna*
*däktu* (Yang) felt boots of short shaft
*dälyun* (Tur) crude and rash, abrupt
*dälpäk* (Tuy) fur-cap, leather-cap, cap SU *tälpäk*
*däm* v. *dim-däm*
*dämdäř* (SayK) little pigeon
*dämlä-* (LükD) to weigh OT *täŋlä-*
*dänä* (Pich, Yang) that, over there
*däńčiŋ* (Tuy) light blue < Chin. 淡青 *dan-qing* 'light blue'
*dänduř* door hinge
*däŋgim* (Pich, Yang) a bow Sal. *dengün*
*dänši* (SayK) television < Chin. 電視 *dian-shi*
*dänšiŋ* gambling, betting < ? Chin. 占星 *zhan-xing* 'star omen'
*dänšiŋ ač-* to tell someone's fortune, gamble
*dänšiŋ ač-ïdu* 'They gamble.'
*däpsät-* to breed
*däptäř* (Tuy) notebook < Per. *daftar*
*därgüš* (Mur) Darwish < Per. *darvīš*
*dästah* (Yang) a hat worn by Turfan boys as the symbol of becoming a youth of marrying age < Per. *dastār*
*däšä* (LükD, Pich, Yang) v. *dašä*
*dättä* v. *dättä-dättä*
*dättä-dättä* gradually, step by step
*däjsät-* to breed
*däjil* (LükD) late, tardy
*däjili va* 'it takes time.'
*däjja* (Tox) river < Per. *daryā*
*dediqtuř-* to attract, seduce
*dej* (Mur) gradually, step by step
*dej däp dej sep* 'gradually, step by step'
*di-* to speak, tell
*di-diyu* 'He said'.

*dig"anā* (Mur) begger < Per. *dīvāna*
*digāŋgā* (LūkD) anyway < *digān* 'having said' + DIR *–gā*'
*dim* v. *dim-dām*
*dim-dām* half slept
*dimīqta* sultry, muggy
*din* (Tuy) religious SU *dinij*
*din mäxtäp* 'religious school'
*diraŋ* hale and hearty, sturdy < Per. *darang*
*diräχ* v. *daraχ*
*dišaŋlīq* (Pich) rural, of the countryside < ? Chin. 低鄉 *di-xiang* 'countryside' + *-līq*
*divin-* to fierce, truculent
*diχmařla-* to push, shove
*do* (Mur) kilowatt < Chin. 度 *du*
*bīř do tok* 'one kilowatt of electricity'
*dobaza* (Pich, Tur, Yang) steamed bun < Chin. 刀把子 *dao-ba-zi*
*doga* heap, pile, stack SU *döwä*
*dogamät* Dawamat (personal name) < Ar. *davām* + *ät-* SU *dawamät*
*domba* watercup
*dombu* (Lūk) v. *domba*
*dombuř* (Pich, Tur) v. *domba*
*do saχ* (SayK) bladder
*dö* (Yor) demon SU *devä*
*döŋgälčäk* v. *qīzīl döŋgälčäk*
*döräm* (Mur) time, turn < Ar./Per. *dawr* 'turn' + *-äm*
*döwüř* (Tuy) turn < Ar./Per. *dawr*
*döwüř sūř-* (Tuy) to control < Ar./Per. *dawr* 'turn' + *sūř-*
*döšä* (Pich, Yang) chopping block < Mong. *dösi* 'anvil' (Lessing 269b)
*döjlä-* to rush SU *devājlä-*
*duga* (Mur, SayK) prayer, invocation < Ar./Per. *du ā*
*dugïla-* to gather SU *döwïlä-*
*dugulan-* (Tuy) to roll
*dugulun-up* 'rolling'
*dumba* (Tuy) stick, runners (stick holders)
*u jädä dumbalamu ba voyaŋkin* 'since his runners are also there'
*dumbul* drum < Mong. (Khalxa) *dombur*
*dup* group SU *top*
*dupaval-* (LūkD) to gather < *dop aval-* (< *dop elival-*)
*dušu* v. *dašu*
*dušula* (SayK) those pl. of *dušu*
*dušunuŋdun* (SayK) from that ABL of *dušu*
*dujila-* (LūkD) v. *dugïla-*
*dügät* inkwell < Ar./Per. *dawāt*
*dügïlä-* to roll, trundle
*dügülän-* 1 (Tuy) v. *dugulan-*
*dügülän-* 2 (Tuy) to gather
*dükän* (LūkD) shop < Per. *dukān*
*dünja* (LūkD) treasure < Ar./Per. *dunyā*
*dünjerïŋ* 'your treasure'
*düŋgäj* (Pich, Yang) back
*dü ř* v. *dü ř-dü ř*
*dü ř-dü ř* (Tuy) ONOM buble buble (usually describes the voice of the wind)
*dürüt* (Tox) prayer < Per. *durūd*
*düvirä-* (Tuy) to gather SU *döwïlä-*
*eyinä* (Lūk, Tuy) friend < *aya* 'older brother' + *ini* 'younger brother'
*eyïř* (SayK) heavy
*tili eyïř* 'mute, a dumb person'
*eyïzlïq* (Yang) bit of a bridle
*elïŋ* v. *elïŋ-selïŋ*
*elïŋ-selïŋ* (Pich, Tur) vulgar
*elïš-* to change
*enïŋya* (Tox) DIR of *alu* 'that'
*eŋgälčäk* v. *qīzīl eŋgälčäk*
*eŋïl* (Tuy) dress, clothes
*eŋïlvaš* (Tuy) dress, clothes
*eqïš* (Mur) ditch, channel
*eqïš eyïzï* 'mouth of a river'
*eqïz-* to shed
*erïda-* to clean



*erïy* (Pich, Tur) clean, pure
*erïχ* v. *erïy*
*erïq* all
*ěrmuŋ* (SayK) double-winged door < Chin. 二門 *er-men*
*ěřt-* (Yang) to clean, wipe
*ällāj balam kütti poq*
*ěřtaj disem latta joq*
*latta digā̃ ögüzdä*
*čiqaj disem šutta joq*
Sleep, my child, the shit-buttocks,
I want to clean, but there is no cloth
Cloth is on the roof,
I want to climb, but there is no ladder
*esän* (Pich) next year
*esällik* well-being OT *esänlik*
*esällik sora-* to greet
*esïl-* to gather
*su esïlïp qeliš* 'gathering of water at the half way point when digging a well'
*eši ařtï(p) qal-* to swell (food)
*ešïq-* (Lūk) to be full, satiated
*kičik činïlädä iškäm-bilä ešïqmamä* 'I am not sated by eating with small bowls.'
*e t-* (Mur, Yang) to tell, to sing SU *ejt-*
*ejal* (Yang) v. *äjal*
*ejipmaq* (Pich, Tur, Yang) disabled, crippled
*ejlä* (Lūk) v. *ajla*
*faŋčän* (LūkD) rent < Chin. 房錢 *fang-qian* 'rent'
*gačča* (SayK) mute, dumb < Per. *gača*
*gada* (Lūk, Pich) pauper, poor < Per. *gadā(y)*
*gadamaš* (Tuy) swelling, lump < Chin. 疙瘩 *ge-da* 'lump' + *-maš*
*gahap* (Pich, Tur) Wahap (personal name) < Ar. *wāhif*
*gaχ* time < Ar. *waqt*
*gaχ qal-* to be late
*gaǰit* (Pich, Tur) Waǰit (personal name) < Ar. *wajd* 'discovering'
*galaχla-* (Yang) to talk uncessantly SU *walaqla-*
*gandï* (Tuy) human excrement, nightsoil < ?
*gaŋ* (Tuy) ruler, king < Chin. 王 *wang* 'ruler'
*gaŋguŋ* (Lūk, Pich, Tur) hero, hooligan < Chin. 関公 *guan-gong* honorific name of a Chinese historical hero called *Guan Yu* 関羽 of the Three States Kingdom
*gaŋguŋluq* like a hero, like a hooligan
*gaŋguŋluq qïl-* (Tuy) to act like a hero, behave like a hooligan
*garaq* unconscious < ?
*gasilaχun* (Yang) Wasil Akhun (personal name) < Ar. *waṣīl*
*gašat* fear, worry, anxiety < Ar./Per. *wahšat*
*gatař* (Tox) stupid < ? Ar./Per. *ɣaddār* 'perfidy, fraud'
*ga tař* (Yang) v. *gatař*
*gajit* (Pich, Tur) Wayit (personal name) < Ar. *wāhid* 'one, sole'
*gä* word, talk SU *gäp*
*gä dä* promise < Ar./Per. *wa'da*
*gäχpä* (Mur) mosque's property < Ar. *waqf*
*gänzï* (Tuy) restaurant < Chin. 館子 *guan-zi*
*gäŋkïlä-* to walk by lifting two feet one after another
*gäqa* (LūkD) phenomenon < Ar. *wāqi'a*
*gäräm* (Tur) v. *geräm*
*gäst* v. *äsl-gäst*
*geräm* (Pich, Yang) undeground house for summer, underground store OT *käräm*
*gejsi* (Lūk) unofficial, local
*gejsi gäp* 'local word, dialect'
*gïl-gïl* v. *gïl-gïl qïl-*
*gïl-gïl qïl-* (Tox) to cheat
*gina* hatred, enemity
*goba* remainder of cooked rice < Chin. *ge-ba*
*goŋuř* v. *goŋuř-moŋuř*
*goŋuř-moŋuř* together, jointly

*gödäŋgä* face upward
*göllä-* (Pich, Tur) to cheat
*görüš* (Yang) v. *güröš*
*göš* v. *biřǰŋ göš*
*guduŋ* v. *guduŋ arawa*
*guduŋ arawa* (Pich, Yang) a kind of chariot, normally with high wheels
*gumbaz* (Lük, Mur, SayK) cupola
< Per. *gumbaz / gunbaz*
*gumbaza* (M, Pich, Yang) v. *gumbaz*
*gunǰüt* v. *günǰüt*
*guŋdo* (Pich, Tur) justice
< Chin. 公道 *gong-dao*
*gupa* faith, loyalty < Ar. /Per. *vafā*
*gupadař* (Mur) loyal, faithful < Per. *vafādār*
*gupat* death < Ar. *wafāt*
*guwal* injustice, wrong < Ar. *wabāl*
*güdrät* suspicion < ?
*gügüsün* (Pich, Yang) wheel spoke < ?
*güldiräχan* (SayK) sweet basil
*güldürmä* (Tox) thunder
*gülü* (LükD) jail < ?
*günǰüř* (SayK) oil-cake
< Per. *kunjār ~ kunjāra* 'sediment, dregs ...' (Steingass 1053a)
*günǰüt* (Pich, Tuy, Yang) sesame
< Mong. *günǰid* (< Toch. *kuñcit*)
*güŋgüm* dusk, evening
*güŋgürmä* (Yang) evening
*gürä* v. *gürä tuvi*
*gürä tuvi* (SayK) temple
*gürǰäx* (SayK) shoulder
< ? Mong. *geǰige + -k*
*güröš* (Pich, Yang) rice < Per. *gorenj*
*güröš* v. *güröš*
*güsij* (Yang) last words < Ar./Per. *waṣīyat*
*güsüj* v. *güsij*
*güzüř* (LükD) vezir < Ar./Per. *wazīr*
*ɣalïrät* (Pich, Yang) v. *ɣalrät*
*ɣalrät* (Mur) rather big sore often developed on the neck
*ɣaltäk* v. *bula*
*ɣalvïř* (Lük, Tuy) sieve < Per. *ɣalbīr*
*ɣältäxči* animal driver when digging a karez
*ɣaluř* (Mur) v. *ɣalvïř*
*ɣät* (Mur) letter, character < Ar. *xaṭ*
*ɣedïř* (LükD, Tox) earhenware bowl < ?
*ɣïdirä* (SayK) v. *ɣedïř*
*ɣïldïrïɣuč* a kitchen utensil with a small toothed wheel used for decorating dough
*ɣïmsa* narrow road
*ɣol* (SayK) shoulder
*ɣop* v. *ɣop-ɣopïlaŋ*
*ɣop-ɣopïlaŋ* empty, not suitable
*ɣopïlaŋ* v. *ɣop-ɣopïlaŋ*
*ɣoro* 1 bolt
*ɣoro* 2 door of an enclosure
*ɣulaš* (Tox) fathom SU *ɣulač*
*ɣuluřla-* (Mur) to lock < Ar. *qufl* 'lock' + *-la*
*ɣulup* (Pich, Tox, Tur, Yang) lock < Ar. *qufl*
*ɣunči* v. *ɣunči üzüm*
*ɣunči üzüm* (LükY) a variety of grape listed as *vinis vinifera* (< Per. *ɣunča* 'bud' + *üzüm* 'grape')
*ɣunčüzüm* (Tuy) v. *ɣunči üzüm*
*ɣunǰüzüm* (SayK) v. *ɣunči üzüm*
*ɣup* v. *ɣup-ɣup*
*ɣup-ɣup* empty, big
*bu čamča maŋɣa ɣup-ɣup kä qaldi* 'This shirt is big for me.'
*χaχ* (Lük) people, others < Per. *xalq* SU *xäq*
*χa:lo* a pastry rolling pin < ?
*χaltïlïq* present, gift
*χampa* (Pich) the opening where the flour comes out from the stones of the mill
*χam terä* (Mur,Tur) wounded (lit. unmatured skin)
*χam terä qïl-* to wounded
*urup χam terä qïlïvätkā nimä* 'They bit him and wounded him all over.'
*χa:raz* (Pich) churn, oil press < ?
*χat* (Yang) v. *ɣät*



*χatamïlïq* ploughed earth, methathesis of *aχtamlïq*
*χämäk* (Yang) unripe melon
< ? Per. *xāmak* 'anaything small'
*χämäklä-* (Yang) to give melon
*χändilāk* early ripening melon
*χäŋgä* (Pich, Tur) cucumber
< Chin. 黃瓜 *huang-gua*
*χäŋgäř* (Mur) v. *χäŋgä*
*χäʔ* (SayK) v. *χaχ*
*χäʔ-lä-ni* 'others (ACC)'
*χäsäŋgä* intentionally, on purpose
< ? Ar. *qaṣd* + DIR *–gä*
*χäšäk* general term used to refer to the grape varieties other than seedless grape, v. *qašqïř*
*χäʔt* (Tuy) v. *ɣät*
*χäjjä* penis < Per. *xāya*
*χičïř* (Yang) mole < Mong. *xačir*
*χǰil tařt-* (Pich, Tur) to shy
*χimïř* (Lük, Pich, Yang) dough < Per. *xamīr*
*χita* (SayK) Chinese
*χijza* (Tur) v. *χiza*
*χiza* (Pich, Tur) small street
< Chin. 巷子 *xiang-zi* (Muslin Chin. *hang-zi*)
*χořgül* (Mur) poor quality
< ? Mong. *xorigul* (Lessing 967)
*χot* v. *χot-χot*
*χot-χot* (Yang) donkey foal
< ? (cf. TMEN Nr. 1438)
*χubo* a kind of local food with soup
*χun* v. *χun čigiliš-*
*χun čigiliš-* (Mur, Tur) to have a menstrual period
*χuŋto* (SayK) red-head, one sort of pigeon
< Chin. 紅頭 *hong-tou*
*χuřǰa* (Buy) farmer
< ? Mong. *xurija-* (Lessing 989)
*χuřǰalïq* (Buy) agriculture
*χuřǰalïq qïl-* (Buy) to farm
*ha:da-* (Lük) v. *hayda-*
*ha:ga* (Yang) air, weather < Ar. *hawā'*
*haganča* (MirY) mortar < Per. *hawan + -ča*
*haganča* v. *haganča*
*hakaja* (Yang) story < Per. *hakāya*
*hakajä qïl-* (Tuy) to tell a story
< Per. *hakāya + qïl-*
*halga* sweetmeat < Ar. *ḥalvā*
*handuga* brick-trowel, plasterer's trowel
< Per. *andāba*
*handuğa* v. *handuga*
*haŋgam* one day, once < Per. *hangām* 'time'
*haŋɣa* jackass, male ass < ?
*haŋɣïra-* (Lük, Mur) to bray
*haqajätla* extremely, very much
< Ar./Per. *haqqīyat* 'reality, right, properly' + *la*, *su haqajätla tüšüvatqan* '(they found) water is falling intensively'.
*harawa* v. *arawa*
*hařduqqa čïq-* to retire
*hasa* (Tuy) Hasa (place name), ruin of an old city in Pichan
*haša* (Pich, Yang) fence, enclosure
< Mong. *qasi-ya, qasi-ga*
*hajda-* (Tuy) to drive
*hajdavär-* to drive away
*hajdavïrïpla* 'just driving away'
*hajl* character, personality
< Ar. *ḥāl*
*hazim* (Tuy) Hazim (personal name)
< Ar. *'azīm* 'great'
*hä:giz* ever, always < Per. *hargiz*
*hämä* (Mur) all < Per. *hama*
*hämij-* (Yang) to look at something greedly
*hämsal* amiable, congenial
< Per. *hamsāl* 'coeval'
*hänä* (As, QaraGh) again SU *yänä*
*hänäq* (Tuy) like that, such SU *undaq*
*hänäq iš joq* 'doesn't matter.'

*hänsirä-* (Mur) to worry, feel anxious
SU *änsirä-*
*häpäk* (Tox) rather bigger fried-dumpling mainly consumed in the Turfan, Qomul regions
*häpäš* (Tox) v. *häpäk*
*häpif* (LükD) weak, boring < Ar./Per. *hafif*
*häpsär* covetous
*häpši-* to yawn
*häqäsiz* (Lük) stupid, silly < Ar. *'aql + -siz*
*härа* (GaraGh) care < ?
*äramgä ammajmä* 'I don't care'
*härän* (Mur) astonished < Ar. *hayran*
SU *häjran*
*hässinäj* inter. My goodness! Oh no!
*häš* (Tox) apparent, clear
*häš vol-* (Tox) to become clear
*hättäm* (Tox) dull, uninteresting
< ? *bad + ta'm*
*hättäŋgä* pity, regret < *häj taŋ häj*
*häjjät* (Tuy) water manager, supervisor of irrigation system < Ar. *hay'at* 'delegation, committee'
*häjdiha* (Yang) v. *äjdiha*
*hen-* v. *hen čïq-*
*hen čïq-* (LükD) to come back, return
< **henip čïq-*
*hene* (Mur) v. *jänä*
*heqïllïy* (Lük) clever < Ar. *'aql + -lïq*
*hešnä* (Tox) no anyplace, nowhere
< Per. *hïj + nä*
*heštimä* nothing < Per. *hïj + nemä*
*het* (Tuy) Islamic religous festival
< Ar./Per. *'eyd*
*hetmaq* (Mur) disabled
*hikajäkäš* (Tuy) story teller
< Per. *hakāya-kaš*
*himïř-* to rub
*hini käl-* (LükD) to return < **henip käl-*
*hiŋ* (Yang) a grass whose root is used for skin care
*hiŋgaŋ* (SayK) cracked tooth
*hiqïl siz* (Lük, Pich, Tur) stupid
< Ar. *'aql + -sIz*
*hïřř* (Mur) Shame on you!
*homuř* (LükD) v. *humuř*
*hosma* (Mur, Tur, Yang) Osma (*Isatic tinctoria*)
*hosman* (Tur) Osman (personal name)
< Ar. *'Oṣmān*
*höküz* (Tur) bullock, ox OT *öküz*
*höŋgirä-* (Mur) to wail
*hörđuŋ* v. *hörđuŋ-hörđuŋ*
*hörđuŋ-hörđuŋ* (Mur) lump
*hörtäx* (Pich, Tur, Yang) Adam's apple
*humuř* (Pich, Yang) life < Ar./Per. *'umr*
*humuř-um* 'my life'
*hüdä-* (Tox) to thirst
*hüplä-* to radiate heat, suffer a heat stroke
*hütla* (Lük) immediately
*hütla jiyïliptu* 'They immediately crowded.'
*ič-* to eat; drink SU drink
*tamaγ ič- / taməγič* 'to eat food'; *tamaχnï ičivap* 'having eaten the food'
*ičïk-* to be amiable, congenial
*idä* (Lük, Pich, Tur, Yang) cradle party (a ceremony held 40 days after a baby's birth)
*idä qïl-* to hold a cradle ceremony
*igäř* (Lük) if < Per. *agar*
*igičä* older sister
< Mong. *igäči* (TMEN Nr. 67)
*ikinänjisi* (Tuy) secondly
*ikindilap* (Yang) second time
*ikindilap soŕyanda* 'when (the king) asked a second time'
*ikinča* (SayK) February < *ikinči aj*
*ikkilap* (Tuy) secondly, later
*ikölän* (LükD) two of us
*iläš-* (Tox) to amiate
*iläškäk* amiable < *iläš-* 'to mix' + *-GAk*



*ilašlik* mixed
*taš ilašlik* 'stone-mixed'
*ilγiγuč* (Pich, Yang) broom
*ilik* (Pich, SayK, Tur, Yang) marrow
*iliŋ* v. *iliŋ-siliŋ*
*iliŋ-siliŋ* condition of not being healthy and also not really being sick
*iliši qal-* to go crasy SU *elišip qal-*
*ilmiči* (Tox) healer of the exanthema
*ilqa* (Yor) horse
*imiz-* (LükD) to breastfeed SU *emit-*
*inčïχla-* (SayK) to cry in a low voice
*indin* two days from yesterday
*inidä-* (LükD) to enter carefully
*išiktin šundaq inidäp kiřdi* 'She went through the door carefully.'
*intam* (Mur) test, examination
< Ar./Per. *imtihān* 'test'
*iŋgimama* (Pich, Tox) present for children when a child was 40 days old
*iŋgïřčaq* (Yang) leather belt used for fastening the waist of the horse to a cart Chag. *iŋïrčaq*
*iŋiš* v. *iŋiš-töván*
*iŋiš-töván* high and low, chaotic
*iŋki* (Tuy) then
*iŋiz* (Mur) stubble, stubble-field
*irajim* (Pich, Tur) Ibrahim (personal name)
< Ar. *Ibrāhīm*
*ïřïaj-* (Pich) to grin in a sinister way
*ïřïjïpla qaptïγu munu bïřmä* 'This guy is grinning unusually.'
*ïřlaŋ* v. *ïřlaŋ-sïřlaŋ*
*ïřlaŋ-sïřlaŋ* (Mur) coarse, vulgar
*i:řül-* (Tur) to turn
*i:řlüp* 'turning'
*isän* v. *esän*
*isellik* (Tuy) next year
*i:ssïq* (SayK) hot
*istä-* (LükD, Mur) to search SU *izdä-*
*istä-ŋnä* 'Search for (them).'
*iste-* (Tuy) v. *istä-*
*iste-jmiz / isti-miz* 'we search for'
*isti* (Tox) young
*istikinä* (Tox) very young
*išäk* (SayK) a forefinger, an index finger
*išäx* scorpion
*išäx čap-* 'to bite (by scorpion)';
*kičïx išäx* 'small scorpion'
*išïl-* (LükD) to be heard
*iška* (Mur, Tuy) hunting, shooting < Per. *šikār*
*iškala-* (Tuy) to hunt < Per. *šikār + -la-*
*iška qïl-* (Mur) to hunt < Per. *šikār + qïl-*
*iškïř* (LükD) inside
*it* v. *it jatqu*
*it jatqu* (Tuy) main branch of the grape stalk
*ittïř* v. *ittïř-yuduř*
*ittïř-yuduř* (Mur) untidy, disunited
*itta* (Mur) breaking the fast < Ar. *iftār*
*ivi-* to become soft in the water
*i:vaš* (Pich, Tur) original form, honest
SU *äjvaš*
*ijïřïm* clear
*ijik-* (Pich, Yang) to become good, recover; survive
*ijin* very small pieces of grape, corn etc., every piece of grape OT *evin*
*ijinlä-* to break (grape, corn etc) up into small pieces
*ijlä-* to move of "fire", to treat (a patient) in a religious way
*ijlük* having moved the "fire", treated
*ǰaχ* v. *ǰaχ-ǰat*
*ǰaχ-ǰat* (Mur) ONOM garrulous, chatty
*ǰälïq* (MirY) living beings
*ǰama* drainage ditch < ? Per. *cami'a*
*ǰamat* (Tuy) relatives < Ar. *camā'at*
*ǰamdu-* (LükD) to prepare < Mong. *jabdu-*
*ǰanuř* (Mur) birds, living beings
< Per. *cānvar*
*ǰaŋdïř* (Lük) living beings, birds
*ǰaŋza* (Lük) village

< Chin. 荘子 *zhuang-zi* 'village'

*ǰarat* (Pich, SayK, Tur, Yang) wound, ulcer
< Ar. *carāhat*

*ǰarǰat* (Mur) ONOM garrulous, long-winded

*ǰa sūǰ* (SayK) offal, heart
< Chin. 雜碎 *za-sui*
*ǰasūǰi buzuq* 'bad-hearted man'

*ǰavyï* v. *ǰavyï müšük*

*ǰavyï müšük* (Tuy) a kind of noisy cat

*ǰajla-* to sharpen

*ǰägän* (LükY) joiner, joining object (chariot object) < Chin. 加板 *jia-ban*

*ǰägän* (Lük) v. *ǰägän*

*ǰäntuŋ* felt boots < Chin. 毡筒 *zhan-tong*

*ǰäŋdu* (Pich, Tur) cowpea SU *ǰaŋdo*
< Chin. 豇豆 *jiang-dou*

*ǰäŋgäl* (Mur) jungle < Per. *cangal*

*ǰäŋgïl* (Tox) v. *ǰäŋgäl*

*ǰejiq* (Yang) line, dash

*ǰejlä-* (Lük, Pich, Tur) to borrow, lend
< Chin. 借 *jie* 'to borrow' + *-lä*

*ǰejnimaz* (Tox) place to pray SU *ǰajnimaz*
< Per. *cā-yi namāz*

*ǰigïrtäk* (Yang) dregs of animal fat
OT *šekirtük* 'pip'

*ǰïla-* (LükD) v. *ǰejlä-*

*ǰïjla-* (LükD) v. *ǰejlä-*

*ǰimmite* silently
*ǰimmite oturǔpïrdikin* '(Reportedly) it sits silently for him', *ǰimmitila joq vo kät-* 'to disappear suddenly'

*ǰinäk* (SayK, Tox) elbow

*ǰïŋǰïŋ* (Tuy) true, truely
< Chin. 真正 *zhen-zheng*

*ǰïq* satisfied, sated

*ǰïqla-* to sate, fool, increase

*ǰïqqïte* very much

*ǰo da* fighting

*ǰo χa* (Pich, Yang) grain or food transporter with donkey and horse < Chin. 脚戶 *jiao-hu*

*ǰoχe* (Pich, Yang) v. *ǰoχa*

*ǰo la-* 1 (Lük, Pich, Tur) to submit
< Chin. 交 *jiao* 'to submit' + *-la*

*ǰola-* 2 to order
< Chin. 叫 *jiao* 'to call, shout' + *-la*

*ǰo lat-* to have ordered

*ǰoŋquř-* to control

*ǰo ru-* (QaraGh) to use, send, to order
*äqlini ǰoru-* 'to use one's mind', *išqa ǰoru-* 'order to do something'

*ǰo taŋ* (Pich, Yang) a kind of sorghum food in gruel containing some vegetables, mainly turnip and onion < Chin. 交湯 *jiao-tang*

*ǰötü* (Buy) pick, pickaxe
< Chin. 鋤頭 *chu-tou*

*ǰugan* (SayK) a married women who is thirty or older, girl < Per. *cuvān*

*ǰugap* (Tuy) answer < Ar./Per *cavāb*

*ǰugav ät-* (LükD) to answer

*ǰugaz* (Pich, Tur, Yang) oil press < Per. *cuvāz*

*ǰuma* Friday < Ar. *jum'a*
*ǰuma küni* 'Friday'

*ǰuwa-* to go trouble
< Mong. *zoba-* (Lessing 1065b)

*ǰuwanä* v. *ǰuwanä märt*

*ǰuwanä märt* (Tuy) brave, generous, hero
< Per. *cawān-mard*

*ǰuǰ* (Yang) idea, suggestion
< Chin. 注意 *zhu-yi*

*ǰuǰ kö sät-* (Tuy) to give a suggestion

*ǰüdäk* (SayK) thin, itch

*ǰüdün* cold

*ǰüǰäk* (Lük, Pich, Tur, Yang) chicken
< Per. *cuce* + DIM *-āk*

*ǰüǰäm* mulberry, mulberry-tree OT *čüsüm käptär ǰüǰimi* (LükY) 'a sort of mulberry, lit. pigeon's mulberry'

*ǰüǰölä* a kind of pear, black pear



*ǰüǰuŋ* (Mur, Pich,Yang) small water-channel to irrigate garden < ? Chin. 渠經 *qu-jing*

*ǰüǰüŋ* (Lük) v. *ǰüǰuŋ*

*ǰüj* (Tuy) v. *ǰuj*

*ka:d* (Tox) usage < ?
*ka:di joq* 'useless'

*kalaravisi* (SayK) cow-cart < *kala harvisi*

*kaldïrčïlïq* (Tox) flattery

*kamak* (SayK) cracked tooth

*ka:na* (Lük, Pich) throat-pipe < Per. *qarnāy* SU *kanaj*

*ka:no* (SayK) v. *ka:na*

*kanto* thief < Chin. 亢頭 *kan-tou*
*kantila vile* 'with thiefs'

*kantola-* to steal < Chin. 亢頭 *kan-tou* + *-la*

*kantu* (Pich, Tur, Yang) v. *kanto*

*kantula-* (Pich, Tur, Yang) v. *kantola-*

*kaŋka* lump, knot

*kaŋkilmaš* lump, knot

*kaŋu* many (corrupted form of *käŋri*?)

*kaŋwu* v. *kaŋu*

*kařdan* (Mur, Tur) silly, crafty, tricky, bad < Per. *kardan*

*kařgan* (Tox) traveller

*kařiz* (Pich) karez, irrigation canal < Per. *kārīz* ~ *kahrīz*

*kařiz čap-* to dig a karez

*kařizčï* (QaraGh) karez digger

*kaš* (Mur) obstinate, stubborn < ? Per. *kac* SU *kaǰ*

*katamuš* (Tuy) v. *gadamuš*

*kattïra-* to become arrogant

*käʔmän* (As, Mur, QaraGh) hoe

*kälpik* (Lük, Mur) lip < ? Per. *kerpik*

*kälpük* (Pich, SayK, Tur) v. *kälpik*

*kältäk* (Tur) stick, bat

*kämäldürük* (Lük) the breast-strap of a saddle OT *kömüldürük*

*kämšük* person whose upper lip is shorter than the lower lid

*kändäk* (Yang) short coat <?

*kändïř* (Yang) hemp

*käŋgä* the remainder after threshing *čar* 'unthreshed grain ears left after winnowing'

*käŋä* v. *käŋgä*

*käŋlik* (Tox) rich

*käŋro* (QaraGh) v. *kä:ri*

*kä:ri* (LükD, Tuy) many, good

*kářgüči* v. *böšük kářgüči*

*käšmïř* (Tuy) magician < *Kašmīr* 'geographical name, Kashmir'

*kät-* PostV
*jäp kät-* 'to eat up'

*käj* (Tuy) koy < Chin. 塊 *kuai* 'the basic unit of current Chinese currency

*käjdïř-* (Tox) to dress

*kečïř-* (Yang) to undergo, experience

*kekïř* (Tox) offal

*ketäk* (Pich, Yang) hole, pit, fowl-house (Jarring 1964: *katek* or *ketek*)

*kej* (Mur) v. *käj*

*kičä* v. *su kičä*

*kičig* small

*kičig ajla* (SayK) younger aunt, younger sister

*kičikkte* very small

*ki gäz-* (Lük) to dress someone

*ki güz-* (Yang) to dress someone

*kikirik* (SayK) larynx

*kikïřtäk* (SayK) larynx

*kilä* (Buy) a big lizard OT *keler*

*kilïškäk* (Yor) amiable

*kilit* (Yang) key < Per. *kilīd*

*kimïř* domed, vaulted < ?

*kimïř äg-* to build a vaulted room

*kimïř öj* vaulted room, domed building

*kipiš* (SayK) shoes < Per. *kafš*

*kirit* (Yang) v. *kilit*

*kïřpik* (SayK) eyelash

*kisivat-* to cut down SU *kesivät-*

*kisivat-qandikin* 'since (they) have cut down'
*kišmiš* seedless grape < Ar./Per. *kišmiš*
*kiši* (Yor) lady, a woman
*ö.gä kiši äkavalni* 'Please marry a woman' (lit. Please bring a woman to the home')
*kit-* v. *kät-*
*ülü kittu* 'He is dead.'
*kij-* (SayK, Yor) to enter
*kijmal* (Tox) a bra (for a dead lady)
*kijös-* (SayK) to dress someone SU *käjdür-*
*kijüz-* (SayK) to let enter SU *kirgüz-*
*kolo* grant given to the karez diggers when a well was found
*kolo vä-* to give grant or have a day off for the karez diggers when a well was found
*kot* v. *kot-kot*
*kot-kot* (Yang) ONOM sound made by a cock
*koju-* to worry about something important
*koju-š* 'worry'
*köbǰi-* to swell, be inflamed
*kö.düř-* (Tuy) to burn
*kögä* (Mur) silverfish, fishmoth, bookworm
*kö.gä* (Pich, Yang) local leather
*kök* (Pich, SayK, Yang) vegetable, Chinese cabage (Tuy)
*köklä-* to jump
*kök* ot (SayK) wild grass
*kököjlä* (Mur) braid, pigtail
< Mong. *kökül* 'long hair, braid ... (Lessing 483b, TMEN I 452ff. Nr. 320) SU *kokula*
*kök qašqïř* (LükY) a variety of grape
*kökü-* (Mur) to wonder
*kökün* v. *kökün nevrä*
*kökün nevrä* (Lük, Yang) son or daughter's children's children's children's children < Mong. *köken* 'child' + *nevrä* 'grandchild'
*köküř* water-cup
*köküz-* (LükD) to show SU *körsät-*
*kök jaš* (Pich, Yang) vegetables
*köm-* (Tuy) to hide
*täk köm-* 'to cover a vine stalk'
*könä* (Pich, SayK) old < Per. *kohna*
*köndük* (Lük, Pich) secret container inside the wall OT *kendük*
*könilik* (Tox) old ways, antiquity, conservative ways
*köř* (QaraGh) blind < Per. *kōr*
*kötüř-* (Tuy) to open
*täk kötüř-* 'to uncover a vine stalk'
*kö.vä* cushion, pad, cotton padded mattress
*kövdak* foam, froth
*köjnä* (Mur, Tuy) v. *könä*
*köjnirä-* (Mur) to become old
< Per. *kohna* + *-rA*
*köz qavïyï* (SayK) eyelid
*közä* (Pich, SayK, Yang) pitcher, jug
< Per. *koze*
*kubo* (Mur) old white cloth < Chin. 布 *ku-bu*
*kukuř* (Tox) cup < ?
*küčä* (LükD) street < Per. *kūča*
*küčidä* 'at the street'
*kügä* (Lük, Pich, Tur) soot SU *küjä*
*kügäz-* (Tox) v. *ki.gäz*
*küxlä-* (Mur) to become blue, green
*küxs* (SayK) breast SU *köks*
*küldan* (SayK) hearth, firebox
*kültüx* (Lük) v. *kültük*
*kültük* 1 (Lük, Pich) a bed pan for children in a wooden cradle
*kültük* 2 deep and dangerous snow on the ground whose inside is vacant OT (*öŋ*) *kürtük*
*külvaq* (Tox) the place just in front of the hearth
*kümänčik* (Tuy) careful
*kümänčixlix* (Tuy) carefulness
*kümänčixlix qïl-* (Tuy) to cherish, to do sth carefully *kümänčixlik qïp baqqan* '(She) has fed (it) carefully.'



*kümüř* (LükD) unit
*munčini qujsaŋ munči kümüř* '[You will receive] such-and-such amount of notes, if you make such-and-such amount of bricks'
*kümüřček* (SayK) cartilage
*kürä* (LükD) yard
< Mong. *küriy-e(n)* 'anything girdling, encircling, or enclosed, fence, enclosed yeard...' (Lessing 506a) *kürädä jädä* 'at the yard (just) on the ground'
*küränči* (Tuy) guest-house owner, inn-keeper
< ? OT *küdänči*
*küri* a dry measure for grain, equals 10 kilogramm OT *küri*
*küřil-* (Tur) to stretch onself SU *keril-*
*kürin sal-* (Tuy) to divine < Per. *qur'a + sal-*
*kürindaz* (Tuy) fortune paper
< Per. *qur'a-andāz*
*küsötkä* (Pich) a wall-lizard, gecko
*küsüt-* (Yang) to show
*küštiŋgïř* powerful < Per. *kuštī-gīr* 'wrestler'
*küj-* (Lük) to see SU *kör-*
*küjö* husband
*qïzni küjösi* (SayK) 'son-in-law' (lit. hunsband of the daughter)
*küjöyol* son-in-law
*küjüš-* (SayK) to meet each other
*küzlä-* (LükY) to load (grain etc.)
*ašlïχ küzlä-* 'to load grain'
*küzlük* v. *küzlük sa.va*
*küzlük sa.va* (Tuy) a variety of the *sava*-grape which matures in Autumn
*lapčin* (Tur) leaf < ? Mong. *nabči(n)* 'leaf of a plant' (Lessing 555)
*lapändi* lazy, useless < ?
*laptuř* (Mur) untidy < ?
*latta* cloth, rag < Per. *latta* 'linen-rags'
*lajzim* (Mur, Pich, Tur) necessary
< Ar./Per. *lāzim*
*lazimätlik* wedding gift
*lägmän* (Mur, Pich) Uyghur noodle, a dish, consisting of boiled strips of dough (Jarring 1946-1951, IV 156-157, Nr. 39)
< ? Chin. 凉面 *liang-mian*
*lämbäř* (Tur) big < ? Chin. 连片 *lian-pian*
*lämbäř pom* 'big piece of steamed bun'
*läŋ* (Yang) lame < Per. *lang*
*läŋ put* 'lame'
*läpširin* bitter-sweet
< Per. *lab-shīrīn* 'sweet-lipped'
*läymän* v. *läymän taχtaχ*
*läymän taχtaχ* (Buy) a kind of insect surviving in gray calcium soil
*läntixor* (SayK) a sort of pigeon
< Chin. 藍頭号 *lan-tou-hao* 'blue headed pigeon'
*legmän* (SayK) v. *lägmän*
*ličäk* (Tox) leaf which covers the sorghum grain < Per. *lačak*
*lim* (Pich, Tuy) pillor, beam, girder
< MChin. *liĕm*
*limtaq* (Pich, Tox) furniture to put a quilt on
*liŋgïřt* (Yang) shoulder pole, carrying pole
*liŋ* v. *liŋ seliš*
*liŋ seliš* (Yang) name of a play
*lipäk* (SayK) kneecap < ?
*lipäz* hem < ?
*lobišiŋ* (LükY) common people
< Chin. 老百姓 *lao-bai-xing* 'common people'
*lolaŋ* (Tur) boring < ?
*lowän* (Pich, Tur) big bowl
< Chin. ? 老碗 *lao-wan*
*mabät* (Mur) Muhabbat (personal name)
< Ar. *muhābbat*
*mada* (SayK) female < Per. *made*
*ma.yaq* (Yang) askew, crooked
*maχol* (Tur) stable < Chin. 馬号 *ma-hao*
*majaza* (Pich, Tur) chair, backed seat

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< Chin. ?

*mäl* (Pich, Yang) livestock, treasure
< Ar./Per. *māl*

*ma:lka* (QaraGh) v. *mala:ka*

*nhrat ma:lka* (Pich, Tur, Tuy) 'grand older brother'

*mala:ka* (Lük, QaraGh, SayK, Yang) father's younger brother, uncle

*malaka* (SayK) v. *mala:ka*

*malimčilik* (QaraGh) job of teacher

*malka* (Pich) v. *malaka*

*malman* untidy

*mälbuya* (LükD) treasure < *mal* + *boluan*

*mandu* (Pich, Yang) the space immediately inside the door of traditional Uyghur home, seat of dishonour < ?

*mandaq* like this

*mandiz* (Tuy) v. *manda*

*mandizda o:turup* 'sitting on the seat of dishonour'

*man-* (Pich, Yang) to dip, immerse

*manjä-* (SayK) to walk

*manjum* step, pace

*manjuŕ* (Yang) a plant which wraps itself OT *mandar*

*manyu* (Pich, Tuy) DIR of *män*

*ma:ya* (LükD) two-wheeled cart for passengers SU *mäpä*

*mäqa* (SayK) mucus, snivel

*marika* (Pich) wedding, festival, gathering
< Per. *ma'raka* (Steingass 1271b)

*masqiret-* to ridicule, sneer at
< Ar. *masxara* + *et-*

*maškäy* (Tuy) like this, so

*mašinliq* with a car

*mašnuy* (Mur) like this, so

*mašnuy* (Pich, Tur, Tuy) v. *mašnuy*

*mastu* (Pich, Yang) steamed dumpling
< Chin. 饅頭 *man-tou*

*matu* (Yang) course, homespun cloth
< Ar. *matū*

*maŋ* (Yang) fat

*qoŋ miji* 'sheep fat'

*maŋday* (Tur, Yang) like this, so

*maŋdaɣ* (Tox) like this, so

*maŋdaŋ* (QaraGh) joke < ?

*maŋdaŋči* (Pich, Tur, Yang) joker

*maŋdaŋ qil-* to joke

*maŋɣaq* v. *ma:ɣaq*

*maŋɣa-* (Tur) to hobble

*maŋɣap dessäp* 'walking with a limp'

*maŋïyda-* (Tuy) to pass dung, defecate (of animals)

*maŋïyda-p* 'passing dung'

*maŋnay* (Mur) like this

*maŋnaɣ* (Pich, Tuy) v. *maŋnay*

*maŋnaɣsïya* (Tuy) so, just like this (ADV)

*maŋnaq* (Mur, Tuy) v. *maŋnay*

*maŋtuq* crooked, askew

*maŋtuq-saŋtuq* crooked

*maŋzi* this side

*maŋzim* (Mur) v. *maŋzïn*

*maŋzïn* (Tuy) Muezzin, mosque official who calls the faithful to prayer < Ar. *mu'azzin*

*maz* drunk < Per. *mast*

*maz vol-* to enjoy, to love < Per. *mast* + *bol-*

*mā* (Tuy) I SU *män*

*mä?* (Pich, Tur, Yang) INTER expresses surprise, oh!

*mäliqä* v. *šäliqä-mäliqä*

*mäm* (Yur) INTER expresses surprise

*mäm-mäm* INTER expresses anger

*mäniŕ* (LükD) written document, book
< Per. *mamūr* "published (book)"

*mäŋ* (SayK) mole, nevus SU *mäŋ*

*mätümči* (Lük) kindly, nice

*mätu* (Pich, Tur, Yang) rural, rustic, unrefined

*mäŋ* v. *säŋ-mäŋ*

*mäŋlä* 1 (Mur) village < Ar. *mahalla*

*mäŋl* 2 (Tuy) time < Ar. *mahall*

*čüš mäŋlädä* "at noon"



*mäjzap* (Buy) alcohol, strong alcohol
< ? Per. *may*

*mäzim* married old woman
< ?Ar. *mazlum* "oppressed"

*märi* (Yang) lambskin

*medan* (LükD) public place, plaza
< Ar/Per. *maydān*

*medä* (SayK) chest < Per. *mi'da*

*mejman* (Mur) guest < Per. *mehmān*

*mejzin* (Tuy) v. *majzin*

*mïdïq* (Mur, Pich) lifeless, spiritless OT *mïnïk*

*mïjaz* (Tuy) character, personality
< Ar. *mizaj* "temper"

*mïlïŕ* a kind of frozen fruit
< ? Chin. 蜜梨 *mi-li*

*mïlis* (Tuy) Melis-party, a gathering of the Uyghurs in the Turfan and Qomul area during Winters < Ar./Per. *maclis*

*mïlisyana* party room < Per. *maclisxāna*

*mïnaɣ* (Lük, SayK, Yang) askew, crooked SU *majmaq*

*mïndïrïla-* (Mur) to move SU *mïdïrla-*

*mïrez* (Lük, Pich, Yang) oozing sore SU *mïrdïz* < Ar. *maraz*

*mï:tï* (Pich, Yang) hairless dried skin eaten by worms; low quality leather

*mïtïqpan* leather jacket

*mït* (Yang) insect SU *mïtï*

*mïtaŋ* (Yang) rice soup < Chin. 米湯 *mi-tang*

*mïtïq* v. *mïdïq*

*mïjï* 1 (Mur, Pich, Tox, Tur) brain SU *meŋä*

*mïjï* 2 (Mur, Tuy) here < *bu jï* "this place"

*mïjïgä* "to this place"

*mïjday* (Yang) like this

*mïjdaq* (Tur) v. *mïjday*

*mïjnaɣ* (Yang) v. *mïnaɣ*

*mïjä* (SayK) v. *mïjï*

*mïjïsïdïn ešïlï qaŋan adäm* "one who has confused her/his mind"

*monaŋzi* (Mur) this side

*moŋuŕ* v. *goŋuŕ-moŋuŕ*

*moŕla-* to scratch

*mot* broad cloth

*moza* (Lük, Pich) calf SU *mozaj*

*mozaj* (SayK) v. *moza*

*möjä* (Pich, Yang) fruit < Per. *miva*

*mö:jä* v. *möjä*

*möldä* pack-saddle for donkeys

*mujaŋ* (Pich, Yang) carpenter
< Chin. 木匠 *mu-jiang*

*mujaq* (SayK) door of pivot

*mulla* mullah, an educated Islamic religious person < Per. *mullā*

*munu* this

*munu-* (Tox) to grow old

*muŋ* v. *al-muŋ*

*muquda-* to tire out

*muŕjaŋ* (Pich, Tur) v. *mujaŋ*

*mušdaq* (LükD) like this SU *mušundaq*

*mušnaq* (Lük) like this, so SU *mušundaq*

*mušnaɣ* (Mur) v. *mušnaq*

*muštum* (SayK) fist

*mujda* (Lük) v. *mujday*

*mujday* (QaraGh, Yang) like this

*mujdaɣ* (Tox) v. *mujday*

*mujundaɣ* (Yang) like this SU *mušundaq*

*muza* (Pich, Yang) payment < ?

*muzar* (Pich, Yang) v. *muza*

*mučlaŋ* (Pich) top, a kind of toy used by children on ice during Winter SU *mur*

*müŋgüz* (Yor) horn

*müzdäk* (Mur, Tuy) cold, boring SU *muzdäk*

*müŕčä* (SayK) clavicle, collarbone

*nagaɣ* (Mur) quite a while < *nä waqt*

*nagarda* sometimes < Per. *nāgāhān* "suddenly" + LOC *–da*, *nagarda bardu sïjïl bamjdu* "Sometimes s(h)e goes, but not always."

*naŋïŕ* (Lük, Pich, Tur) a large kettle-drum, kettle-drum < Ar./ Per. *naqāre*

*naɣ* (Tox) strip, slip

*čač neχi* 'hairs (a strand of hair)'
*nala* v. *nala qïl-*
*nala qïl-* (Tuy) to complain, groan
*naman* (LükD) poor < ?
*namat* (Mur, Tox) fine sugar, sugar-candy < Ar. *nabāt*
*namazgäř* (Mur) afternoon prayers < Per. *namāz dīgar*
*nä* (Yang) flute, reed-pipe < Per. *nāy*
*näčči* how many
*näčči viřdäk* < *näččä bïřdäk* 'many'
*nähäl* (Tox) heel-piece < Ar. *na'al*
*nä:läš-* (LükD) to do sth
*nävada* (Tuy) if
*nävada kïräx* 'just in case, if by any case'
*näšä* (Mur) that place
*näšädä* 'at that place'
*näjzo* (Tox) flat tea-cup of medium size < ? Per. *nāyiza* (Steingass 1383b)
*nevrä* (SayK) grandchild < Per. *nabīra*
*nej* v. *nej-nej*
*nej-nej* (Mur ) INTER look, expresses dissatisfaction
*nejïn* (Pich) that side
*nevere* (Lük) v. *nevrä*
*nigä* (Tuy) where DIR of *nä*
*nïmdaχ* (Lük) why
*nïqsï-* to go mouldy SU *piqsï-*
*nimiškä* (Mur) why SU *nemišqa*
*nij* (LükD) far SU *neri*
*nij čïqïptu* 'Reportedly she went there.'
*nijni* (Mur) v. *nejïn*
*noyaj* (Yang) ladle < ? Mong. *noguga(n)* 'grass, vegetable ..' (Lessing 588)
*növär* sturdy < ?
*nuχta* (LükY) bridle < Mong. *nogtu* 'halter' (Lessing 712b)
*nuχtuluq* (Pich, Yang) hair which links two sides of the moustache
*oyraq* (Yor) sickle
*ol* something else
*tamaq ol* 'food and edible things'; *tamaq ol ičini* 'Lets eat something!'.
*o:la-* (SayK, Yang) to think SU *ojla-*
*o:liniš* (Mur) idea
*o:lija* holy man < Ar. *auliyā'*
*olpaŋ* collapsed part of a tunnel or karez
*o:man* (Lük, Pich) depression, hollow
*o:na-* (Lük, Pich, Tur) to play
*o:na-p* 'playing'; *o:nə-saq* 'if we play'; *o:nŭ-yan* 'having played'
*oŋyaj-* to become lean
*oŋyujup qal-* 'to be the eyes deepset'
*oŋna-* (Mur) to repair SU *oŋla-*
*o:pa* (Tur) tunnel, underground passage
*opu* (MirY) v. *o:pa*
*opqan* unsatiated, covetous
*opuř* hole, fold
*oqa* slanting, tilted
*oqa čïq-* 'to be found tilted (of a karez)'
*oqilan* (Buy) agile < *oq ilan*
*oraχ* (Mur) v. *oraq*
*oraq* (Mur) sickle, scythe
*osol* (Mur, Tur) bad, foul OT *osal*
*osollu?* (Mur) badness SU *osalliq*
ošaš (SayK) similar, same SU *oχšaš*
*ošnuq* (Tur) extra SU *ošuq*
*ošul-* (Mur) to be broken SU *uštul-*
*ota-* (Tuy) to cut
*täk ota-* 'to cut a vine stalk'
*otluq* small hole in baking oven for cleaning away ashes
*o:tuř-* to sit
*o:tuřpïřdikin* 'Reportedly it sits for (him); *o:tuřyandikin* 'since it has sat'
*otturančaq* (SayK) a middle finger
*ottuγuš* (Lük) daring, courageous
*ottuγuš nimikänsä* 'I found you are a courageous guy.'
*ottuγušluq* (Lük) daring, courageous
*ottuřluq* (Lük, Tuy) middle
*o(w)da* (Pich) small mattress for a cradle



*ojnəγuč* (Tur) early ripening melon
*ojuq* niche in a wall
*oza* last time, last year OT *oza*
*ozaqï* previous OT *ozakı*
*o:zuqï* (Tuy) v. *ozaqï*
*ö:* (Mur, SayK) house
*ö:ni sula qujup* 'locking the house'
*ö:diki ajal* (SayK) wife
*ö:diki ärkiši* (SayK) husband
*ögij* (Yor) step (-child)
*ögüj* (SayK) v. *ögij*
*ögüz* (Mur) roof
*ökä* (Mur) younger brother
*öksü-* to be lacking
*öksük* (Lük, Pich, Tur) lack OT *eksük*
*öktämlä-* (LükD) to intensify, worsen
*ölči-* (Tuy) to weigh
*ölügdä-* (Mur) to doze, drowsy, nod SU *mügdä- / mügidä-*
*ömkän* (Yang) sternum OT *ömgen*
*ömkänlik* (Yang) a saddle-girth for horse-saddles
*ömlaχman* similar, no difference
*ömsörün* unconscious
*öndärä-* to talk in an incoherent way
*önöjlä* (Mur) ten of us
*önüzi* (Pich, Tur) that side
*öŋ* (Lük, Pich) surface
*jä(ř)ni öŋi* 'surface of the ground'
*örä* expensive, fool (stomach)
*örällä-* (Lük) to jump, to get angry
*örälläpla käl-* 'to come by jumping'
*öřläš* (Pich) full
*qušuγum örläš* 'I am full/I am not hungry.'
*öřük* (MirY) apricot
*öřümči* (Yang) one who awards things with a tray at the wedding ceremonies
*öžt* (SayK) gall
*ö:täř-* v. *öndärä-*
*ö:tïř-* (LükD) to kill
*ö:tüř-* (Tuy) v. *ö:tïř-*
*ö:vaq* (SayK) family, treasure < *öj barq* < OT *ev bark*
*öj ičilik* household duties
*özgirä-* to change
*özgiräš* (Tox) change, development SU *özgürüš*
*özlä* (Tuy) you (RESP.)
*özleri* (Pich) they (RESP)
*özlüřlä* (Pich, Yang) you (pl. RESP)
*pa:čä* CLASS group, crowd < Per. *pārča*
*bïř pa:čä ärkiš* 'a group of people, many people'
*paχčoř* (SayK) meat-filled dumpling
*palakät* useless < Ar. *falākat*
*palakätläš-* to become weak
*palčaχ* (Tuy) mud, mire OT *balčık*
*palčaχ* (Tuy) v. *paʔlčaχ*
*Hamut palčaχ* 'muddy *Hamut*'
*palgan* (Yang) brave man, hero < Per. *pahlavān*
*pamla-* (Tuy) to estimate, reckon < Ar./Per. *fahm* 'understanding' + *-lä*
*pampa* clod
*paŋčän* v. *faŋčän*
*paŋšaŋ* v. *paŋšaŋ öj*
*paŋšaŋ öj* (Lük) the place immediately inside the door
*paŋza* (Tuy) fat guy < Chin. 膀子 *pang-zi*
*papïla-* to climb
*pařla-*( Lük, Tuy) to eat (grape)
*üzüm pařla-* 'to eat grapes'
*pařtaŋči* squander
*patan* (SayK, Yang) neck, nape SU *pataŋ*
*patmančuq* (Buy) horned gecko, sand lizard
*pattaŋ* v. *patan*
*pawan* (Tuy) a kind of ball-shaped toy played by children on ice or asphalt square SU *nur*
*päčäk* palsy, paralysis

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*pā:dāŋ* iron bowl < ? Mong.
*pāgāz* (Tox) eyelids without a fold <?
*pālāč* lame (methathesis of OT *bačāl*)
*pāχās* v. *pāχās qīl-*
*pāχās qīl-* to be careful
< Ar./Per. *fuxs* 'examination' + *qīl-*
*pālguš* a wooden swab used for pulling up the wick of a kerosene lamp
*pālkuš* (Buy) a woolen or cotton swab used for applying soap when shaving a beard out v. *pālguš*
*pān* (Tur) wooden plate < Chin. 板 *ban*
*pānjīr* (SayK) old style window
< Per. *pancara*
*pānšīr* (LükD) v. *mānšīr*
*pārguš* providing, fostering, care
< Per. *parvariš*
*pārlā-* (Tuy) to make stick
*pārlīvāt-* 'to make stick'
*pātmānčūk* (Yang) v. *patmančuq*
*pāj* (SayK) sinew
*pelāz* (Yang) tendril, branches of the melon-plant < Per. *pālēz* (Steingass 233a)
*peŋčān* (Lük) capital < Chin. 本錢 *ben-qian* 'capital'
*peqera-* (Tox) v. *pīrqila-*
*pigaza* (Pich, Tur) sleeveless short coat
< Chin. 皮褂子 *pi-gua-zi*
*pīrqila-* (Lük, Pich, Tur, Yang) to turn, revolve; to travel
*pīrqilat-* (Lük) to rotate
*pisānt* taste, intrest
< Per. *pasand* / *pisand* 'approved'
*pišana* (SayK) forehead < Per. *pēšānī*
*pīšīr-* (Tuy, Yor) to cook, ripen SU *pīšur-*
*pijāla* tea-cup
*pijma* (Yang) felt boots < Rus. *pimy*
*poχ* (SayK) dung
*pom* (Pich, Tuy, Yang) steamed bun
*poŕdaχ* (SayK) scrotum
*poŕtaŋči* boaster, braggard
< Mong. *bardamči* 'boaster' (Lessing 85a)
*posuqqīta* without thinking
< Ar. *fusūq* 'outrage' + *-lda*
*posuŕ* (Pich) unpromising, incapable
*pota* cloth belt < Ar. *fūta* SU *balbay*
*pō:rā* a kind of fried-cake with meat and vegetable filling
*pōškāl* (Pich) a kind of bread baked in oil OT *bōzgāl* Chag. *fōškāl*
*puči* a light hammer with four-sided headused to smash clay and gravel when digging a karez
*pujuŋ* (Lük, Yang) lady, madam
< Chin. 福晉 *Fu-jin* 'Royal wife'
*pumuŋ* (SayK) double-winged door
< Chin. 雙門 *pu-men* (?)
*puqaq* (SayK) struma, goiter SU *poqaq*
*puŕaqqa kīr-* (Tuy) to give a small grape (fruit)
*puŕčal-* to become strange, turn over
*pusma* (Pich) baby's hat
*pusuŕ* (Mur) v. *posuŕ*
*pušta* (Tuy) vineyard
*puštu* (Lük, Pich) space between the vine rows in a vine yard
*pūtla* (SayK) catkin, mucus, snivel, snot (Jarring 1964: 232 *posla* ~ *potla*)
*putlaš* (Tox) elevated, uneven (lit. catching of foot)
*a:qī vilā maŋ dejsā*
*putlaš ikān daŋgal jol*
You say: "go from the backside!"
But I found this clod-filled road uneven
*pūgar* bottle lid < ?
*pū:kān* (Tuy) half-dried (only used for grapes)
*pū:kān ūzūm* 'half dried grape'
*pūpak* (Pich, Tur) tassel, tuft
*pūt-*1 to believe



*pūt-*2 to write
*pūtō* (LükY) solid
*qa:daχ* (LükD, GaraGih) how
*qadaq* (Mur, Tur) safety pin
*qaγaz* (Tuy) paper < Per. *kāγaz* SU *qāγaz*
*qaγdal* common reed used for making fire
*qaltyač* (Pich, Yang) pine tree
*qaltqa* (Tuy) protector
*qaltqa vuluduγan ādām* 'one who acts as a protector'
*qalmay* (Buy) Mongol; non-Muslim Uyghurs
*qalmay gōrū* 'a cave where non-Muslim Uyghurs used to stay'
*qalqan* mud room used for the defense purposes
*qamčida-* (Yang) to whip, lash
*qamta* together
< Mong. *xamtu* 'together, along with, jointly, simultaneously' (Lessing 925a)
*qanaq* (Mur) how SU *qandaq*
*qančuq* (SayK) bitch
*qandaqsigā* (Pich, Tuy) how, why
*qaplanlīq* (Yang) leopard time, young age
*qaqal-* (Mur) to stay < *qalip qal-*
*qaqsī* yoke or collar for draft animals SU *boyunča*
*qaχsī* (Lük) v. *qaqsī*
*qara* (Yang) oil made by burning the cores of peach and almond, such oils mostly used to heal wounds and baldness
*qaral* (LükD) decision, time-limit < Ar. *qarār*
*qaramla-* (Pich) to become jealous
< Mong. *xaram* 'jealous; possessive' (Lessing 934a) + *-la*
*qara qīznaq* (LükY) a sort of mulberry, lit. black redish mulberry
*qara sa:va* (Tuy) black *sava*, a variety of grape
*qara ūzūm* (Tuy) a variety of grape, lit. black grape
*qaravāš* (Tuy) slave
*qaravaš qul* 'slave' < OT *karabaš kul*
*qarīyač* (As, QaraGih,) v. *qaltyač*
*qaro:* (Buy) blind
*qaro: pisā* 'harness' (< *qaro:* 'blind' + *pisā* 'dirty')
*qasqan* (SayK) cage, coop
*qullaγnī qasqanī* 'temple' (antonymy)
*qasu* (Mur, Yang) which
*qasuγsī* (Mur) which side
*qašaŋ* blunt
*qašqa:* (Lük, Mur) Kashghar SU *qašqār*
*qašqīr* (Lük, SayK, Tuy) a sort of grape; general term for all grape varieties other than seedless grape
*qat* (Mur) communication
*kiši bile qetī joq* '(Sh)e has no communication with others.'
*qavaq* 1 (SayK) eye-lid SU *qapaq*
*qavaq* 2 (Tuy) kurbitsa, pumpkin SU *qapaq*
*qaγdaχ* (Tox) how SU *qandaq*
*qaγnaq* (Lük, Pich) v. *qaγdaχ*
*qaγnī* which side (< *qa* 'which' + *jenī* 'its side')
*qaγsī* which (side)
*qazala-* (Pich, Tur) to die
< Ar. *qazā'* 'death' + *-la*
*qa:zim* (Buy) a kind of cave house built on the mountain near Buyluq
*qāčtliχ* (Tuy) how many
*qančā* (Yor) how many
*qāqāš* (Tur) nose dirt
*qāral* v. *qaral*
*qemīš* (MirY) v. *qimīš*
*qe:naγa* (SayK) brother-in-law
*qenana* (SayK) mother-in-law
*qe:ni sinil* (SayK) sister-in-law
*qepin-* to become very rich
*qerim* (Tuy) a ditch where vines are planted
*qerin* (Lük, Pich, Tur, Yang) short
*qerin ja:liq* 'short towl'
*qetirazčī* (Pich,Yang) busybody
*qetirazčī sanqara* 'busybody'

*qetišma* hard layer of the ground of a karez
*qilin* (LükY) thick-skinned, shameless
*qimiš* (Mur, Yang) reed OT *kamiš*
*qimda-* to cover; remember
*qin* (Tuy) one line (of a vineyard)
*qinana* (Yang) v. *qenana*
*qiŋŋiraq* (Mur) kitchen knife
*qiřčil-* to hate, dislike
*qiřčintal* weeping willow
*qirim* (Yang) leather
*qirindaq* food remainder left on the buttom of a pot or fry pan
*qisaŋ* narrow pass
*qisiřmaq* (SayK) crust
*ilan qisiřməγi* 'snake's skin'
*qišlay* (Mur) name of a place in Murtuq
*qišqa-* (SayK) to call
*qišqařt-* (Lük) to have called
*qišqiř-* (Lük, Tur) to call
*qijiš-* (Tuy) to oppose, defy
*qijit* (Lük, Yang) name of a local gathering which is held on the evening of the circumcision rite
*qijit mäšripi* 'Qiyit-gathering'
*qijmät* (Lük) expencive < Ar. *qīmat*
*qizil döŋgälčäk* esophagus
*qizil eŋgälčäk* (SayK) v. *qizil döŋgälčäk*
*qizil sa:va* (SayK, Tuy) a sort of grape, rose-scented grape, lit. red *sava*
*qizil üzüm* (Tuy) red grape, another name for *qizil sava*
*qiziq* (Yor) fast
*bu balla šundaq qiziq čoŋ voptu* 'The children grew up very fast'
*qiznaq* (Pich, Yang) small storehouse OT *kiznak*
*qo* (Tuy) sheep
*qo:* (Lük, Pich, SayK, Yang) v. *qo*
*qo:-* PostV
*ja:γaŋ-χudaγa išläp qo:manï* 'Lets not work for a false God.'
*qobba* (Yang) cupola < Per. *qubba*
*latta qobba* 'a kind of hat worn by boys in Turfan'
*qočuř* pine tree
*qo:čuš* CLASS handful
*bir qo:čuš su* 'a handful of water'
*qoγšuŋ* (MirY) lead (the metal) SU *qoγšun*
*qo:la-* (Pich, Tuy, Yang) to drive
*qoldama* (Pich, Yang) a kind of local food prepared with hand-rolled dough and fried vegetables
*qoltuχ* (SayK) armpit
*qo:-mo:* (Tuy) sheep and other sheep-like animals
*qoŋuz* (Mur) beetle SU *qoŋŋuz*
*qonaq* bed, mattress
*qoŋra-* (LükD) to feel upset
*qoqančaχ* (Lük) fearful SU *qorqunčaχ*
*qoqaz-* (Yang) to frighten SU *qorqut-*
*qo:qči* door-keeper OT *kapıgči*
*qo:řγa* (Mur, SayK) rib
< Mong. *xabirg-a(n)* 'rib; side, flank...' (Lessing 898a)
*qo:ru-* to protect
*qo:ruγa* (Yor) v. *qo:řγa*
*qorulči* (Yang) sharpshooter
*qošqa* (MirY) ram SU *qočqar*
*qotaj-* to curl up; find expensive
*qovuq* door, gate OT *kapıg*
*qoš qovuq* 'double-winged door'
*qojla-* (Pich, Yang) v. *qo:la-*
*qo(j)lisuna ani* 'Drive him!', *čašqannï qojlap kitiptu* 'Reportedly they run after the mouse.'
*qojlaš-* (Mur) to follow
*su qojlušup* 'following the water'
*quduχči* karez digger
*qullaχ* (SayK) ear SU *qulaq*
*qumdan* (Tox) brick kiln
*qumlaq* (MirY) sand
*qunaq* v. *čiŋvaš qunaq*



*qu:q* (Lük) v. *quvuq*
*qurij* (Tuy) book omen < Per. *qur'a*
*qura* a kind of flat rope made of wool and cotton-string
*quršaq* (SayK) stomach
*quruγ* dried
*quruγ üzüm* 'raisin' OT *kurug üzüm*
*qurutqa* hard clay-mud
*qušla-* to treat well, give benefit
*quřvan* (Pich, Tur) *Qurban* (personal name) < Ar. *qurbān*
*qušuχ* (SayK) added, mixed
*qušuχ nan* 'mixed-grain bread, which is mainly made of a mixture of wheat and corn < *qošuq* 'joined' + *nan* 'bread'
*qušuχluχ* (Pich) v. *qušuχ*
*qušuχluχ nan* v. *qušuχ nan*
*qušunčum* (Mur) the wife of one's teacher or master < *qušnač* + 1sg POSS *–um*
*qutulaš-* (Tox) to be rescued
*qutuluš-* (Tox) v. *qutulaš-*
*qūtuř* (Pich, Yang) thin, mangy
*qūtuz-* (LükD) to rescue SU *qutquz-*
*quvuq* (SayK) v. *qovuq* 1
*qoš quvuq* 'double-winged door'
*qūvuz* (Pich, SayK, Tur, Yang) cheek
*qujmaq* (Pich) a kind of bread baked in oil
*ramči* (SayK) physician < Ar. *ram* + *-či*
*rammal* (SayK) physician < Ar. *ramal* SU *rämbal*
*rāvāt* patient < Ar./Per. ?
*rodo* poor < ?
*ruǰo qil-* (Tuy) to renege on one's promise < Ar. *rujū* 'returning' + *qil-*
*safluq* (Mur) fry pan, frying pan SU *saplïq*
*sa:gut* (Pich, Tur) Sawut (personal name) < Ar. *Ṣābit*
*saγra* (Yang) leather made from donkey skin OT *sagrı* (cf. VEWT 393b)
*saγro* deaf
*sa:χo* (Pich, Tur) stupid
< Chin. 傻瓜 *sha-gua* 'situpid'
*saχoluq* stupidness
*saχoluq qil-* to be stupid
*saχuj* (Pich, Yang) v. *saχo*
*sal-* v. to cause v. *tuŋŋun sal-*
*salaj* v. *tuŋŋun salaj*
*saltaŋ* alone, childless
*saltaŋ mä:zim* 'childless lady'
*saŋŋa* (Tuy) thee, to thee, DIR of *sän*
*saŋqař* (Pich, Yang) falcon < Mong. *singxur* 'falcon ...' (Lessing 712b)
*saŋqařo* v. *qetiraχči saŋqařo*
*sapaq* (Tuy) grape stem, bunch
*saqïjt-* (Tuy) to cure, heal SU *saqajt-*
*saqluq* (As, QaraGh) v. *safluq*
*sa:rïχa* (Tuy) name of a place in Mori
*sařsï-* to shout; mistreat
*sařtuŋ* v. *ařtuŋ-sařtuŋ*
*sařwaŋ* v. *ařwaŋ-sařwaŋ*
*satma* (As, Buy, Tur) hut OT *satma*
*sa:va* (Lük) a sort of grape, *sava*-grape
*sa :va üzüm* 'sava-grape'
*savaq* v. *sapaq*
*saj* (Yang) soon, very soon
< Mong. *say ~saji* 'just before, recently, a moment ago' (Lessing 660a, 662a)
*tüŋlük biššïγa aj käldi*
*atəŋïz balam saj käldi*
'The moon came to the skylight
my baby, your father came back soon.'
*saj-* (Buy) to point at, point to
*qol saj-* 'to point at (with the finger)'
*sajaq* 1 (Tox) light
*unu ajəγï sajaq* 'He is a light foot.'
*sajaq* 2 (Yor) friendly
*sajaq kiliškäk ädäm* 'friendly, amiable person'
*sazmän* (Lük) musician < Per. *sāz* + *-mān*
*sä̃* (Tuy) you
*sägänčük* (Yang) hammock

*sä·gidä-* to recover
*quřγuj bolup lačin bolup*
*taγnï ä·gidim.*
*jař dářdidä kisäl bolup*
*jeŋi sä·gidim.*
Being a sparrow and falcon
I traveled around the mountain.
Suffering from the lover's hardship
I am newly recovered.
*sällä qïl-* (Tuy) to finish, settle
< Chin. 算了 *suan-le* + *qïl-*)
*säŋgář-* to look carefully
*säp* economical (VEWT 410b)
*säpsät* shame
*sämändář* (Buy) fire mouse < Per. *samandar*
*sämsaq* (Tox) garlic v. *serïmsaq*
*säŋgän* (Pich, Tur) shield < ?
*säŋgïlä-* (Yang) to dangle, hang from SU *saŋgïla-*
*säŋgïlät-* (Pich, Tuy) to dangle, lower
*säř-* (LükD) to endure
*säräŋ* v. *äräŋ- säräŋ*
*säřmä* (Yang) name of an illness, exanthema
*sät* v. *säpsät*
*säj* v. *säj-mäj*
*säjlä-* (Tuy) to choose, elect SU *sajla-*
*säj-mäj* (LükD) vegetable and vegetable-like things
*säj-taχ* (Pich, Yang) vegetables
< *säj* < Chin. 菜 *cai* 'vegetable' + *tat*
*sekïläk* (Mur) small rolling pin used for preparing dumpling skin
*sekillik* (Yang) revolving corner
*selik-* to weaken
*seliŋ* v. *eliŋ-seliŋ*
*serimsaq* (Tur) garlic OT *sarımsak*
*serïq* (Tuy) yellow, new, fresh
*serïq soqta* 'newly appeared vine stem'
*serïq-sumul* yellow, yellowish
*seritma* drawer SU *lasor*
*seritmis* (Yang) a sort of sweet melon
*setiraš* (Pich, Tur) barber, shaver
< Per. *sārtarāš*
*sevit* (Pich, Yang) good news (mostly used for children's birth)
*sej-* v. *saj-*
*u qulïnï sejïp sürän saldï* 'He has shouted gesturing with his fingers.'
*sejïl-* (Tuy) to slip, slide SU *seril-*
*sejta?* (Mur) v. *säjtaχ*
*sidam* weak, colourless
*sikïläk* v. *sekïläk*
*siliŋ* v. *iliŋ-siliŋ*
*simsaq* (Lük) v. *serïmsaq*
*sïnčïlaq* (SayK) the little finger SU *čimčilaq*
*sïnduř-* (Tox) to break SU *sundur-*
*sïniŋdä* (Mur) LOC of *sän*
*sïŋa* alone OT *sïŋar*
*sïŋïl* v. *qe·ni sïŋïl*
*sïŋïř* sinew
*sïŋïš-* (SayK) to digest, recover
*sïŋïši kitidu* 'S(h)e will recover.'
*sipa-* (Lük, Pich, SayK) to plaster
*sipaq* plaster
*sïřγol* (Tuy) a kind of whip with an iron stem
*sïřla-* (Tuy) to wave, shake
*sïřlap qamča vile uruvidi* 'He waved (the whip) and beat him with the whip.'
*sïrol* (Yang) sucking side of stem of tobacco pipe
*sïřtïq* (Pich, Tur) information
*sivät* v. *sevit*
*sivät e·t-* 'to tell good news'
*sivi* daybreak < ?
*sivit* v. *sevit*
*sizlä* you POL
*sočuŋka* (Lük) v. *čosuŋka*
*sodaji* (SayK) madness < Ar. *saudā*
*sogal* ware SU *sögäl*
*sogun* soap SU *sopun*
*umtaq sogun* 'soap powder'
*so·γa* (SayK) bucket



*soγal-* v. *soγul-*
*soγaq* plaster SU *suwaq*
*soγul-* (Pich, Tur) to decrease (of liquids), dry OT *sugul-*
*soχta* v. *soqta*
*sok* (Pich) millet
*son* strange
*sonla (~sulla) bïřmïγu bu* 'I found he is a strange guy.'
*soŋ* (SayK) heel of a shoe OT *soŋ*
*soŋka* (Lük) bag < Rus. *sumka*
*soq-* (Lük) to hide
*suqu qoj ~ suχu qo·-* 'to hide sth.'
*soqta* v. *serïq* newly-grown vine stem
*sorun* (Yang) winnowed grain
*soza* (Yang) a weaver's shuttle
< Chin. 梭子 *suo-zi*
*sögän* (Tuy) basket OT *sögän*
*söluŋ* (Yang) chain-linked bell
< ?Chin. 鎖鈴 *suo-ling*
*söjä hip*
*sör-* (Yang) to drag, pull
*at sörgändä* 'when the horse dragged'
*sördürt-* (Tox) to have dragged
*söz sal-* to request, send a matchmaker
*suga-* to rub, apply mud < **suwa-*
< Mong. *siba-* 'to plaster …' (Lessing 693b)
*sugap* (Lük) religious merit < Ar. *sawāb*
*suγa jitiš* the place where the karez water comes from
*suγaqčï* a water seller, irrigater
*suγuřtma* (Pich, Yang) drawer
*suχtan-* (Pich, Yang) to become cold
*su kičä* (Lük) the thigh
*sulaχčï* water manager
*sulo* peace, (re)conciliation < Ar. *ṣulḥ*
*sulu* (Yang) wild wheat < ?
*suluq* v. *suγa jitiš*
*sumul* v. *serïq sumul*
*sumuq* (Pich, Yang) alum
*sup-suř* yellow
*supuř* (Tur) cotton sheet used for rolling dough in cooking < Per. *sufra* SU *supra*
*suq-* to hide OT *suk-*
*sŭqu qoj-* to have hidden
*suqqa* (Pich) oval
*sŭqun-* (Pich, Yang) to be hidden
*suřγol* (Tuy) v. *sïřγol*
*suřγul* (Tuy) v. *sïřγol*
*surum* (Pich) opportunity
*išni surumïγa kïřival-* 'to seek an oppurtunity for the matter'
*sujma* (Yang) unripe sweet melon
*suz* (Lük, Pich, Tur, Yang) slow, tardy SU *sus*
*suz-* (Lük, Mur, Pich, Tur, Yang) to ladle out, scoop up SU *us-*
*sügän* (Lük, Pich, Tur, Tuy, Yang) v. *sögän*
*sümülän* sirup, a kind of local food prepared by boiling mulberry juice with flour
*sünäj* (Pich) a trumpet, horn < Per. *surnāy*
*süpirändä* (Yang) rubbish
*süpüřgä* (SayK) broom
*sürän* noisy (cf. TMEN Nr. 221)
*sürä̃* v. *sürän*
*sürän qïl-* (Yang) to shout
*sürä̃ sal-* to shout
*sŭřdür-* (Tox) to have dragged
*sürüm* v. *surum*
*išni sürümi* 'opportunity of the matter'
*sŭjdüx* (SayK) urine
*süz-* (Lük, Pich, Tur, Yang) to touch, hit
*süzä* (SayK) field mint, pepper mint
*ša·daga* (Yang) with bare buttocks, without trousers < Mong. *šaldang* 'without trousers' (Lessing 750a)
*šayal* gravel OT *čïgïl čagïl* (ED 407a)
*šamalči* (Lük) electric fan
*šana* cotton boll the cotton of which has been taken out
*šaŋ* wooden model arranged inside a boot,

boot tree

*šaŋpaŋ* öj (Tuy) big room (< Chin. 上房 *shang-fang* 'upper room' + *öj*)

*šaptula* (Tuy) peach < Per. *šaftalu*

*šaqqaq* (Mur) loose-tounged < Ar. *šaqīq* 'to be troublesome'

*šaqqaqlïq* loose-tounged manner

*šaraŋ* v. *šaraŋ-šuruŋ*

*šaraŋ-šuruŋ* ONOM light, one who speaks much but does not do anything

*šäliqä* v. *šäliqä-mäliqä*

*šäliqä-mäliqä* (Tuy) a kind of dumpling soup prepared with putting beans

*šärä* (Yang) reciting of poetry, story < ?

*šätiraχ* (SayK) diarrhea

*šiɣal* (Mur) v. *šaɣal*

*šigïřt* (GaraGh) disciple < Per. *šāgird*

*šimal* (Yor) wind

*šimäjlä-* to roll up

*šïmïq-* to be emaciated, low down

*šina:* (Pich) wedge

*šiŋŋi* (Tuy) baggage < Chin. 行李 *xing-li*

*šip* roof

*šipa* polite < ?

*šipigä* (SayK) ceiling

*šipišïř* (SayK) many

*šïpqa-* to crowd

*šip-šïř* v. *šipišïř*

*šïř* dense

*kïřpigä oχšaš šïř araš joq* '(The grape) is dense like the eyebrow and without any crack'

*širaq* leg, a gun rack

*šiwaq* (Yang) a kind of medicine grass

*šiwä* smell, stink

*šiwäkči* rumors-carrier

*šivälik* (Pich) swamp

*šoχši-* to turn backwards

*šoruq* pole, rafter

*šögä* (Pich, Yang) floodgate < ?

*šuɣuř* v. *šuɣuř-šuɣuř*

*šuɣuř-šuɣuř* many

*šuɣuřtma* v. *suɣuřtma*

*šunaq* (LükD) v. *šunday*

*šunday* (Mur) so, like that

*šuŋ* (Lük, Tuy, Yang) a smaller stem of grapevine where grapes appear

*šupuŋ* light, false

*šupuŋ eɣïz* 'rumor maker'

*šupuř* (Pich, Yang) a twig

*šuruŋ* v. *šaraŋ-šuruŋ*

*šüdä* oily, dirty < ?

*šüpäxči* (Tox) a gossip, busybody

*šüptüř* dirty < ?

*šüpük* peel, skin OT *šöpik*

*ta:ɣan* (Tuy) hound OT *taygan*

*ta:guz* (Mur) watermelon < Per. *tarbūza*

*tala* v. *taq-tala*

*taʔla-* (Mur) to scratch SU *tatla-*

*taʔliq* (Mur) sweet SU *tatliq*

*taʔma* (Mur) ladder, steps SU *šota*

*taχ* v. *säj-taχ*

*taχař* (Mur) donkey foal

*taχaj* (SayK) v. *taχař*

*taχsa* (LükD) plate, dish < Mong. *tagsi* 'small cup' (Lessing 766a)

*taχtaχ* v. *layman taχtaχ*

*tam* (SayK) taste < Ar. *ta'm*

*tamaq* (SayK) palate

*tana* a roof-beam, put straight over the house and carrying the flat roof

*taŋ* surprising

*taŋaχšam* (LükD) v. *taŋnaχšam*

*taŋ kör-* (Tox) to surprise

*taŋla* tomorrow

*taŋna* (Tox) v. *taŋla*

*taŋnaχšam* (Mur) tomorrow evening, next day's evening

*taŋnätä* (LükD) tomorrow morning

*taŋši* (Pich, Yang) mulberry jam < Chin. 湯梨 *tang-xi* (?)



*taʔp* < Per. *tāb* v. *taʔp käl-*

*taʔp käl-* (Tuy) to bear, endure

*taʔp kïlamaj jiɣlap kittu* 'She cried not being able to endure.'

*tapši* (LükD) seat immediately by the door < ?

*taqïra-* (LükD) to come by jumping

*taqïrap kep* 'came (there) by jumping'

*taqqa* (LükY) horseshoe

*ajaq taqqïsï* 'heelplate'

*taran* (Tuy) deep SU *terän*

*taraq* (Mur) comb SU *taɣaq*

*tarat-* (Lük) to put in order

*šuŋ tarat-* 'to put a vine stalk in order'

*tarï-* (Tuy) to separate, chop

*tarïpla-* (SayK) to praise < Ar. *ta'rīf* 'description' + *-la*

*tařlïq* jealous

*tařpijin* commotion, flurry

*tařt-* (Tuy) to grow, to drive

*šuŋ tařt-* 'to grow (of a vine)', *so:q tařt-* 'driving of cold air from the karez'

*tařtqu* (Yang) binder

*čïvä tařtqu* 'a kind of cradle object used to bind a child by the groin'

*tařtïn-* to become thin

*tasqal-* to be in difficulty

*tasqaqčilïq* difficulty

*tašči* (MirY) stonemason

*tašraχ* (Lük, Pich, Yang) flower pot

*taštüqüm* (Yang) upper saddle

*tašu* (Pich, Yang) v. *dašu*

*taʔtma* (Pich, Yang) v. *taʔma*

*tawan* (SayK, Yor) heel SU *tapan*

*tavïka* gambling den

*tajlaq* (Tuy) bare, undressed

*tajzim* respect, estem, the visit of bride's parents before the wedding in order to show repect to the parents of the bride < Ar. *ta'zīm*

*taza* 1 (Lük, Pich, Tur, Tuy) healthy < Per. *tāza*

*apaŋ ta:zmu* 'How is your mother?'

*taza* 2 debt, expenditure, spending

*bügün bizä taza qïlduq* 'We spent a little today'

*tä:bïř* (LükD) a musical, stringed instrument < Ar. *tanbūrā*

*täřči-* (Mur) to dribble or leak out SU *täpči-*

*täʔlik* v. *täklik*

*täx* v. *täk*

*täk* (Yang) vine stalk, tendril of a vine < Per. *tāk, täk köm-* 'to cover a vine stalk (with earth)', *täk kötüř-* 'to uncover a vine stalk'

*täklik* (Tuy) vineyard

*täklimat* (Tox) big carpet

*tälm* v. *älm-tälm*

*täm* v. *täm-tüm*

*täm-tüm* little freckles

*tänčä* (Yang) small pieces < Per. *dāna* + *-čä*

*qizil tänčä* 'jaundice'

*täŋ* (Lük) critical

*unuŋ halï täŋ* 'his situation is critical'

*täp* (SayK) fever

*täpčä* cotton stalk

*täpkä* (SayK, Yang) inflammation of the neck

*täräppal* hurriedly, suddenly

*tářsa* obstinate < *tarsā* 'Christian'

*tävär* (Sing, Yang) lantern

*bayïŋya kirär bolsaŋ*
*qoluŋya tävär alyïn*
*juřtuŋya musapïř män*
*halïmdïn χävär alyïn*
If you enter your garden,
please take a lantern.
I am a guest in your land
please take care of me.

*täškät* (Lük, Pich, Yang) exchange of labour, mutual aid, labour exchanger OT *täšgüt*

*täškätlä-* to exchange labour

*täšmä* (Pich) ditch of a karez

*qaryu täšmä* 'well of a karez which has no short well'
*tätmäk* (Lük) ladder (< *tatma* 'ladder' + DIM *-äk*)
*täz-* to leave
*te-* (Mur) to plant
*temamïs* 'we don't plant'
*te·k-* (Lük, SayK) to be upset, angry
*temiř* (LükD) iron
*temiřči* (LükD) blacksmith
*tepin* (Lük, SayK) threshing objects (stone-roller, etc., but does not include animals); threshing objects including stone-roller and animals
*teqï* (Lük) a kind of hat, *teqï*-hat (corrupted form for *teqïjan*?)
*teqïla* nickname for several families in Lükchün, presumably they often wore *teqï*-hat
*teqïm* (SayK) buttocks < Mong. *taqi-m* 'the ham, the hollow behind the knee joint; ham, hock' (Lessing 770b)
*teqïjan* (SayK) woman's hat < Per. *tāqīya*
*terä* v. *χam terä*
*teši-* (MirY, SayK) to transport
*tešip* 'transporting'; *teši kätti* 'completed transporting'
*tetimäj* boring
*tetiř* barren land
*tejïk-* (LükD) v. *te·k-*
*tejktüj-* (SayK) to enrage SU *teriktür-*
*tejnä-* (Pich, Yang) to wander aimlessly
*teza* (Yang) very, heavily, extremely
< Per. *tāza* 'fresh', *teza soq-* 'to beat heavily'
*tikän* man-made wooden hanger used for hanging grapes when drying grapes; CLASSIF for grapes referring to the amount of grapes hung to a hanger
*bijil jüz tikän üzüm čïqti* 'This year we obtained hundred *tikän* of grapes.'
*tikän čaqa* (Tuy) v. *tikän*
*tikilän-* (Tox) to roll, trundle
*tikküči* (Yang) tailor
*tïlma* (Pich) place near the first well of a karez
*timän* (Tox) v. *tümän*
*timmite* silently
*tiŋgiř* (Yang) one who performs circumcisions
*tiräp* side, direction < Ar. *ṭaraf*
*tujuχ tiräpkä* 'to the direction of Tuyuq'
*tiřkiš* (Lük) a long piece of wood which links the yoke and the handler in a plow
*tïřmaq* (Mur) fingernail, toenail OT *tırŋak*
*tis* (SayK) knee OT *tiz*
*tiši* (LükD, Yor) female
*tiši ǰan* 'female living beings'
*tišlä-* (Tox, Yor) to bite
*tišlät-* (Yor) to have bitten
*tïjmaq* (SayK) v. *tïřmaq*
*tïza* money
< Chin. 提子 *ti-zi* 'a Chinese bank note'
*to·* (Lük, Pich, SayK) wedding ceremony
*togat-* to look down
*togajni* v. *töwäjni*
*toɣ* dust OT *tog*
*toɣač* small loaf of bread SU *toqač*
*toɣut-* to rise dust < **toɣu-* + *-t*
*tuppïnï toɣutup* 'raising the dust'
*to·ɣuz-* (Tuy) to satiate
*quřsuɣunu to·ɣuzup* 'filling the stomach'
*toɣla-* (LükD, Pich, Tur) to turn SU *tolya-*
*toχčan* early ripening wild melon
*toχmaχda-* (Yang) to beat with a stick
*toχmuɣïlan* (Buy) a kind of harmless snake
< *toχmaq* 'stick' + *ılan* 'snake'
*toχuj* chicken
*to· qïl-* (Lük) to marry
*tokoloŋ* hairless lady
*toŋna-* (Mur) to freeze
*topča* (SayK, Tuy) button



< Mong. *tobči* 'button; nipple, teat; ullet' (Lessing 810b)
*topčəla-* (Yang) to button up
< Mong. *tobčila-* 'to button up' (Lessing 811a)
*topluq* (Tox) a charge for the purification of the corpse
*tořla-* (Tuy) to make a net
*tořlüvatqan* 'having made nets'
*toš* sound OT *taviš*
*toš qï qujdu* '(The dog) makes noise.'
*tošqaz-* (Tuy) to fill SU *tošquz-/toštur-*
*tö·* (Tuy) four
*tö· jïlla* 'about four years'
*tö?* (Mur) v. *tö·*
*tö? mo* 'four *mao*' (*mao* 'one-tenth of a *yuan*')
*tö·rä-* to be confused
*törük* (Pich, Yang) round
*törük ǰoza* 'round table'; *törük čon* 'round iron ball used in the nave of a cart'; *törük öj* 'round house, yurt'
*tötöjlä* (Mur) four of us SU *tötäjlän*
*tötür* (Lük, Mur) opposite SU *tätür*
*tövä* (Pich, Yang) roof OT *tövä*
*tövän* v. *iŋiš-tövän*
*töväjni* (Tur) lower part < *tövän jeni*
*töz-* (SayK) to accustom (man, pigeon etc.) OT *töz-*
*tözü-* (SayK) v. *töz-*
*tuč-* to roll
*tučup kägändikin* 'since (it) has come by rolling'
*tuga* (Pich, Yang) silk fabric SU *tawar*
*tugan* (Yor) dam
*tugap* (Yang) worship, homage
< Ar./Per. *ṭawāf*
*tugat-* to respect
*u mini tugatmidu* 'He doesn't respect me.'
*tugajin* wealth
*tuɣaq* (Mur) potlid SU *tuwaq*
*tuɣaqla-* (Mur) to cover, close
*tüɣra* (LükY) straight SU *toɣra*
*tüɣru* straight
*tüɣru Kariz* 'name of a place near to Tuyuq'
*tuɣulun-* (SayK) to turn oneself (methathesis of *tolɣan-*)
*tuɣušluχ* (Lük) v. *tuɣušluq*
*tuɣušluq* (Lük) brave, courageous
*tüχmaχ* (Lük) club, stick
*tüχta-* (Lük, Tuy) to stop < Mong. *toɣta-* 'to stop, rest ...' (Lessing 815) *tuχta-ptu* '(They) stopped.'
*tuǰula qïl-* (LükD) to wait on
< Chin. 特招了 *te-zhao-le* + *qïl-*
*tul* (SayK) widowed
*tul är* 'widowed man, widower'; *tul χotun* 'widowed lady, widow'
*tumaka* (As, QaraGh) tobacco
< Per. *tambā-kū*
*tumuŋ* (LükY) door < Chin. 套門 *tao-men*
*tumuř* (SayK) vein
*tuŋguř* v. *tuŋguř-tuŋguř*
*tuŋguř-tuŋguř* (Mur) ONOM sound of walking
*tuŋguz* (Lük) pig OT *toŋuz*
*tupaš* (Tuy) main branch of a vine stalk
*tuppa* (Pich, Tuy) dust, ground
*tuttuř-* (Tox) to circumcize
*tu tuř-* (Pich, Tur) to stay for a moment
< *turup tur-*
*tuř* (Buy, Tuy) fort, blockhouse
*tuřma* turnip
*tuřmüčuq* (Mur) northern rosefinch SU *tomučuq*
*tus* salt
*tu·sïχana* (Yang) butcher's house (< ? + *χana*)
*ṭusköki* (Pich, Yang) pickles, fried vegetables, salad (< *tuz* 'salt' + *kök* 'vegetable' + 3sg

POSS *–I*)
*tušqan* (Mur) rabbit OT *tabïškan* SU *tošqan*
*tut-* to present; to nail
*gül tut-* 'to present a flower'; *topča tut-* 'to nail a button'
*tutaz-* (Yang) to hand over SU *tutquz-*
*tummurïn tutazsa* 'when he had (the doctor) take his pulse'
*tujγun* sensitive
*tujγun sal-* to cause to notice
*tujγun sep qujidu* '(It) causes (people) notice us.'
*tujγun* salaj sensitive, wild
*ädäm kömigän tujγun salaj* '(They) never have seen human beings, they are sensitive.'
*tujuq* known, open
*tujuq* vol- to be known, open
*bu iš tujuq vo qaptu* 'I found this matter has become open.'
*tübülük* a piece of wood put upon the piling of the well of a karez
*tügür* bud, sprout
*daraχ tügür voptu* 'The tree sprouted.'
*tügä* (Pich, Yang) millet OT *tögi*
*tüm* v. *täm-tüm*
*tümü* iron
*tümüči* blacksmith
*tünögön* (SayK) v. *tünögün*
*tünögün* (LükD) yesterday
*tüŋgürä-* (Pich) to rumble
*tüŋgüräpla kättiγu* 'Something is rumbling restlessly.'
*tüŋkäl-* (Pich, Tur) to sleep, be quiet
*hej, tüŋkülpaχsïna* 'Oh man, how about some sleep.'
*tüpür* v. *tüpür-tüpür*
*tüpür-tüpür* (Mur) ONOM sound of walking
*türmäl* a kind of food prepared with flour, meat and vegetables.
*tüš* 1 (LükD, T) dream
*tüš-idä* 'at the dream'
*tüš* 2 (LükD) noon
*tüš-* (LükD) to descend
*tüštüvatqan* '(the water) is flowing'
*tüt* (Yang) four
*tüt täräp* 'four sides'
*tütün* (Lük) fourth
*tütün sinipqəčä* 'until the fourth class'
*tütür* (Tur) v. *tötür*
*tüv* v. *gürä tüvi*
*tüvä* 1 (Pich, SayK, Yang) v. *tövä*
*tüvä* 2 repentance < Ar./Per. *tavba / tauba*
*tüvülük* v. *tübülük*
*tüj-* (Tuy) to carve
*tüjvät-* 'to carve out'
*tüjmän* (MirY) mill
*tüjnük* 1 (Mur, Tox) a hole in the roof for the admission of light, skylight (Jarring 1964: 311)
*tüjnük* 2 a well of a karez
*baš tüjnük* 'the end of a karez'
*tüjrük* (Tuy) pillar
*tüzäŋlik* (MirY) plain, flat land
*tüzütlük* (Yang) polite; beautiful
*pigorisi tüzütlük* 'her figure is beautiful.'
*učqa* (Tuy) airplane
*učun-* to reoccur (used for the reoccurrence of an old illness)
*učurla-* (Pich, Tur, Tuy) to inform < *učür* (< Mong. *učir*) + *-la*
*ud* (MirY) cow
*uga* (Tur, Lük) nest, birds nest SU *uva*
*ugal* evil consequence, pity < Ar. *wabāl*
*ugaq* small, crumb SU *uvaq*
*ugat-* to crumble
*ugulun-* to sympathize with
*uγul* (SayK) son SU *oγul*
*u?niki* (Tuy) her/his/its GEN of *u*
*üχšaš* (LükD, MirY) v. *ošaš*
*ukumät* (LükD) government < Ar./Per. *hukūmat*



*ulam* (Lük, Tur) servant < Per. *γülam*
*ulpaq* (Pich) fur cap with ear flaps
*ultaŋ* (Pich, Tur) part of a cart which touchs the earth; shoe sole
*ultijip* (Tuy) *Abdulla Teyip* (personal name) < Ar. *'Abdallāh + tejip*
*uluγ* (Mur) great, high
*u·luq* (Pich, Yang) part of an oil press where oil dropped from
*umtaq* (Tox) soft, soften bread by immersing in water
*umulduř-* to cause frustration
*umun-* to hope OT *umun-*
*untaq* (Pich, Tur) v. *umtaq*
*untaq sogun* 'soap powder'
*unudun* (M) from him/her/it ABL of *u*
*uppa* (Pich) face powder
*uřγuγ* (Mur) Uyghur
*uruγda-* to lean, lose weight
*uruq-* (LükD) to tire
*män bäk uruqup kättim* 'I am extremely tired.'
*ųsma* (Pich) black dye for cosmetic purposes (*Isatis tinctoria*)
*ųstuγan* (Tuy) bone < Per. *ustux"ān*
*ųsuruχ* (SayK) fart, flatus
*ųššaq* v. *ųššaq qol*
*ųššaq qol* (SayK) finger
*ušširyaraq* (SayK) rather small, smaller
*ušuq* (SayK) extra, too many
*üšuř* (Tuy) an Islamic religious tax < Ar. *'ušr*
*utuγuš* v. *ottuγuš*
*ütul-* (MirY) to become blunt
*bisi ütulu kättu* 'The edge of the knife became blunt.'
*ujman* (Tuy) depression, hollow
*ujoq* niche
*ujuq* (Pich) v. *ujoq*
*ujušma* v. *qurutqa*
*ujzi* that side
*uza* (Pich, Tur) v. *oza*
*üčägä* (Pich, SayK, Yang, Yor) intestine OT *ičägü*
*üčün* (Lük) third SU *üčinči*
*üčün sinip* 'third class'
*ükä* (SayK) younger brother
*ükkär* (Tox) the constellation Ursa Major, the Great Bear, SU *ükar*
*ükölä* (Lük) both, two of us SU *ikkäjlän*
*ükäjlä* (Lük) v. *ükölä*
*ül-* (SayK) to die
*ülü kät-* (< *ölüp kät-*) 'to pass away'
*ün* (Mur) flour SU *un*
*ünlä* 'flour and flour-like things'
*üpkä* (SayK) lung SU *öpkä*
*üř* (Mur, Pich) long
*üř küni* 'one day, long ago, once'
*ürän* (Pich, SayK, Tur, Yang, Yor) seed; generation, decendant OT *ürän*
*ürini* 'its seed, her/his decendant'
*üränlik* seedkernel
*üřjän* black pear
*üstüχan* bone
*üstüχannï jïγïp* 'collecting bones'
*üstün* over, above
*üsüp* (Pich, Tur) Yusup (personal name) < Ar. *Yūsuf*
*üšüz* (Mur) three hundred < *üč jüz*
*üt-* (Tur) to pass through
*amda üt-* 'to get along well'
*ütkäz-* (LükY) to pass through, lace SU *ötkäz-*
*ütmäl* (Yor) with holes
*öj ütmäl* 'the house with holes'
*ütnä* (Pich, Tur) loan (temporary) OT *ötnü*
*ütük* (Mur) pass
*üvdk* sympathetic
*üjüš-1* (Lük) to unite (INTR)
*üjüš-2* (Mur) to burn
*üz* (SayK) face SU *jüz*
*üz-ümüz* 'our face'
*üzü* (LükY) a variety of local pear
*üzü* v. *oza*

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*üzökün* < *oza kün* 'last day'
*üzüm* v. *aq üzüm, belïq üzüm*
*väsi* (Tox) last words, oral testament < Ar. *vaṣīyat* SU *väsijät*
*vij-* (SayK, Yor) to give
*ja:ba* (SayK) mute, a dumb person < Chin. 哑巴 *ya-ba* 'mute'
*ja:čän* (Tuy) money < Chin. 押钱 *ya-qian* (?)
*ja:daŋ* (SayK) river bed SU *jardaŋ*
*jadaŋ* emaciated
*jaɣ* (SayK) fat, oil
*ja:ɣan* false, untruthful SU *yalɣan*
*ja:ɣaŋ-χuda* 'false god'
*jaɣaš* (Tuy) wood, wooden
*jaɣaš čaqa* 'a wooden hanger for drying grapes'
*ja:ɣuz* (Lük) alone
*jaχ* (Buy) v. *jaɣ*
*jaχ koza* 'oil used for greasing a cart'
*jalaŋ* thin clothing, dressless
*jalaŋɣač* (Pich, Tur) dressless, naked, undressed
*jalaŋɣaš* (Tuy) v. *jalaŋɣač*
*jalaŋɣədaq* (Mur, Pich, Tur) bare-foot
*ja:l* (SayK) a horse's mane OT *yal*
*ja:lïq* (Mur) scarf, towel
*jalǰï-* to progress, go ahead
*jalpaχ* (Lük) local
*jalpaχ til* 'unofficial language, local accent'
*jaltaj-* (LükD) to give up
*jaltiji qal-* 'to give up, stop'; *aʔtnï jäp tojsa jaltijip qaluř* '(The tiger) may stop if he is satiated having eaten the horse.'
*jaluř-* (Mur) to request SU *jalvur-*
*jamdaq* big broom used for cleaning yards
*ja:mïsa* (Mur) CONJ or, either ... or < *ja bol-mïsa, ja bolməsa ataŋ käsun, ja:mïsa sǟ käl* 'Let your father come or you come yourself.'
*jamzal* (Yor) inclined, side
*taɣ jamzəlï* 'mountainside'
*jandəma* branch well of the karez dug from one side in order to take more water
*jaʔnlïq* wood put around two sides of the pillar in a karez well
*jaʔn šal* v. *jaʔnlïq*
*jaŋɣaq* (MirY) walnut
*jaŋvaštin* (Mur) from the beginning
*jaŋpajlï* inclined
*japma* a kind of local food prepared with carrot, potato, meat and steaming bread
*japma öj* general name for the houses built with wooden materials in contrast to the *kimïř (öj)*
*ja:qa-* to rinse, wash OT *yayka-*
*jaqqa* (LükY) collar
*jař-* to break
*jerivat-* 'to break sth. down'
*jařdän* (SayK) a kind of cloth < ? Chin. 洋緞 *yang-duan*
*jařma* emergency exist of the karez
*jařta* half
*jäši-* (SayK) to grind, thresh
*jašman* (Tox) a kind of food prepared by frying bread pieces in refined oil
*jatqan* (QaraGh) quilt SU *jotqan*
*java* (Tuy) wild
*java täk* 'wild vine', refers to any vine stalks except seedless vine stalks
*jaj* (SayK) vagina
*ajallani ja:ji* 'vagina'
*jajɣu* (Tur) rolling pin
*jäʔ-* (Mur) to reach, be enough SU *jät-*
*jälpäx* (Tuy) v. *dälpäk*
*jä:mïsä* (Tox) v. *ja:mïsa*
*jäŋgïlvaštin* (LükD) newly, again
*jäŋlik* oven mit
*jäʔs* (Tuy) v. *jesi*
*jättaŋ* (Tuy) funny person
*jäz* footprint



*jeɣa* (SayK) enemy OT *yagï*
*jeliŋ* thin
*jepäŋ* (Pich, Yang) frivolous, light
*jeř* (LükD) ground, place SU *jär*
*jerivat-* (Mur) to break down SU *jerivät-*
*jesä* (Mur) v. *jesi*
*jesi* (Lük, Pich, SayK, Tox, Tur) flat OT *yasï*
*jet* (Tuy) v. *het*
*jette* (Mur) seven SU *jättä*
*jez* (Tuy) v. *jäz*
*jez-* (Pich, Tur) to untie SU *jäš-*
*jezivat-* 'to untie, loosen'
*jeziχo* (Yang) a kind of grass used for medicinal purposes
*jezla-* to search for following footprints SU *jizzini jezla-p* 'searching after the footprints'
*jez vol-* (LükD) to fall in love (?)
*jez vo qal-* 'to fall in love'
*jid* (Yor) smell
*jidüř-* (QaraGh) to have eaten
*jig* (Pich, Yang) spindle
*jiɣač* (Yang) v. *jaɣaš*
*jïɣlədi* (SayK) sob (a kind of disease)
*jiǧ* (Pich, Yang) v. *jig*
*jiɣaččilïq* (Yang) carpentry, woodworking
*jipäŋ* v. *jepäŋ*
*jiqin* (Yang) close
*jiriŋ* (SayK) pus
*jisivilăk* (Pich, Yang) Chinese cabage
*jit* fried bread especially prepared for mourning ceremony
*jit-* (LükD, Mur, Pich, Yang) to arrive
*jit čïq-* (< *jitip čïq-*) 'to come, arrive'; *jitičüš-* (< *jitip čüš-*) 'to reach; *jitipa-* (< *jitip bar-* ) 'to arrive'
*jitim* (SayK, Tuy) orphan; new < Ar. *yatīm*
*jitim soqta* 'newly grown vine stalk'
*jizlïq miltïq* (Mur) rifle, shotgun
*joɣura-* to become big, thick
*joǰuŋ* (SayK) important < Chin. 要紧 *yao-jin*
*joǰuŋ iš* important matter
*joři-* (LükD) to tire
*jořïl-* (LükD) to tire OT *yorïl-*
*joruq-* v. *uruq-*
*jöga-* (Tuy) to wrap SU *jögä-*
*jögiläš-* (Yor) to be wrapped itself
*jögürül-* (Tox) to be wrapped
*jörğäj* (Lük, Tox, Yor) dodder
*jörü-* (LükD) to go SU *jür-*
*jubuř* (Yang) name of a bank note distributed by Xinjiang local government at the beginning of 20th century, also called *jaɣ pul*, < Chin. 油 *you* 'oil' + *pul* 'money'
*jučun* strange
*jugaš* (Mur, Pich) frank, honest < Per. *yavāš* SU *yawaš*
*juɣura-* (Tox, Yang) to become big, grow
*juŋuřsaq* (LükY) mixed
*juχla-* (LükY) to call on, visit
*jumbulaq* (Lük, Tox, Tuy, Yang) round
*jumuř* (Pich) something round
*äskilik qïsaŋ biššïŋɣa jumuř čïqïdu* 'If you do bad things, a round wound will appear on your head.'
*junuq* (SayK) shining SU *jeniq*
*ju:paŋ* (Pich) oil press < Chin. 油房 *you-fang*
*jupïlaq* (Tuy) kite SU *japïlaq*
*jupulaq* (Pich, Yang) v. *jupïlaq*
*jupuŋ* thin
*juqajni* (Tur) upper side < *juquři jan* 'upper side' + 3sg POSS
*juqqa* (Lük, MirY) thin OT *juvka*
*juquř* (Mur) high SU *juquri*
*jusun* (Yang) public rule < Mong. *yosu(n)* 'generally accepted rule, traditional custom, habit or usage...' (Lessing 435a)
*jut* (Tox) a container hanging from the roof
*jütqan* (Pich) v. *jatqan*
*jutta* (SayK, Yang) the thigh OT *yota*
*juɣan jutta* 'thigh'

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*juzař* (Tuy) oil cake, used for cattle feed < Chin. 油炸爾 *you-zha-er*
*ju'zař* (Pich) v. *juzař*
*jügä-* (Yang) v. *juga-*
*jügän* (Yang) bit of a bridle
*jüräx* (SayK) heart
*jürüš* traveller
*jütkä-* (Yang) to change
*jütkät-* (Tuy) to have changed
*zayïř* (Pich, Tur) corn bread
*zanänä* weak < Per. *zanāna/zanānī*
*zaŋ* (SayK) dirty < Chin. 臟 *zang*
*zaŋkař* dirty (< ? Chin. 臟 *zang* 'dirty' + *kiř*)
*zawut* serious < ?
*zajä* waste < Ar. *ẓāyi` / ẓayā'*
*zajä qïl-* to waste
*zädigal* hangings for the lower parts of the walls of a room < Per. *zer deval*
*zämbäl* (MirY) hand-barrow < Per. *zambīl*
*zärär* injury, harm < Ar./Per. *zarar*
*zäřdař* rich < Per. *zardar*
*zeγïřla-* (Tuy) to investigate very carefully
*zilpoš* (Yang) small carpet used for covering the horse's hindlegs when hitched to a cart
*zïmbïlda-* to move frequently, travel from place to place
*zip* v. *zip-zip*
*zip-zip* ONOM sound of dripping
*zitto* (SayK) a purple headed pigeon < Chin. 紫頭 *zi-tou* 'purple head'
*zogal* (Mur) the time after midday until the stars appear, sunset < Ar. *zavāl*
*zoŋŋidä* apparently
*zo qïl-* (LükD) to force < *zor* + *qïl-*
*zoř* (Yang) hero < Per. *zūr / zor*
*zugal* v. *zogal*
*zugula* a piece of dough formed like a ball < Per. *zavāla*
*zulpuŋ* bee < ? Chin. 刺蜂 *ci-feng*

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